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OR,

TRANSACTIONS

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THE ARTS, SCIENCES, AND LITERATURE

OF

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TRANSACTIONS

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ASIATIC SOCIETY.

I.

An account of Experiments made in the MYSORE COUNTRY, *in the year* 1804, *to investigate the effects of Terrestrial Refraction.*

BY LIEUTENANT JOHN WARREN,

Of H. M. 33*d Regiment of Foot.*

INTRODUCTION.

NOTWITHSTANDING the various theories which have been advanced, at different times, to account for the effects of refraction*; and the numerous experiments which have been made by the most eminent philosophers of our times, with a view to discover some law by which its effects might be reduced to certain narrow limits, applicable to practice, nothing sufficiently satisfactory has yet occurred to set the question finally to rest.

The late GENARAL ROY was the first among us, who availed himself of the favourable opportunity which his survey presented, to pay some minute

* Particularly by DE CARTES, LEIBNITZ, the two BERNOUILLIS, and lastly by SIR ISAAC NEWTON, whose hypothesis, grounded on the laws of attraction, now generally obtains among physical writers.

attention to the effects of terrestrial refraction. After him COLONEL WILLIAMS and Mr. DALBY resumed the investigation, as far as the service on which they were employed conveniently allowed: but as this was but a secondary object with them, little additional information is to be gathered from their labours. MAJOR MUDGE has, indeed, made a number of experiments since that time; but the result has fallen so far short of his expectations, that he promises, in his latest publication, to resume and pay particular attention to the subject: and we have no doubt every right to expect something very valuable from that quarter. But, may not the laws of refraction be so materially affected by gravity, and other unknown causes, as to vary in different parts of the globe, and that theory which obtains in high northern latitudes fail in tropical regions? indeed, the irregularities which of late have been detected in the declinations of certain stars, which, though unobserved in *England*, are powerfully felt in these climates, sufficiently show how much we have reason to suspect an effect of the sort, and must evince the expediency of obtaining corresponding experiments in different latitudes; for, it is obvious, that even to ascertain any deviation

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* MAJOR LAMBTON, in a postscript to one of his late reports to government, has this observation. "We find here, that different stars give very different latitudes, after being corrected for "aberration, nutation, &c. At *Trivandeporum*, the latitude of that station by *Aldebaran* was "11° 44′ 52″ 59. The latitude by *Regulus* was 11° 44′ 17″ 84, and the latitude by αOrionis, "11° 14′ 40″ 91. I had made observations by the same three stars at *Paudree* station, where those "by *Regulus* and αOrionis were often interrupted on account of the bad weather, and consequently "left doubtful; but the differences notwithstanding were *nearly the same*, &c. Though these "observations have been set aside, they serve sufficiently to prove that the declinations, as laid "down in *Europe*, are irregular *here*, and this may probably arise from the uncertainty we labour "under with respect to the laws of refraction; and in consequence of erring in that, the difference of the corrected zenith distances of two stars observed in *Europe*, will *not* be the same as "the difference which the same stars will give in this latitude. I am, however, hazarding an opinion, but as I intend being more satisfied as to the *fact*, I hope I shall be able to say more on "the subject hereafter."

in a system, perhaps too generalised, might be attended with incalculable advantages to science.

It must be owned, that to render experiments on terrestrial refraction pointedly useful, it would be necessary to shew how discoveries in this province might apply and be extended to refraction in general. Hitherto, on this recondite subject, nothing which would immediately apply has reached my knowledge; but as so much is still to be done whenever refraction is concerned, we may argue, that, in the present stage of our information, observations confined to terrestrial objects may be deemed sufficient.

It has been stated on experiments*, that the refractive power of the air is proportional to its density; and this is as its weight directly, and heat inversely. It would then appear, were our barometers and thermometers, sufficiently accurate, that by comparing them at any given time, the ratio of its density might be had. But it has been found, on trial, that in the present unimproved state of these instruments, changes, not very minute, in the density of the atmosphere, escape our notice, when a reference is made to them alone.

Now, since we have every reason to suppose, that whatever share, heat, cold, or electricity, may have separately on the refractive powers of the air†, their effect is extremely inconsiderable, when compared with that

* By HALLEY.

† EULER, after a number of experiments on the immediate effects of heat and cold, on the refractive powers of media, concludes, "that, in all translucent substances, the focal distances "diminish with the heat, which diminution, he conceives, is owing to a change in the refractive "power of the substance itself; which probably increases by heat, and diminishes by cold."

caused by the bulk of water contained in dissolution in the atmosphere: we may, therefore, in the present inquiry, consider them merely as agents composing and decomposing perpetually the air; and neglect the consideration of that immediate effect which SMITH and EULER have ascribed to them. Should we then succeed, in ascertaining, with any degree of accuracy, the relative degree of moisture and dryness, at the different times of observation, we shall (without neglecting other considerations) lay more stress on these results, than on what might be deduced separately from observations of the barometer and thermometer.

Before entering into the subject of experiments, it will be proper to preface a few words on the motives which induced me to attend particularly to the effects of terrestrial refraction, at the time that I did; as it will afford an opportunity of giving an account of the data on which I chiefly proceeded.

Having received directions from MAJOR LAMBTON *, to measure a line near *Bangalore*, to serve as a base of verification to the trigonometrical operations which were then carried on under his superintendance, it occurred to me, when this service was completed, that so favourable an opportunity was not likely to recur, for entering minutely into the subject; for every possible means had been taken, to insure as accurate a measurement as could be effected: and this line, together with the elevation of one of its extremities above the other, (ascertained in the course of the measurement) afforded every necessary datum to proceed on in this investigation.

But this applies chiefly to hard media, such as glass lenses, &c. &c. and may be deemed (for the present) too inconsiderable to require particular notice, where air is the medium.

* Whose assistant I then was.

As the detailed account of the abovementioned operation will appear at full length in MAJOR LAMBTON's reports, and cannot with propriety be given in this paper, I hope that its being known to form a part of the trigonometrical operations, carried on in the peninsula of *India*, will appear a sufficient pledge of its accuracy.

ACCOUNT OF INSTRUMENTS.

The elevations and depressions were taken with the great theodolite, used by MAJOR LAMBTON, for carrying on his series of primary triangles across the peninsula. This instrument, having been formerly described by himself, need not be any further particularised. The angles were invariably taken with the micrometer in the focus of the telescope.

A barometer and thermometer were also procured*, but from the reasons above given, the want of an hygrometer was likely to deprive me of what I considered to be an essential means of investigation (though I cannot find that such an instrument was ever applied to a similar purpose), when LIEUTENANT KATER, of H. M. 12th regiment, communicated to me his observation, on the bearded seeds of a wild grass, called in the Malabar tongue *Pammoolo* (the *Andropogon contortum* of LINNÆUS) which grows in abundance in this part of the peninsula, and which he thought was likely to answer for an instrument of this sort†.

---

* The barometer was a common cistern, the property of DR. HEANE, the company's naturalist. The thermometer, one of Fahrenheit's division.

† The beards of the wild oat have been used in *England* for a similar purpose (see HUTTON's Dictionary, art. *Hygrometer*).

Although I understand it to be this gentleman's intention to give an account of his experiments on these fibres to the public; yet, as his official calls prevented him from going minutely into the subject, at the period when I had occasion for an hygrometer, I was under the necessity of anticipating his intended investigation; and the experiments detailed in the appendix will shew, that after an ample trial, the beards of the *Panimooloo* grass were found perfectly competent to the construction of an hygrometer. Three of these instruments were therefore constructed, and the mean of their readings noticed in the annexed tables.

EXPLANATION OF THE TABLES.

The detail of experiments on the effects of terrestrial refraction, together with the immediate results deduced from them, appear in these tables, under the appropriate columns; and a reference to them will best explain their arrangements.

It is however necessary to explain the meaning of certain marks, which appear at various places under the figures, and which have been adopted both for the sake of perspicuity and brevity.

I soon perceived, after collecting a certain number of observations, the prevailing agreement between the motions of the hygrometer, and the variations which occurred in the observed angles of elevation and depression.

This being a novel and interesting fact (of which I had still more reason to be convinced, after I had succeeded in regulating the hygrometers) I was desirous to draw the attention on this coincidence, and with this view the marks alluded to were affixed.

Taking it for granted (as perhaps the present experiments will be deemed to allow) that where the moisture of the atmosphere is greatest, the refraction at that moment is also greatest (and *vice versa*) wherever, in the annexed tables, the observation rigorously agrees with this theory, the mark (§) is placed underneath*; where the coincidence of moisture and refraction is not absolutely exact, the approximation is pointed out by a cross † ‡, shewing, by the number of its bars, how near it comes to perfect consistency.

With a view to draw the attention still closer to the effects of moisture on refraction, two columns of differences, which were kept at the time of observation, have been preserved. The column which relates to the angles being marked ±, according as these have been measured greater or less, at the two nearest observations; and that of the contemporaneous relative moisture being marked M, or D, according as the atmosphere had changed from a moister to a drier state, and *vice versa*.

As this coincidence has been very general, I found the shortest way was to mark with an asterisk(*) those cases where it had failed; and by in-

* It is to be noticed, however, that morning and evening observations are compared separately, neglecting those taken in the middle of the day; for these, from the great motion which then disturbs the atmosphere, must necessarily be very imperfect. The only reason why these observations are not left out altogether, is, that however imperfect they may be, as to a second or two, they contribute nevertheless to establish the proof of the relation of moisture to refraction; for it is to be observed, that (when the weather is perfectly clear of rainy clouds) the refraction is never so inconsiderable as at the heat of noon, when the sun shines brightest, and when the tremor of the atmosphere is most considerable: and the reason of this seems to be, "because the atmosphere, however disturbed, " is then generally in its driest state." There was so little refraction at that hour, that the elevations of the *Muntapum* frequently bring it out *negative;* an absurdity which arises both from the impossibility of taking the angles accurately, and the very small refraction then prevailing.

specting the tables, it will appear that the number of these is comparatively small.

The quantity of refraction, as entered in the appropriate columns, has been computed, according to those respective cases of depression or elevation, founded on reasonings too generally known to require any minute explanation.

It will only be necessary to state, that, with regard to the measured line, the formula $r = \frac{1}{2} A - D + a$* has been used in preference to that of $r = \frac{A-(D+D')}{2}$ for the obvious reason, that a greater reliance was to be placed on the perpendicular depression, obtained during the process of measurement, than on corresponding angular depressions, taken at the S. end of the base line, even though an equal number of observations had been taken at each end.

The refraction, affecting the elevation of the *Muntapum*†, was necessarily computed by means of the elevations and depressions, taken at both places respectively, $r = \frac{A-(D-E)}{2}$ being the appropriate formula, where E expresses the elevation, and is less than D.

An example of each will suffice to render the subject perfectly clear.

---

* Where $r =$ Refraction.
$\frac{1}{2} A =$ One half the contained arc.
$D =$ The greater depression.
$D' =$ The less depression.
And $a =$ The angle subtended by the perpendicular depression of S. end of measured line.

† A small stone building, on a very conspicuous rising ground, about four miles N. of *Bangalore*.

EXAMPLE I.

The length of the measured line (*Banswary* and *Beygoor*) being converted into an arc of a great circle, gives 6′ 34,″ 67=*A* *.

Again, the depression of the south extremity of the line (near *Beygoor*) below the level of the northern one, is 39. 7 feet, and using the proportion of radius to tangent, we have for the angle which it subtends 3′ 25.″ 75=*a*.

Lastly, on the 7th of August, at 6^{h}. 39′ A. M. the depression of the foot of the flag-staff near *Beygoor*, was observed at *Banswary*, 6′ 42″ 66.

But the height of the observer's eye above the ground was 5. 67 feet, (that of the instrument) which, to reduce to the ground, will require 29″ 39 to subtract: consequently, the corrected depression will be 6′ 13″. 27=*D* (the quantity entered in the tables). Whence

$\frac{1}{2}$ *A*=	3′	17″	34
+ *a*=	3	25	75
	6	43	09
−*D*=	6	13	27
r=		29	82

The refraction entered in the tables.

* The horizontal length of the measured line is 39799, 31 feet; and when reduced to the level of the sea, =39793, 7. This length has been used, in this particular case, to obtain the contained arc; because the tables, by means of which the operation was performed, were calculated to that distance from the centre of the earth.

EXAMPLE II.

At the same hour, the top of the flag-staff was observed 4′ 37.″ 32; which, corrected for the height of the instrument, as above, gives the depression 4′ 07″ 93=*D*. Again, the length of the flag-staff being 24 feet, this subtracted from 39. 7, leaves the perpendicular depression below the line of the level 15. 7 feet; and the angle which it subtends=1′ 21″ 36=*a*.

Hence we have,

$\frac{1}{2}$ *A*=	3′	17″	34
+ *a*=	1	21	36
	4	38	70
− *D*=	4	7	93
r=	0	30	77

The refraction entered in the tables.

EXAMPLE III.

1st. The distance from the N. extremity of the line (*Banswary*) to the *Muntapum* is 26327. 3, which, converted into an arc of a great circle, is 4′ 18″ 7=*A*.

2d. Again, the elevation of the *Muntapum* was taken at *Banswary* (on the same day 8$^{h.}$ 17″ A. M.) 9′ 21″ 84, and this corrected for the height of the instrument (by adding 44″ 43), makes the elevation 10′-6″ 27=*E*.

3d. Lastly, in the beginning of August, during the afternoon, being at the *Muntapum*, the depression of N. end of line was observed, on a mean of four observations, to be 15′ 19″ 5, and the instrument (in the *Muntapum*) being

8, 5 feet above the ground, we have to subtract 1′ 6″ 59, which reduces the depression to 14′ 12″ 91=D, a constant quantity in computing the third column of refraction. Hence we have,

D=	14′	12″	91
$-E$=	10	06	27
	4	06	64
A=	4	18	7
2)	0	12	06
r=		06	03

The refraction entered in the tables.

The absolute degree of moisture was deduced as follows:

As I knew of no standard, by which I might set the hygrometer, when I was about observing, the least degree of moisture noticed during the day was assumed as zero. This arrangement had this advantage, that the refraction and moisture had a similar direction, and their coincidence met the eye more easily.

The column which shews the absolute density of the atmosphere was computed by this formula:

$D=(B-B')\times\frac{9600\,d}{9600}\times\sqrt{1-\frac{n}{435}}$ * founded on reasonings sufficiently known. An example, however, may not be deemed superfluous.

* Where D expresses the increase of density, B the height of barometer at the time of observation, B' the state of the same when lowest of all, n the difference of temperature in the air, and d the difference of temperature in the mercury.

EXAMPLE.

The lowest degree to which the barometer descended during the course of these experiments, was 26. 85 inches=B', when the temperature, also least of all, was 69°. These two quantities are used as constant in the computations.

Now, on the 7th of August, at 6$^{h.}$ 39′ A. M. the barometer was observed

to be at	$27=B$
from which deduct	$26\ 85=B'$
there remains,	$0\ 15=B-B'$

Again, the thermometer at the same time was 75°

from which deduct	69
and we have	$6=n$; and as no difference

of temperature was noticed in the atmosphere and mercury, the same quantity (6) will also be expressed by d.

Hence it is that having found,

$B-B=0.\ 15$; $\frac{9600-d}{9600}=0.\ 99$, &c.; and $\frac{435-n}{435}=0.\ 98$, &c. we have 0. 15 $\times$ 0. 99 $\times$ 0. 98 = 0. 145530; which to reduce in terms of B (the least density) we have $\frac{26\ 85}{0\cdot 145530}=\frac{1}{184}$ the increase of density.

Lastly, to obtain an expression in absolute numbers, we have, as 26. 85 : 26. 85 + $\frac{1}{184}$ :: 1000 : 1000. 202, the quantity entered in the tables.

The remaining columns are sufficiently explicit to require no explanation.

Month and days.	Refraction.	Refractions compared. Foot of flag-staff + than top.	Foot of flag-staff + than Muntapun.	Top of flag-staff + than Muntapun.	Ratio of Refraction to the contained Arc. Foot of flag-staff.	Top of flag-staff.	Muntapun.	REMARKS.
13th	16 67	+12 49	+32 89	+20 40	1 / 7 96	1 / 10 64	1 / 51 51	Cloudy.
	§ 10 76	— 3 26	11 96	15 27	1 / 17 37	1 / 15 16	1 / 24 04	Slight motion in the atmosphere.
	5 24			4 23		1 / 41 67	1 / 49 37	Motion in the atmosphere.
	0 91			0 65		1 / 252 99	1 / 284 28	Flag very faint: great motion in the atmosphere.
	§ Negative							Sun shining.
	4 46						1 / 58 00	Motion in the atmosphere considerable: sun shining.
	Negt.							Sun shining bright: light clouds.
	Negt.	— 0 89			1 / 16 78	1 / 16 16		Hazy light clouds: motion in the atmosphere abated.
	§ 12 74	— 4 85	20 26	25 11	1 / 11 96	1 / 10 42	1 / 20 31	Motion in the air much abated.
	13 52	— 3 84	26 54	32 39	1 / 9 85	1 / 8 78	1 / 19 13	Sun shining: atmosphere very still.
	18 24	— 5 97	33	38 97	1 / 7 70	1 / 6 89	1 / 14 19	Sun shining.
14th	§ 13 52			42 41	1 / 13 74	1 / 7 05	1 / 19 33	Sun shining occasionally: flag very faint.
	§ 07 61	+ 6 67	47 63	19 96	1 / 7 27	1 / 14 31	1 / 34 00	Flag very faint: sun shining.
	4 85	+33 75	33 61	0 14	1 / 10 26	1 / 83 79	1 / 55 31	Sun shining.
	Negt.							Great motion in the atmosphere: sun shining.
	Negt.							Ditto, ditto.
	1 36						1 / 199	Sun shining.
	0 12						1 / 215 38	Motion in the atmosphere.
	2 48						1 / 104 31	Ditto, ditto.
	§ 3 27	+ 6 21	13 95	7 74	1 / 22 90	1 / 35 84	1 / 79 11	Light clouds.
	14 31	— 7 79	17 87	26 65	1 / 12 26	1 / 9 63	1 / 18 07	Ditto, ditto.
	16 67	— 9 50	21 79	31 40	1 / 10 26	1 / 8 21	1 / 15 52	Ditto, ditto.
	15 88	— 1 73	32 06	33 79	1 / 8 25	1 / 7 94	1 / 16 29	Ditto, ditto.
15th.	+ 14 31			28 22		1 / 9 28	1 / 18 07	Cloudy.
	§ 9 97			31 00		1 / 9 63	1 / 25 94	Ditto.
	7 21			15 64		1 / 17 27	1 / 35 88	Sun shining: cloudy.
	4 45			6 56		1 / 35 84	1 / 58 13	Cloudy: sun shining: motion in the atmosphere.
	§ Negt.					1 / 83 79		Sun shining: great motion in the atmosphere.
	Negt.							Ditto, ditto.
	4 85						1 / 53 54	Sun shining.
	4 45			0 26		1 / 83 79	1 / 58 13	Motion in the atmosphere moderate: flag extremely fa
	11 15	+ 2 89	21 03	18 14	1 / 12 26	1 / 13 47	1 / 23 20	Sun shining: cloudy.
	+ 13 91	—15 85	12 79	26 62				Hygrometers very unsteady.

REMARKS ON THE RESULTS.

1st. The most remarkable fact, which calls for our attention, in the results of the present experiments, is the almost invariable coincidence of the increase of refraction with that of moisture; which will appear still more forcibly, if we consider the results of the following eight observations, all taken between 10 and 12 o'clock, P. M. on different nights, when I was engaged in observing the eastern elongation of the polar star; the depression of the S. extremity of the line being taken by means of a referring lamp.

Days.	Depressions.			Refraction.		
Augt.						
7	5′	17″	33	1′	25″	76
10	5	36	24	1	6	85
11	5	40	18	1	2	91
12	5	49	64	0	53	45
13	5	51	21	0	51	88
14	5	54	36	0	48	72
15	5	23	63	1	19	46
16	5	40	97	1	2	12

Mean refraction 1′ 1″ 38.

On comparing the hygrometers, as they stood at the time of these observations, with their position when last noticed in the day time, it was found that they had revolved, on a mean, 9° in the direction of moisture. Now, the mean refraction of 55 observations, noticed in the tables, is 29″ 74; and we have seen that of the 8 observations taken at night (which, from the stillness of the air, may be deemed to balance a superior number) to be 1′ 1″ 38. Hence, it will appear, that the latter is something more than double the former.

2d. We shall next advert to the comparative quantity of refraction, which seems to have affected the observations of the different objects referred to in the tables; and here, it is perhaps worthy of notice, that out of 49 contemporaneous observations, of the top and foot of the flag-staff, at the S. extremity of the line, the refraction attending those of the foot are 36 repeated times *less* than those of the top; and that, in the 13 remaining ones, where the contrary occurs, the excess is seldom above 2″ of refraction, and frequently below unity *. As this circumstance is in opposition to the general theory, "that the lower the object, the greater the refraction," should the same circumstance occur again, in future experiments, it will be worth while to inquire, whether the rays, when passing through the atmosphere *below the line of the level*, may not be refracted differently from what they are when passing above it. This may perhaps be thought better than a mere conjecture, if it be recollected, that Mr. Bouguer, (whilst employed in measuring a degree of the meridian in *South America*, and observing on the summit of the *Cordeliers*) noticed a sudden increase of refraction, when he could view the stars below the line of the level.

3d. With regard to any attempt towards estimating the effects of terrestrial refraction, by an assumed ratio to the contained arc, as has been hitherto the practice; without entering into any discussion of the subject, I shall only observe, that if, in the foregoing experiments, we go by the observations taken in the day time, we shall have (considering the foot of flag-staff, and preserving the same notation) $r=\frac{1}{13\cdot 27}$; and if we take those

* The mean difference of refraction, between the top of the flag-staff and the *Muntapum*, (on 38 contemporaneous observations) is 16″. 44; and that between the top of flag and *Muntapum* is 22″. 51, where the order is inverted by 6″. 07: and if the top and foot of flag-staff be compared, in an equal and contemporaneous number of observations, the mean of their difference is 6″. 08 likewise in the inverse order.

by night, it will be $r = \frac{1}{6 \cdot 4 2}$ of the contained arc, from which we can collect nothing.

4th. I have now only to add a few words on the comparative density of the air, at the different times of observation, such as entered in the tables; and the evident want of connection, between its changes and those in the refraction; from which we may infer, that, although in northern climates (where the mercury will rise and fall several inches in one day) observations of the barometer and thermometer may be attended to with advantage, on the contrary, in tropical countries, where (as appears in the present experiments) the variations of the mercury are hardly discernible*, those instruments will prove perfectly inefficient.

APPENDIX.

An account of Experiments on the fibres or beards of the Panimooloo *grass; containing also an account of the construction of the hygrometers, used in the preceding Experiments.*

Before I proceed to give an account of the experiments, by means of which I satisfied myself of the competency of the beards of the *Panimooloo* grass, to the object I had in view, it will be necessary to give a short description of the plant itself, or (since a botanical account of it is not here intended) of that part of the plant, which was used in the construction of the hygrometers, consulted in the preceding experiments on refraction.

* At Madras, the greatest alteration was observed 0.75 inches: and the mean annual change 0.53. At *Banswary*, during the time of attending to the present experiments (that is about twelve days) the greatest change was 0.2: the latter place being 2970.8 feet above the level of the sea.

The *Panimooloo* grass, which grows chiefly on mountains, and is well known to the natives, from its beards easily catching and adhering to their clothes, produces a kind of ear, somewhat resembling that of wheat. Its seed vessels shoot out long fibres, of a hardy texture, which entwist one with the other from left to right, so as to resemble, when in that state, a diminutive coir rope.

These fibres, or beards, are the part of the plant used in the construction of the hygrometers, and consequently deserve particular notice.

Each fibre shoots out, in a straight line, nearly to the length of an inch from the seed vessel to which it adheres; then tapers off, in curls, to a very fine end, so that the former part of it can alone be used for the present purpose.

When viewed through a magnifying glass, it appears to be made up, like a rope, in broad strands, twisted from left to right; which, when water is applied (contrary to its effect on a rope) are gradually unfolded, and cause the motion of which I availed myself.

The twists, in the straight part of the stem, are from 5 to 7 in number; and these, as I have found by experiments, nearly mark the number of revolutions, of which the fibre is susceptible, by the application of moisture.

When dissected, the stem was found to be made up of two fibres, connected by a slight membrane, easily divided, and twisted round each other, until they were united in a common stalk, at the seed vessel at one end, and above the first curl at the other.

This construction readily explains why it should be easily affected by either moisture or dryness, but does not evince that heat, or other changes in the ambient air, might not likewise operate upon it in the same direction. The following experiments satisfied me, however, that moisture alone unfolded the stem.

EXPERIMENT I.

Having fixed a stem, about an inch long, with six twists in it, on a piece of wax, a slit straw was fastened at its upper end, by way of index: the whole was then placed clear of any motion of the air, in such a position as the nature of the experiments required; and a graduated circle of pasteboard was so placed about it, as to indicate the number of revolutions and degrees which the index went over.

Then, on placing my hand within an inch of the stem, the index generally moved from 5° to 10° of the circle, from *left* to *right;* and as *motion* in this direction was invariably the consequence of moisture, it was probable (but still it remained to be proved) that the *effluvia* arising from perspiration principally affected it in this case.

EXPERIMENT II.

By breathing violently on the stem, I generally brought the index round from 70° to 90° in the same direction; and it would go back to its original place as soon as let free.

This was a sufficient proof of its great sensibility: but to make sure whether moisture or heat caused it to move in the two preceding cases, I had recourse to the following:

EXPERIMENT III.

I first applied a red-hot bar of iron, as close to the stem as could be contrived without burning it, which moved it uniformly from *right* to *left*.

Again, having prepared another stem, I applied the steam of hot water, issuing from the spout of a tea-kettle; which caused it to move, with great violence, several revolutions from *right* to *left*: which was a sufficient proof, that heat acted on this grass only in as much as it deprived it of its moisture.

I then proceeded to ascertain, whether the stem was any way regularly affected by the changes in the atmosphere; a point on which every thing depended. With this view I made up three hygrometers, on the following construction:

Three stalks were taken, of the same length and number of twists, and, being fixed at one end into a piece of wax, with an index (as above described) the whole was fixed at the bottom of so many strong tin boxes, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep, on the edge of which was placed a moveable broad pasteboard circle, graduated every 5°, and divided in the common way of 360°*. These three hygrometers were then placed together, and observed, for two successive days, at every hour of the day, fom 7 o'clock in the morning to 8 in the evening; noticing at the same time both the barometer and thermometer, as the annexed tables will shew.

* This graduation will, I trust, appear perfectly sufficient, when it is considered, that the mere effluvia arising from perspiration moved the index 88 or 108, as above mentioned.

Table, shewing the comparative rate of going of three Hygrometers.

Days and Months.	Hours.	Thermometer.	Barometer.	HYGROMETERS. No. 1.	Difference.	No. 2.	Difference.	No. 3.	Difference.	REMARKS.
5th	8	77		15	5			10	5	Light clouds, sunshines.
	9	78		20	35			15	40	Ditto, ditto.
	10	75		15	170			25	185	Ditto, light breeze.
	11	77		185	160	215	165	210	165	Sun shines.
	12	79		345	130	380	130	375	130	Bright sun-shine, light air.
	1	80		475	110	510	120	505	105	Ditto.
	2	86		585	75	630	85	610	85	Ditto.
	3	87		660	15	715	25	695	20	Ditto.
	4	82		675	5	740	5	715	5	Ditto.
	5	83	27	680	95	715	85	720	110	Squall all about.
	6	80	27	585	73	660	45	610	60	Ditto, ditto.
	7	78	27	512	152	615		550	165	Cloudy.
	8	78	27 05	360	110			390	150	Cloudy.
6th	7	71	27	+ 220	20	240	25	240	15	Cloudy and windy.
	8	72	27 05	+ 200	75	215	65	225	75	Ditto, ditto.
	9	73	27 05	+ 125	110	150	105	150	150	Ditto, ditto.
	10	71	27 05	+ 15	185	45	135		175	Ditto, ditto.
	11	75	27	— 170	170	— 90		— 175	175	Ditto, ditto.
	12	77	27	— 340	165			— 350	170	Sun shining occasionally
	1	79	27	505	100	540	75	520	85	Ditto, ditto
	2	80	26 75	605	85	585	125	605	90	Ditto, ditto.
	3	81	27	520	70	460	105	515	80	Light clouds
	4	81	27	590	70	565	100	595	75	Cloudy
	5	81	27	660	5	665	10	670	10	Ditto.
	6	80	27	665	35	675	30	680	45	Ditto.
	7	79	27	630		645		635		Ditto.

N. B. In this table Zero is to be taken between the signs + and —.

It may, however, be proper to mention, that notwithstanding the great regularity which appears to prevail between the rates of going of these hygrometers, whenever the atmosphere was uncommonly moist, the exquisite sensibility of the stem required to be checked; for, as it would sometimes, during a heavy shower, revolve a whole revolution, it was not to be expected, that the three instruments would keep pace, whilst moving so briskly. A silk thread was therefore fastened at each end of the index, loaded with a thin plate of lead, hanging loose on the bottom of the box, so as to be dragged by the straw as it went round. By these means the instruments were easily regulated.

EXPERIMENT IV.

Application of heat, to determine the compass of the instrument.

Having fixed a stem, of six twists, in such a manner as to admit it, I brought a bar of heated iron as close to the stem as could be done, without setting fire to the apparatus; on which the index revolved, 2 revolutions and 105°, from *right* to *left*, when it became quiescent. That is, the heat of the iron affected it no longer in that direction, and was barely sufficient to keep the index from falling back.

The heated bar being withdrawn, the index began to recede, and became quiescent again (that is, in its natural position) after having returned 290°.

But the three hygrometers, whose rate of going is given in the preceding table, had moved meanwhile 204° towards it; and therefore this quantity is to be added to the above.

Namely 290°

+ 204

494 = 1 Rev. + 134°

Whence it will appear, that since the index had moved, by the application of heat, 2 Rev. + 105 = 825°

and that, by cooling, it only recovered 1 + 134 = 494

it follows, that the stem, by being deprived of its radical moisture, lost a power = 331°

EXPERIMENT V.

Application of Moisture.

As soon as the index of the same stem gave signs of proceeding regularly with the hygrometers, a hair pencil, full of water, was applied, and held to the stem, when it revolved 6 R. + 295° from *left* to *right*, and then remained quiescent. On the pencil being withdrawn, the index began to recede, and resumed the course of the other hygrometers, after revolving 6 R. + 300°.

But, during the interval of this experiment, these had moved 135°, in the same direction with that under observation, which quantity is therefore to be subtracted.

Namely 6 R. + 300

— 135

6 + 165

Again, we have seen, that by the application of extreme moisture, the index had revolved, 6 R. + 295°

Hence, it will appear, that this process affected the fibres of the stem, by 6 + 165 = 130

The thermometer, at the beginning of this operation, was 77°; and at the end 79°.

From the above experiments, it will appear, that, since by the application of extreme heat (procuring extreme dryness) the index had revolved from

right to left,	R. 2+105°
and, by the application of extreme moisture, from left to right,	6+295
it follows, that the sum of these two quantities, viz.	=9+40

is the compass of the stem.

This result evinces, that the mean state of the atmosphere does not correspond, nor can it on any occasion, with the mean of the power of this instrument*.

A second stem having been selected, and the same process, as above related, repeated; it moved by extreme heat R. 2+290°, and, by extreme moisture, R. 8+320°; so that the compass of this fibre was R. 11+250°; which exceeded that of the former by R. 2+210; but, on examining it closer, after the operation, it was found that, although taken of the same length, it contained one twist more than the former; which accounts for its greater compass.

EXPERIMENT VI.

Application of Steam.

Three stems having been selected, and being fixed as usual, the steam of boiling water, issuing from the spout of a tea-kettle, was applied to one of

* The stem, which was used for this experiment, was afterwards compared, when made up, with other hygrometers; and it did not appear to have lost of its activity, by this process.

them; when it moved, from left to right, with violent convulsive motions, (so rapid as hardly to admit of counting them) $6\frac{1}{2}$ revolutions; the 2d, 6; and the 3d, $6\frac{3}{4}$; when they remained quiescent.

Now, we have seen above (exp. IV.) that a stem, of this length, and number of twists, revolved in that case $\overset{R.}{6}+300°$; and, in the present, nearly $\overset{R.}{6}+180$ (on a mean of three). The application of steam, therefore, if we consider the small difference of the two results, may be conceived to have affected the stem, only in as much as it moistened it.

Several other experiments were also tried, but being of the same nature as the foregoing, and the results nearly similar, they need not be particularized.

II.

Description of a very sensible Hygrometer,

BY LIEUTENANT HENRY KATER,

H. M. 12th Regiment.

IN the *Mysoor* and *Carnatic* is found a species of grass, which the natives call, in the Canarese language, *Oobeena hooloo;* in the Maratta, *Guvataa sæ cooslee;* and, in Tamul, *Yerudoovaal pilloo* *. It is met with in the greatest abundance, about the month of January, on the hills; but may be procured in almost every part of the country, and is very generally known.

Accident led me to remark, that the bearded seed of this grass possessed an extreme sensibility of moisture; and being then in want of an *hygrometer*, I constructed one of this material, which, on trial, far exceeded my expectations.

I caused a box to be made of brass, four inches in diameter, and an inch and a half in depth. Within the box, about a quarter of an inch from the top, was a flat ring, three-tenths of an inch in breadth, and divided into a certain number of equal parts. A hole was made, through the centre of the bottom of the box; and a circular plate of brass, about an inch in diameter, was rivetted to the bottom. On the outside, a notch was made in the rivet, similar to that in the head of a common wood screw; so that the circular plate, within the box, could be turned round, at pleasure, by means of a turn-screw, applied to the notch on the outside.

* It is the *Andropogon Contortum* of LINNÆUS, and may be easily distinguished from all others, by the seeds attaching themselves to the clothes of those who walk where it grows.

A seed being chosen, the top of it was cut off, it having been found by experiment to be perfectly insensible. A straw, the lightest that could be procured, two inches and a half in length, and coloured at the end intended to be the index, was divided longitudinally, in the middle, by the point of a fine pen-knife: the knife was then turned a little on one side, till the opening was wide enough to admit the beard of grass; which being inserted, and the point of the knife withdrawn, the straw closed and held the beard of grass sufficiently firm.

Not being able to procure workmen, capable of executing what I wished; the *hygrometer*, thus prepared, was fixed, in a rude manner, to the circular plate at the bottom of the box, by means of a piece of sealing-wax, in which a very small hole had been made, with a hot wire. The beard of grass being placed in the hole, it was closed, by touching the wax on one side with a heated wire, taking care to set the grass as upright as possible.

It remained now to determine the extremes of dryness and moisture, and to fix on some mode of division, by means of which this *hygrometer* might be compared with any other.

A new earthen pot was made very hot, by putting fire within, as well as around it; and when it was supposed to have been sufficiently burnt, to be perfectly free from moisture, the fire was taken from the inside, and the pot suffered to cool, till the air in it was of the temperature of 160°, but not lower. The *hygrometer* was then placed in the pot, being kept from touching the bottom, by means of a piece of dry wood; and it remained there nearly an hour; long before the expiration of which time, the index was perfectly steady. The *hygrometer* was then quickly taken out of the pot,

and the circular plate, carrying the whole, was turned round, by means of the notch on the outside, till the index, or coloured end of the straw, pointed to Zero.

To obtain extreme moisture, it was at first thought, that the best mode would be to fill the box with water; but, on trial, this was found to disturb the index too much. The beard of grass was therefore thoroughly wetted, with a fine hair pencil dipt in water, and the number of revolutions, made by the index, observed. Care was taken to allow sufficient time for the water to have its utmost effect; and, in this manner, the *hygrometer* I have at present was found to make three and a half revolutions, between extreme dryness and extreme moisture.

As some fixed mode of division is necessary, to render observations, made by different persons, intelligible to others; I imagine the scale of this *hygrometer* to be divided into 1000 equal parts, commencing at extreme dryness.

The sensibility of this instrument is very great. The effluvia of a finger, applied about a quarter of an inch from the grass, causes the index immediately to shift *eighteen divisions;* and, on withdrawing the finger, it instantly returns to its former situation. Gently breathing on it, at the distance of about a foot, moves the index *fifty-six divisions.* It is equally susceptible of the moisture of the *atmosphere;* scarcely ever remaining steady, for any length of time, in variable weather.

Such was the construction I at first employed; but on applying it to use, so much difficulty occurred, in ascertaining the number of revolutions made

by the index, that I was induced to attempt to give the whole a more convenient form, and to adapt to it a scale, such as might preclude the possibility of mistake, and, at the same time, leave the *hygrometer* in possession of its extent and sensibility.

A B C D fig. 1. represents a piece of wood, about fourteen inches long, three inches broad, and one inch, and two-tenths thick: the upper part is cut out, as in the figure, to the depth of two inches, leaving the sides A and B, about three-tenths of an inch thick: the wood, thus prepared, is morticed into a square board, which serves as its support.

Fig. 2. is an ivory wheel *, about an inch and two-tenths *diameter*, and two-tenths of an inch broad at the rim. A semicircular groove is made in the circumference, of such a depth, that the *diameter* of the wheel, taken at the bottom of the groove, is one inch. Through the axis, which projects on one side four-tenths of an inch, a hole is made, the size of a common sewing needle; and, on this, as a centre, the wheel should be carefully turned; for, on the truth of the wheel, the accuracy and sensibility of the instrument chiefly depend. From the bottom of the groove, a small hole is made, obliquely through the side of the wheel, to admit a fine thread. All the superfluous ivory should be turned away, that the wheel may be as light as possible.

Fig. 3. represents a piece of brass wire, two inches long; on one end of which a screw is made, an inch and a half in length; and, in the other, a notch is cut, with a fine saw, to the depth of half an inch. This part is

* In my first experiments I used a wheel made of card paper, with an axis of wood, which answered very well.

tapered off, so that the notch, which is intended to hold the beard of grass, in the manner hereafter described, may be closed, by means of a small brass ring (a) which slides on the taper part of the wire.

A little below the centres of the semicircles A and B, (fig. 1.) two holes are made, precisely in the same direction: one of these is intended to receive the screw fig. 3, and the other a gold pin, which is to project four-tenths of an inch beyond the inside of the part A. The pin is made rather smaller than the hole in the axis of the ivory wheel, and is highly polished, in order that the motion of the wheel may be the less impeded by friction.

Two fine threads, about fourteen inches long, are passed together through the hole in the groove of the wheel, and are prevented from returning, by a knot on the outside. To the ends of these threads, two weights are attached, *exactly similar*, and just heavy enough to keep the threads extended.

One of the threads having been wound on its circumference, the wheel is to be placed on the pin, about the tenth of an inch from the side A, as in fig. 4. Two glass tubes, of a sufficient bore to admit the free motion of the weights, are fixed in grooves, in such a manner, that each thread should fall exactly in the axis of the tube. The tubes are so long as nearly to touch the ivory wheel.

The beard of the *Oobeena hooloo* being prepared, as for the circular *hygrometer*, by cutting off that part which is useless, is inserted about the tenth of an inch, in the projecting end of the axis of the wheel, and confined by a small wooden pin, which is to be broken off close to the axis; the other end is placed in the notch of the brass screw, before described, and secured by means of the sliding ring.

It is evident, that when the grass untwists, the wheel will turn on the gold pin; and the thread, which is wound about it, with the weight attached, will descend in the one glass tube; whilst, on the contrary, the weight on the opposite tube will ascend, and *vice versa*.

The beard of the grass is now to be thoroughly wetted, with a hair pencil and water, and when the wheel is stationary, the weights are to be so adjusted, by turning the brass screw, that the one shall be at the top, and the other at the bottom of the glass tubes, which points will mark *extreme moisture*.

The instrument must then be exposed to the sun, or to some heat, not powerful enough to injure it, but sufficient to obtain a considerable degree of dryness. The weights will now change situations; and, probably, on the first trial, will continue to move *beyond* the glass tubes. Should this happen, the beard of grass is to be shortened, by sliding back the ring, and advancing the brass screw, so as to include a longer portion in the notch. Other trials are to be made, and the length of the grass varied, till the extremes of dryness and moisture are within the limits of the glass tubes.

As this instrument cannot conveniently be exposed to so high a temperature, as is necessary to obtain extreme dryness; this point may be ascertained by means of a *standard* circular *hygrometer*. The point of extreme moisture has been already determined; and in the circular *hygrometer*, the number of revolutions, &c. between the extremes is known. The two *hygrometers* are to remain sometime together, that they may be in the same state with respect to moisture; marks are then made, where the weights rest

in the glass tubes, and the degrees shewn by the index of the standard *hygrometer* noted. Lastly, the distance between these marks and extreme moisture, is to be divided into the same number of equal parts, as are indicated by the standard *hygrometer*, and the divisions continued to the number denoting *extreme dryness*.

If the whole of that part of the *Oobeena hooloo*, which possesses the hygroscopic property be used, the scale will comprize more than *twenty-four* inches, a length, which, though perhaps useful on particular occasions, will not be found convenient for general purposes.

From an idea, that in a high state of moisture, the grass would not retain sufficient power to move the wheel equably, it was thoroughly wetted, till it indicated extreme moisture, and, while in this state, the wheel was drawn round, by laying hold of one of the threads: on releasing it, it instantly regained its former situation, with considerable force. The same experiment was made, in various other states of moisture, and it was always found, that the weights returned immediately to the degree from which they had been removed.

It would perhaps be an improvement, if a light wheel, of brass, or any other metal, not liable to rust, were used instead of the ivory one; the grass having been found, by experiment, to be capable of moving a wheel of lead. The axis of the wheel might be made very small, and supported on Ys, which probably would add much to the sensibility of the instrument.

I have as yet had no opportunity of comparing this with any other hygrometer; but it is simple in its construction, not easily disordered, and should

seem, from the extent of its scale, to be particularly adapted to experiments, in which small variations of moisture are to be observed.

The *hygrometer* has been hitherto an instrument, rather of curiosity than utility. But from most accounts that we have, it appears very probable, that this instrument has more to do with the phenomena of *refraction*, than either the *barometer* or *thermometer*. If then we could obtain a number of observations of apparent altitudes, together with data from which to calculate the true, noting at the same time the *hygrometer*, *barometer*, and *thermometer*, perhaps some law might be discovered, which might enable us to ascertain the quantity of the effect of moisture on refraction. It was with this view the *hygrometer* above described was constructed; but not having yet had an opportunity of obtaining the requisite observations, it is to be hoped, they may be made, by those who are in possession of time and instruments, equal to the undertaking.

III.

An ESSAY *on the* SACRED ISLES *in the West, with other Essays connected with that work.*

BY CAPTAIN F. WILFORD.

ESSAY II.

ANU-GA'NGAM, *or the Gangetic Provinces, and more particularly of* MAGAD'HA.

THE kingdom of *Magad'ha* in *Anu-Gàngam* is the province of south *Bahàr*, and is acknowledged to be thus called, from the *Magas*, who came from the *Dwìp'a* of *Sàca*, and settled in that country, which was called before *Cìcatà*; from which, its principal river, the *Fulgo*, is called *Cacuthis* by ARRIAN. *Magad'ha*, or *Màgad'ha*, is called *Moktah* in the *Ayìn-Icberi* *. The Chinese, according to Mr. DE GUIGNES, call it *Mokiato*, and *Mokito*, and KEMPFER says, that the Japanese call the country, in which SA'CYA was born, *Magatta-kokf*, or country of *Magatta*. Arabian and Persian writers and travellers call it *Màbàd*: for one of them, according to D'HERBELOT, says, that the Emperors of India resided in that country. *Màbàd*, *Màbed*, and *Tabet*, are, I conceive, derived from *Mubàd*, which, according to the learned HYDE, is a contraction from *Mughbàd*, or the learned among the *Mughs*, or *Magas*; and the author of the *Dabistan* calls a certain sect of *Bràhmens*, if not the whole of them, *Màhbàd*. From *Magad'ha* they made also *Maiet*, and *Muiet*. These appear generally as two different countries; but I believe, they are but one. Thus *Maiotta*, one of the *Comorro* islands, is called by former European travellers *Maiotte*, and *Magotte*, answering to *Maied* and *Magad'ha*. The same is mentioned in the Peutingerian

* Vol. 3d. p. 241. In the original مكتا and probably should be read *Magata*.

Tables, under the name of ELYMAIDE; which appellation, being probably obtained through the information of Arabian travellers, and merchants, seems to be derived, either from the Arabic EL-I-MAIED, the inhabitants of *Maied;* or from *Almaied,* in the same manner that they say AL-TIBET, AL-SIN. Former European travellers mention a country called *Mevat,* in the Eastern parts of India, and which can be no other than *Mábat:* and instead of *Modubæ* in PLINY, we should, probably, read *Mobedæ,* answering to the EL-I-MAIED of Arabian travellers. On the borders of *Elymaide,* toward the N. E. are the *Lymodi* mountains, near which were elephants in great numbers. *Magad'ha* proper is *South-Bahar:* but, when its kings had conquered, according to several *Purán'as,* the whole of the Gangetic Provinces, (which they considered afterwards, as their patrimonial demesnes;) *Magad'ha* became synonymous with *Anu-Gangam,* or countries lying on the banks of the *Ganges.* The Gangetic Provinces are called to this day, *Anukhenk* or *Anonkhek* in *Tibet;* and *Enácác* by the Tartars; and they have extended this appellation to all India.

In *Ceylon,* according to CAPT. MAHONY, and in *Ava,* according to MR. BUCHANAN, the appellations of *Páli,* or *Bàli,* and *Magad'hi* are considered as synonymous, at least, when applied to their sacred language; which I consider, from that circumstance, to be the old dialect of *Magad'ha:* which is called also the kingdom of *Poli* by Chinese writers. In *India* this name for *Magad'ha* is unknown: but its origin may be traced through the *Purán'as.* DIODORUS the SICILIAN says, that *Pàli-putra* was built by the Indian HERCULES, whose name, according to CICERO, was BELUS, and in Sanscrit BALA, or BALAS, the brother of CRISHNA, more generally called BALA-RA'MA and BALA-DE'VA. BALADE'VA built

three cities for his sons, which he called after his own name, *Bala-déva-pattan:* but they were better known under the name of *Bàli-pura,* and *Mahá-Báli-pura,* pronounced *Màvelivoram* in the *Deccan.* One was on the *Coast of Coromandel,* south of *Madras;* the second, in the inland country of *Beder,* in the *Peninsula;* and the third, on the banks of the *Ganges:* this is acknowledged to be *Ràja-grìha,* or *Rája-mahl,* the royal mansion, or city; and which we must not confound with *Rája-grìha,* the royal abode of old SAND'HA. It is true, that according to some legends, current in the *Deccan,* the founder of *Mahà-Bàli-pura,* was BALI the DAITYA, an antediluvian: but other legends refer its foundation to BALA, the brother of CRISHNA: and the principal circumstances of these legends shew, that it is taken from the *Puràn'as;* and that it is the story of the wars of CRISHNA, and BALA, or BALA-RA'MA with BA'NASU'RA, who lived in the countries bordering upon the *Ganges;* and whose place of abode is still shewn near *Purneah:* and about whom, many wonderful stories are related by the inhabitants. This BALI is then the same with BALA, the brother of CRISHNA: and in Lexicons we find a certain ANGADA, said to be called also BALI-PUTRA in a derivative form, or the son of BALA, or BALI: but in the *Puránas* he is said to be the son of GADA, also a brother of CRISHNA, to whom he gave the district of *Gházipoor,* the true name of which, is *Gádi-pura,* from GADA. The country of *Canouge* fell also to his lot: and from him that city is also denominated *Gádipoor,* or *Gada-pura.* VALI was also the name of a chief of the monkies, and his son was equally called ANGADA. BA'N'A'SURA built three cities, which BALA took, and destroyed; and then rebuilt, for his children, calling them after his own name *Báli-pura;* as GADA called his own place of abode *Gádi-pura.* The children of BALA are not mentioned in the *Purán'as,* and he is never called BA'LI there: but it is admissible, particularly in composition. He is also called

HALA and HA'LI: and SA'LA-VA'HANA is more generally denominated SA'LI-VA'HANA. *Palipotra*, or *Palibothra*, according to DIODORUS the *Sicilian*, was built by the Indian HERCULES; whose real name, according to CICERO, was BELUS from BALA, or BALAS. His son was better known under the name of BALI-PUTRA; as the founder of *Patna*, under that of PA'TALI'-PUTRA, or the son of the Goddess PA'TALI': ANGADA, his sirname, was given to him from the country of *Anga*, which had been allotted to him. Thus *Magad'ha* takes its name from the sage MAGA, who settled there. These three cities were to be destroyed by water, and this is true of *Mahá-báli-veram* near *Madras*, and of *Páli-putra* on the *Ganges*: the third is yet existing in the province of *Beder* in the *Peninsula*, and its name is *Bali-grïha*, or *Báli-pura*. It is more generally known under the name of *Muzaffer-nágar*. It is not far from *Cundana-pura*, where king BHISHMACA resided, and was the father of RUCMANI, CRISHNA's legal wife. *Cundana-pura* is generally mistaken for *Báli-grïha*, on account of its vicinity; and, of course, supposed to have been built by BALA; and it is but lately that I have been able to rectify this mistake. The descendants of this HERCULES, says DIODORUS, did nothing, which deserved to be recorded: in this agreeing with the *Paurán'ics*. The kingdom was restored to the posterity of old SAND'HA, who ruled there, for a long time, under the name of the VA'RHADRAT'HAS or children of VRÏHADRAT'HA.

These are not then the BA'LI-PUTRAS, or PA'LI-BOTHRI kings, who sate on the throne of *Magad'ha*, in the time of ALEXANDER, and his successors. Before the conclusion of the great war, the conquerors gave various districts to their friends. DURYOD'HANA gave the district, about *Bhagulpoor*, to his friend CARNA. CRÏSHNA, long before, had given the

country, now called *Bhója-pura*, to his friend and relation BHO'JA; and BALA-RA'MA placed his family in the country about *Raja-mahl:* these were of course BA'LI-PUTRAS: but they could not be the BA'LI-PUTRAS, or PA'LI-BOTHRI kings, in the time of ALEXANDER, and his successors. We are informed, in the *Bhágavata*, that king MAHA'-NANDA assumed the title of BALI, and MAHA'-BALI: consequently his offspring, who ruled after him, for a long time, were BA'LI-PUTRAS: the kingdom of *Magad'ha* was called the kingdom of *Báli*, *Páli*, and *Poli:* the dialect of that country is, as before observed, indifferently called *Bâli*, *Páli*, and *Magad'hi* in *Ceylon* and the *Burman* Empire, according to CAPTAIN MAHONY, MR. JOINVILLE, and MR. BUCHANAN. The city, in which the BA'LI or PA'LI-PUTRAS resided, was of course denominated from them. *Bàli-putra*, or *Pàli-putra;* and by the Greeks *Pàli-bothra*, and, in the *Peutingerian* Tables, *Pàli-potra*. Their patrimonial estate was called *Pàliputra-man'dalam*, the circle, or country of the *Pàli-putras*. This simple and obvious denomination, was strangely disfigured by PTOLEMY, who calls the city, *Pàlibothra* of the *Mandalas;* instead of saying that it was in the *Man'dala*, or country of the *Pâlibothras*, or *Bàli-putras*.

Tradition says, that MAHA'-BALI built a country seat on the banks of the *Soane;* round which a small town was soon formed, and called MA'HA-BA'LI-PURA, (or *Mawbellypoor* in MAJOR RENNELL'S Atlas). There I was looking, at first, for *Bàli-putra*, or *Palibothra*. *Patna*, or at least a town called *Cúsumá-puri*, was built, according to the *Brahmàn'da*, by king UDASI, grand-father to MA'HA-BALI, about 450 B. C. It was then called *Cúsumá-puri*, or the flowery city, and *Padmá-vati*, or the city of the *Lotos*. Tradition says, that the old site of this city was at *Phulwári*, which, in the spoken dialects, signifies the same with *Cu-*

sumá-purì: but, the *Ganges* having altered its course, the city was gradually removed from *Phulwári,* to the present site of *Patna;* which was called also *Pátalì-putra,* from the son of a form of DE'VI, with the title of PA'TALI'-DEVI', or the thin Goddess. Her son was, in general, called PA'TALI'-PUTRA, and the town PA'TALI'-PUTRA-PURA. I have shewn, in my essay on the chronology of the Hindus, that this city is called *Patale* by PLINY. It was called *Patteáli* simply, at the time of the invasion of the Musulmans, as it appears from FERISHTA's translation by COLONEL DOW: and the inhabitants are considered there as robbers, and, of course, ranked with those of *Bhojepoor* and *Kuttehr.* The last district, formerly called *Castere,* and now *Cuttere,* is a *Purgunah,* a little to the west of *Benares;* and the inhabitants behave very well now: those of *Bhojepoor* are far from being radically cured of their evil propensities. When the Musulmans took possession of *Patna,* many of the most obstinate robbers withdrew to *Deryapoor,* according to tradition, and were very apt to commit depredations occasionally; at least formerly.

It is said in the *Bhàgavata,* that MAHA-BALI resided at *Padmàvatì* or *Patna:* and one of his titles, in that *Purán'a,* is MAHA-PADMA-PATI-NANDA, or NANDA the great Lord of the *Lotos.* Like PARA'SU-RA'MA, he either destroyed, or drove out of his dominions, the remnant of the CSHETTRIS, or Military tribe, and placed SU'DRAS in their room. These were the Barons of the land, who often proved troublesome. RA'JA BULWANT SING, the predecessor of CHET SING, did the same, in the district of *Benares,* with the Zemindars, who represented the CSHETTRIS, and even pretended to be really so; from an idea, that it was impossible to improve the revenues, arising from the land-tax, under their manage-

ment. MAHA'-PADMA, or BALI, was born of a woman of the *Súdra* tribe. According to PTOLEMY, the country of the *Báli-putras* extended from the *Soane*, beyond *Moorshedábad*, as far as *Rangámatty;* which he places in their *Man'dalam*, or country, under the name of *Oreophonta*, as I have shewn in my essay on the chronology of the Hindus: in the west, he mentions *Sambalaca*, now an assemblage of small huts, on a sandy islet, opposite to *Patna*, called *Sambulpoor*, and *Sabelpoor* in MAJOR RENNELL's Atlas.

II. The NUBIAN Geographer, with RENAUDOT's two Musulman travellers, place together the countries of *Háráz (Orissa) Mehráge*, and *Mabed* or *Máyed*, *Táfek* or *Tucha* (now *D'hácá*,) and *Mougá*, or the country of the *Magas*, or *Mugs*, now *Chittagong*, *Arracan*, &c. The country of *Mehráge*, says D'HERBELOT, is placed, by some, in the *Green Sea*, or *Gulf* of *Bengal;* and by others, in the *Chinese* Seas: and the *Gangetic* provinces, at least *Bengal*, were known under that name, even as late as the fifteenth century; for it is called *Mahárájia*, or *Maarascia* by NICOLO DE CONTI, who visited that country. There were two countries of that name, which are occasionally confounded together: the first, at the bottom of the *Green Sea*, included *Bengal*, and other countries on the banks of the *Ganges*. The second comprehended the *Peninsula* of *Malacca*, and some of the adjacent islands, in the Seas of *China*. In these countries the Emperors and Kings always assumed the title of MAHA'-RA'JA', even to this day. Their country, in general, was called *Zápáge* or *Zábája*, which is a corruption from *Jává*, or *Jábá*, as it was called in the west; and was also the name of *Sumátrá*, according to PTOLEMY, who calls it *Jábá-diu*, and to MARCO PAULO. In the peninsula of *Malacca* was the famous emporium of *Zába: Zábája*, in

Sanscrit, would signify those *Zába*. The Empire of *Zábáje* was thus called, probably from its metropolis *Zábá*, as well as the principal islands near it. *Zábá* was a famous emporium, even as early as the time of PTOLEMY. It remained so till the time of the two Musulman travellers of RENAUDOT, and probably much longer. It is now called *Bátu-Sábor*, upon the river *Johore*, which is as large as the *Euphrates*, according to these two travellers; who add, that the town of *Cálabar*, on the coast of *Coromandel*, and ten days to the south of *Madras*, belonged to the MAHA'RA'JA' of *Zábáje*. The wars of this MAHA'RA'JA', with the King of *Al-Comr*, or countries near *Cape Comorin*, are mentioned by the two Musulman travellers, in the ninth century: and, it seems, that, at that time, the MA'LA'YAN Empire was in its greatest splendor. About two hundred years ago, the MAHA'RA'JA' of *Bengal* sent a powerful fleet to the *Maldivian* islands. The King was killed in the engagement, and the MAHA'RA'JA's fleet returned in triumph to *Bengal*. according to DELAVAI's account. Tradition says, that the King of *Lanca*, which implies, either the country of the MAHA'RA'JA', of *Zápáge*, or *Ceylon*, but more probably the first, invaded the country of *Bengal*, with a powerful fleet; and sailed up the Ganges, as far as *Rangámatty*, then called *Cusúmá-puri*, and a considerable place, where the King, or MAHA'RA'JA', often resided. The invaders plundered the country, and destroyed the city. This happened long before the invasion of *Bengal* by the Musulmans, and seems to coincide with the time of the invasion of the *Peninsula* by the MAHA'RA'JA' of *Zápáge*. This information was procured, at my request, by the late LIEUTENANT HOARE, who was remarkably fond of inquiries of that sort; and to whom I am indebted for several curious historical anecdotes, and other particulars, relating to the geography of the *Gangetic* Provinces. It seems that there was little intercourse,

probably none, between *India* and *China* in former times. The first notice we have of such an intercourse, is, that an Emperor of *China*, called VOUTI, sent his General TCHANG-KIAO, with a retinue of a hundred men, to visit the western countries, such as *Khorassan* and *Meru-al-náhár*. There he procured some information about *Persia*; and seeing rich articles of trade from *India*, his curiosity prompted him to visit also that country. He began his travels 126 B. C. and returned to *China* in 115. That there was a constant commercial intercourse between *China* and *India*, and even *Ceylon*, about the beginning of the Christian Era, is attested by PLINY *. The same passage establishes also a regular intercourse between the *Roman* merchants and *China*, at that early period. This singular passage I shall insert here, as corrected by SALMASIUS: for PLINY's style is often obscure, from his fondness for quaint words and expressions. A certain King of *Ceylon* sent once four ambassadors to the Emperor CLAUDIUS; and the chief of this embassy, was called RACHIAS, who being interrogated, whether he knew the *Seres*, or *Chinese*, answered "*Ultra montes Emodos Seras quoque ab ipsis aspici, notos etiam commercio. Patrem* RACHIÆ *commeasse eò: advenis sibi Seras occursare.*" Then PLINY says, "*Cætera eadem quæ nostri negotiatores: fluminis ulteriore ripâ merces positas juxta venalia tolli ab his, si placeat permutatio.*" This I shall take the liberty to paraphrase in the following manner. RACHIAS answered, that the *Seres* lived beyond the *Haimada*, or *Snowy* mountains, with regard to *Ceylon:* that the *Seres* were often seen, or visited, by his countrymen; and were well known to them, through a commercial intercourse. That his father had been there, and whenever caravans from *Ceylon* (and *India* I should sup-

* Pliny, lib. 60, c. 220.

pose) went there, the *Seres* came part of the way to meet them in a friendly manner; which, it seems, was not the case with the caravans from the west, consisting of Roman merchants. Then PLINY adds; as for the rest, and the manner of disposing of the goods, the *Seres* behave to them as they do to our merchants. *Rachia* is derived from the Sanscrit *Racsha*, pronounced *Rácha* in the spoken dialects: and *Ráchya*, or *Ráchia* is a derivative from. It is the name, or rather the title, of one of the heroes of the *Puránas*. Another derivative form is RACSHITA, and is the name of a priest of BUDD'HA in *Ceylon*, mentioned in the sixth vol. of the Asiatic Researches*; where, according to the idiom of the spoken dialects, he is called RA'C'HITA-BUDD'HA: and I suppose, that neither *Racsha*, nor *Racshita*, can be properly used, but in composition. YARCHAS, the name of a *Bráhmen*, mentioned in the life of APOLLONIUS, is probably a corruption from *Rác'hyas*. The Emperor CLAUDIUS began his reign in the 44th year of the Christian Era; and the predilection of the *Chinese* for the people of *India*, and *Ceylon*, was very natural. Thus we see that the people of that island traded to *China*, at the very beginning of our Era, and by land. There can be no doubt, that they went first by sea to the country of *Magad'ha*, or the *Gangetic* provinces; where their legislator BUDD'HA was born, and his religion flourished in the utmost splendor. There they joined in a body with the caravans of that country, and went to *China*, through what PTOLEMY, and the author of the Periplus, call the great route from *Palibothra* to *China*. It was in consequence of this commercial intercourse, that the religion of BUDD'HA was introduced into that vast empire, in the year 65 A. C. and from that *Era* we may date the constant and regular intercourse between *Magad'ha* and *China*; till the extirpation of the religion of BUDD'HA, and the invasion of the Musulmans.

* p. 450.

The account given by the son of RACHIAS, has nothing very extraordinary in it, when the whole is considered in a proper light; and it shews the carelessness of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, in inquiries of that nature. The regard the *Hindus* have for the seven *Rishis*, or the seven stars of the great *Bear*, and which they saw so much above the Horizon, made them often look up to them, as well as to the *Pleiades*. From this circumstance, the *Romans* foolishly conceived they never saw them before. They also often mentioned the star *Canopus*, for which the *Hindus* entertain the highest respect. The ambassadors of *Ceylon* were surprised, to see the *Romans* consider the East and West, as the right and left of the world; and declared it was otherwise in their own country; and that the sun did not rise in the left, nor set in the right, according to their mode of reckoning. For the *Hindus* say, that the East is before, and the West behind; and the shadow of bodies must have been affected in the same manner. With respect to the moon's course, there is the bright half, and the dark half; which, in *India*, constitutes what is called the day and night of the *Pitris*. The day is reckoned, from the first quarter to the last; and this is called the bright half, or the day of the *Pitris*; the dark half is from the last to the first quarter of the next moon; and this constitutes their night. When PLINY says, that, in their country, the moon was seen only from the 8th to the 16th, he was mistaken; he should have said, that the bright half, or day of the *Pitris*, began on the eighth day, and lasted sixteen days, including the eighth: and then began the dark half, or night of the *Pitris*; and, from these expressions misunderstood, the *Romans* concluded that the moon was not to be seen, in their country, during the dark half.

III. According to MR. DEGUIGNES, the king of *Tientso*, or *India*, sent men by sea to *China*, carrying presents to the Emperor, in the years 159

and 161. The CHINESE call *India Shinto*, and *Into*, *Sind*, and *Hind*: they call it also *Tientso*, and divide it into five parts: middle *Tientso*, with North, South, East, and West *Tientso*. Mr. DEGUIGNES says, they called *India Mokiato*, and *Polomuenkouè*, or country of *Polomuen*; *Mokiato*, the *Magatta* of the *Japanese*, is *Magad'ha*, including all the *Gangetic* provinces; and it was called *Polomuen*, from the famous Emperor PULIMA'N, or POLOMA'N, called by DEGUIGNES, *Houlomien* and *Holómiento*. The *Chinese* gave the name of *Magad'ha* to all *India*; because their knowledge of that country, and their intercourse, was for a long time confined to *Magad'ha*, which is also called *Anu-Gangam*; distorted, by those of *Tibet*, into *Anonkhenk*, and *Anákák* by the *Tartars*, who have no other name for *India*. Thus, in the Empire of the *Burmahs*, they call *India Calingáhárit*, from *Calinga*, or the *Peninsula* of *India*, with which they are better acquainted: *hárit* in their language, and *harita* in Sanscrit, signifies *country*; and the whole compound the country of *Calinga*. The metropolis of *India* was situated on the banks of the *Kengkia*, or *Hengho*, the *Ganges*. This river, says the same author, they call also *Kiapili*, because, I suppose, it enters *India* through the pass of *Capila*, called, in the life of TIMUR, *Kapelé*.

The name of the Metropolis was *Chapoholo-ching*, *Kiusomopoulo-ching*, *Potoli-tsching*, answering to *Pátali*, *Cusumá-puri*, the well known names of *Patna*. *Chapoholo* answers to *Samalla*, or *Sambala*, now *Sumbulpoor*, written also *Sabal-poor*, and close to *Patna*: and is obviously meant for that city, by the *Chinese*, as well as by PTOLEMY.

Another Chinese name for it, is *Cutukilopoulo*, which I must give up, unable to reduce it to its original Sanscrit, or Hindu standard.

In the year 408, YUEGNAI king of *Kiapili*, that is to say, of the countries bordering on the river *Kiapili*, or *Ganges*, sent ambassadors to *China*. He was a follower of BUDD'HA, and his Hindu name was probably YAJN'A.

In the year 473, the king of the country of *Poli* sent also embassadors to *China*. The kingdom of *Poli* is that of *Magad'ha*; for *Magad'ha*, and *Páli*, or *Báli*, are considered as synonymous, by the people of *Ceylon*, *Siam*, and the *Burmahs*.

In the year 641, the *Indian* king of the countries, belonging now to the Great Mogul, and included in the *Mokiato* or *Magad'ha* Empire, says DEGUIGNES, sent embassadors to *China*. The following year, the Emperor of *China* sent embassadors to him. His name was HOULOMIEN, PULIMA'N or LOMA, and he was greatly surprised at it. There the *Chinese* learned, that the *Hindus* called their country *Moho-chintan*, for *Mahá-china-st'hán*: in the *Peninsula* this word is pronounced *Macáchina*.

In the year 647, the Emperor of *Mokiato*, or *Magad'ha* sent again embassadors to *China*, as well as the king of *Nipolou* or *Nepàl*. In the following year, TAITSONG sent an embassy to the king of *Mokito*, or *Magad'ha*. In the mean time, HOULOMIEN died, and the whole country was thrown into confusion: he was a great warrior, and reduced all *India*, in the year 621, under his yoke. The name of his family was KIELITIE'; which, for a long time, had been in possession of the throne. PULIMA'N was the last of the kings of the royal family of AND'HRA. This family is considered, in *India*, as a spurious branch; which circumstance is fully implied, by the appellation of *Caulat'éya* in *Sanscrit*, or

the offspring of the unfaithful woman, and from Caulat'éya is probably derived the KIELITIE' of the *Chinese.* There is a DYNASTY of *Caulat'éyas* barely mentioned by the *Paurán'ics ;* and they are probably the same with the AND'HRA-JA'TICAS, and the KIELITIE' of the *Chinese* Historians.

The AND'HRA kings, on the banks of the *Ganges,* were famous all over *India,* and in the west: for the AND'HRA tribe, or family, is placed to the north of the *Ganges,* by the compiler of the *Peutingerian* tables, under the name of *André-Indi,* or *Indians* of the AND'HRA family or tribe. After PULIMA'N, the AND'HRA *Bhrityas,* according to the *Purán'as,* or the servants of the AND'HRA kings, usurped the government; and the *Chinese* historians take particular notice of this circumstance.

It is declared, in several *Purán'as,* that MAHA-NANDA, and his successors resided at *Padmávatì,* or *Cusumápuri,* by which *Patna* is understood. But these are only epithets, and not the real name of a city; and always given by poets to favourite towns. Thus *Burdwan* was called *Cusumápuri;* and *Rangámatti,* near *Moorshedabad,* likewise, as well as the town of *Hustinápoor.* It is remarkable, that of the cities in *India,* once famous in the writings of the *Greeks* and *Romans,* few now are known under these names in *India.* Thus TAXILA is a name unknown in *India;* and it was only after perusing the *Purán'as* for many years, that I found it barely mentioned in one or two of them. It is the case with TAGARA', the name of which is only found in a grant, some years ago discovered at *Bombay.*

The kings of *Magad'ha* certainly resided very often at *Patna,* and latterly they forsook intirely *Báliputra,* probably owing to the vicinity of *Gaur,* the *Rájáhs* of which, when powerful, could not but prove

troublesome neighbours; besides, the continual encroachments of the *Ganges*, and the gradual but constant decay of the metropolis, occasioned by them, naturally obliged the kings to look out for a more agreeable situation. Of the time of the total subversion of *Báli-putra*, or *Rája-gríha*, we cannot form any idea; but there is every reason to believe it took place at a very early period; for *Páli-bothra* is not mentioned in the *Peutingerian* tables, and *Mágad'ha*, or *Patna*, is pointed out as a capital city, under the name of *Al-mágad'ha*, or *Eli-maide*, *Al-maid*.

IV. The trade of *Páli-bothra*, and of the kingdom of *Magad'ha*, in its days of splendor, was astonishing, and is attested by PTOLEMY, ARRIAN in his Periplus, and the *Peutingerian* tables. The same is attested by *Chinese* historians, and the two Mohammedan travellers. From *Páli-bothra* to the *Indus* there was the royal road; and the distances, all along were marked with columns. There was another road, leading from *Baroche* to *Elymaide*, *Al maied*, *Almuiet*, and *Al-mujiat*, or *Patna*, called also, in Sanscrit books, *Magad'ha*, as well as the country. This is mentioned in the *Peutingerian* tables, and the distance marked 700, which I take to be *Bráhmeni* coss, equal to 856 British miles. In the *Peutingerian* tables, *Bároche* is called *Paricea*, and the road to *Elymaide* leads through a place called *Nincilda*, the true name of which I take to be *Nila-cunda*, the *Blue-pool*, or rather the *pool-cun'da*, dedicated to NILA-CANTES'WARA or IS'WARA, with the *blue neck*. From *Al-maied* there is another road, leading through the *Burman* empire, *Siam*, and ending at *Calippe*, now *Columpé*, in the kingdom of *Cambodia*. According to the *Peutingerian* tables, this road went from *Patna*, first to the country of *Colchi*, called *Chalcitis*, or *Chalcis*, by PTOLEMY, and the distance marked is 625; which, being supposed to be coss, are equal to 742 B. *miles*. Near the *Colchi* country, in the tables, are placed the *Sindi*, equally

mentioned by PTOLEMY, and also a place call *Pisauta*, probably the modern *Pitshiai*. Then, from *Colchi* to *Thimara*, probably the *Tomara* of PTOLEMY; and the distance is 450 coss, or 565 B. *miles*. Then to *Calippe*, or *Columpé*, 220 coss, or 270 B. *miles*. This route was certainly known to PTOLEMY, from whom we may collect a few more particulars. From *Palibothra* this route went towards the east, to *Sagoda*, *Authina*, *Salatha*, and *Randamarcotta*. *Sagoda* is *Sagoæ*, on the western bank of the *Burrampooter*, and in *lat.* N. 24° 35′, according to MR. BURROW, in the fourth volume of the Asiatic Researches. This I mention, because it is not noticed in MAJOR RENNELL's Atlas. *Sagoda* is the form of the possessive case in the western parts of *India*, and generally used instead of the first case, by the *Greeks* formerly, and modern travellers of the two last centuries. *Athina* is *Eetenah*, to the westward of *Azmerigunge:* NONNUS calls it *Anthené*, and takes notice of its flowery shrubs*: thence to *Salatha*, or *Silhet*. The next place is *Randamarcotta*, which I suppose to be *Ava*, the real name of which is *Amara-pura:* it is called also *Rád'hun-pura*, according to COL. SYMES; and *Randamarcotta* appears as a compound of both. *Amara* signifies the immortal gods; and *Rád'han*, or *Rád'há*, are rendered in Lexicons, by *(Amalaci)* pure, *(prápti)* complete, perfect, resplendent. Thus *Rádhámmara-pura*, or *Rádhamara-pura*, will signify the city of the pure and immortal gods. Instead of *Radhámra-pura*, we may say *Rádhámara cota*, or the fort of the pure and immortal gods. *Amar-pur*, *Amar-cote*, *Amar-ganh*, are generally used, the one for the other, in *India* Before it became the capital of a vast empire, and in the beginning, it was probably called *Amara-cote* in *India;* but now it would be improper to say *Amara-cote*, unless it were sanctioned by usage. The distance of *Randamarcotta* from *Salatha*, in PTOLEMY, corresponds pretty well; but the proportional distances seem to point

troublesome neighbours; besides, the continual encroachments of the *Ganges*, and the gradual but constant decay of the metropolis, occasioned by them, naturally obliged the kings to look out for a more agreeable situation. Of the time of the total subversion of *Báli-putra*, or *Rája-gríha*, we cannot form any idea; but there is every reason to believe it took place at a very early period; for *Páli-bothra* is not mentioned in the *Peutingerian* tables, and *Mágad'ha*, or *Patna*, is pointed out as a capital city, under the name of *Al-mágad'ha*, or *Eli-maide*, *Al-maid*.

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* NONN. Dionys. lib. 26. v. 87.

to some place much nearer. *Randamar-cotta* is obviously the name of a city; but, from PTOLEMY's context, it was also the name of an extensive country, the capital of which is called *Nardos*, perhaps from *Aniruddha*, or from *Nárada*: for there are, in *India*, places called *Anurodgur*, and *Náredcote*. *Nardos*, or *Nardon*, is perhaps a corruption only from *Rádhán*, the old name of *Amarpuri*, according to COL. SYMES. As the *Spike-nard* does not grow in the countries to the east of the *Burrampooter*, according to MR. BUCHANAN's information, no alteration is to be made in this passage from PTOLEMY.

From the metropolis of *China*, says PTOLEMY, there was a road leading to *Cattigara*, in the same country of *Cambodia*, in a S. W. direction.

The royal road, from the banks of the *Indus* to *Palibothra*, may be easily made out from PLINY's account, and from the *Peutingerian* tables. According to DIONYSIUS PERIEGETES, it was called also the *Nyssæan* road, because it led from *Palibothra* to the famous city of *Nysa*. It had been traced out with particular care, and at the end of every *Indian* itinerary measure there was a small column erected. MEGASTHENES does not give the name of this *Indian* measure, but says that it consisted of ten stades. This, of course, could be no other than the astronomical, or *Panjábi* coss; one of which is equal to 1. 23 British mile.

PLINY's account of this royal road is, at first sight, most extravagant, and, of course, inadmissible. But on considering the whole with due attention, we shall immediately perceive, that in the original, from which it was extracted, it consisted of two distinct accounts or reckonings: the first was, that of the intermediate distances between every stage; and the second contained the aggregate sum of these distances for every stage. PLINY, whose inaccuracy is notorious, selected out of them only

a few distances and stages, here and there; and I have presumed to present the whole, arranged in the following manner:—

From the *Indus* and *Peucolais*, - - -	Rom. Mil.	
To *Taxila*, - - - - - - - - -	60	
Hydaspes, - - - - - - - -	omitted	120
Acesines, - - - - - - - - -	ditto	omitted
Hydraotes, - - - - - - - -	ditto	ditto
Hyphasis, - - - - - - - - -	49	390
There ended ALEXANDER's conquests, - - - - -		
and a new reckoning begins - - - - - -		
Hesidrus, - - - - - - - - -	168	
Jomanes, - - - - - - - - - -	168	omitted
Some add 5 miles, - - - - - - -		
Ganges, - - - - - - - - -	112	ditto
Rodapha, - - - - - - - -	119	325
Calinipaxa, - - - - - - - - -	167	500
Some say, - - 265		
Conflux of the *Jomanes* with the Ganges,	omitted	625
They generally add 13 miles (638) - - - - -		
Palibothra, - - - - - - - - -	425	omitted

Here we have, first, 390 miles, from the *Indus* to the end of the conquests of ALEXANDER; and thence 638 miles to the conflux of the *Jumna* with the *Ganges;* making in all 1028 miles, for the distance from the *Indus* to *Allahabad.* These distances were given in the original in stadia, which PLINY reduced into miles, at the rate of eight to one mile; and, by turning again his miles into stadia, we may easily find out the

villages, called *Rubbaut* and *Pekkeh* in MAJOR RENNELL's map of the countries between *Delhi* and *Candahár*. The royal residence is pointed out by the natives, at a small village near the river, and is called *Syála* to this day; and is a little to the north of *Rubbaut*. *Tac-Syála* having been ruined at an early period by the Musulmans, it was rebuilt afterwards under the name of *Turruk-pehri;* and a *Perganah* of that name is mentioned in the *Ayín-Acberi*. But this last has met with the same fate as the former.

Thence to *Rotas* or *Ruytas*, called *Rhodoes* by NONNUS, in his *Dionysiacs*, who says it was a strong place. It is called *Rages*, for *Rates*, in the *Peutingerian* tables, and in the *Pura'n'as* its name is *Hridu*, and that of its inhabitants *Hridan*.

According to the *Peutingerian* tables, we have another route, which ought to join here. It comes from *Arni*, *Aornos*, or *Attock*, and goes to *Pileiam*, (which appears to be transposed; or *Ec-Bolima*, from *Ac-Beila*, or *Ac-Beilam*, or the white *Beilam*, sands or shores, and now called *Hazru*.)

Thence to the ferry over the *Jailam* or *Béhat*, and *Alexandria-Bucephalos*, near which is a famous peak, called the mountain of the elephant, by PLUTARCH*. Its present name is *Bal*, *Bil*, or *Pil*, which, in Persian, signify an elephant. It is famous all over the western parts of *India* for its holiness, and its being the abode of numerous penitents; the chief of whom, as well as the deity of the place, is called BAL-NA'TH or BIL-NA'TH. It is generally called BAL-NA'TH-THILFH, or the mountain of the Lord BA'L; another name for it is *Joghion-di-tibbi*, or the tower of the *Joghis*.

* Plut. de flum.

Thence to the *Acesines* or *Chandra-bhága*, and the town of *Spatura* of the *Peutingerian* tables, called *Simtura* by the anonymous geographer, and probably the same with *Sadhora*. There appears to be a transposition in the numbers expressing the distances.

Thence to the *Hydraotes*, or *Rávi*, (the *Irávati* of the *Puràn'as*,) and the city of *Laboca* or *Lobaca*, mentioned by PTOLEMY, and which is the present *Lahore*. Its true and original name is *Lavaca* or *Labaca*, from LAVA or LABA, the son of RAMA; and its present name is derived from *Lava-wára*, the place of LAVA or LABA. Its distance from *Sangalá* in PTOLEMY, with its name, have induced me to suppose that it is the same with *Lahore*, which is 53 miles to the east of the extensive ruins of *Sangala*, so called to this day; and the true pronunciation is *Sangalá*, not *Sangálá*. There are two places in PTOLEMY, one called *Laboca*, and the other *Labocla*, which I take to be the same place, the true name of which is *Labaca*; for the other is not conformable to the idiom of any of the dialects in *India*.

Thence to the *Hyphasis*, and afterwards to the *Zadadrus*, (the *S'atódara* or *S'atadru* of the *Puráńas*, or with 100 bellies or channels;) and to the town of *Tahora*, in the *Peutingerian* tables (now called, with a slight alteration, *Tchaura*, and in the *Puráńas*, *Tihotra* and *Trigarta*; there SEMIRAMIS, or SAMI'DEVI', was born).

Thence to *Ketrora*, in the same tables, for *Cshatriwárá*, or *C'hetri-wárá*, the metropolis of a powerful tribe of *Cshetris* or *C'hetrs*, who lived in a beautiful and woody country. The famous *Lacki Jungle*, or forest, is what now remains of these charming woods and groves. They are called

Cetri-boni by PLINY, with the epithet of *Sylvestres*, or living in forests; and *Cshatrivana*, in *Sanscrit*, and *C'hetri-bán*, in the spoken dialects, signify the forest of the *Cshetris: C'hetrizárá*, or *Cetrora*, is now *Thanehsar;* in former times, the metropolis of these *Cshatris*.

Thence to the *Jumna* at *Cunjpoora*, and to the *Ganges* at *Hustinapoor*, or *Hastina nagara*, called in the West, and in the *Ayin-acberi*, *Wustnaur*, for *Hastin-nora*. It is the *Bacinora* of the *Peutingerian* tables, the *Bactriana* of the anonymous geographer, and the *Storna* of PTOLEMY. In the *Greek* original it was written BACTINOPA, *Bastinora*, altered afterwards into BACINOPA, and BACTPIANA, *Basinora*, and *Bastriana;* and the latter was mistaken for *Bactriana*. Indeed the *Greeks* could hardly write *Wustnore*, or *Wustinore*, otherwise, than OYACTINOPA, or BACTINOPA, *Ouastinora*, *Wastinora*, or *Bastinora:* they chose the latter. *Hastina-nagara*, commonly called *Hustiná-poor*, is about twenty miles S. W. of *Dárinágur*, on a branch of the *Ganges*, formerly the bed of that river. There remains only a small place of worship; and the extensive site of that ancient city is entirely covered with large ant-hills; which have induced the inhabitants of the adjacent country to suppose, that it had been overturned, or destroyed, by the *Termites*. In the *Peutingerian* tables we are presented with a route, leading, from *Hustinápoor*, into *Tibet:* the first stage of which is *Arate*, called *Heorta* by PTOLEMY, but transposed by him. It is *Haridwar*, of *Hardwah*, as it is corruptly pronounced by many: and in *Arate* and *Heorta*, we can retrace the original name *Hartoa*, or *Hardwah*. The second stage is *Pharca*, called *Paraca* by PHILOSTRATUS, in his life of APOLLONIUS; and placed by him in the mountains, to the north of the *Ganges*. Its present name is *Prágh*, often pronounced *Parágh*, generally with the epithet of *Déva*, or *Deo*, *Deo Prágh*, or the divine *Prágh*.

It is in the country of *Srí-nagar*, on the banks of the *Ganges*, and is a famous place of worship.

On the road from *Hustinápoor* to *Allahabad*, PLINY places the town of *Rodapha*, called *Rapphe* by PTOLEMY. Its present name is *Hurdoœah*, or *Huldoœah*; for both are equally in use.

The next stage, according to PLINY, is *Calinipaxa*, the true name of which was *Cálinì-basa*, implying its being situated on the *Cálinì*, a river which retains its ancient name to this day: but the town is now unknown.

The next stage is *Allahabad*, called the town of *Ganges*, (or *Gangapoor*,) by ARTEMIDORUS. All the intermediate distances, in PLINY, are erroneous, and inadmissible: thus he tells us, that from *Rodapha*, to *Calinipaxa*, there are 168 miles: but according to others 265; whilst some reckon 500. The distance, assigned by him, between the *Sutluj* and *Jumna*, amounts to 336 miles, which is a most gross mistake. The half, or 168 miles, reckoning from *Tahora* to *Cunjpoora*, is pretty near the truth.

From *Allahabad* to *Palibothra*, the road, it seems, did lie along the southern bank of the *Ganges:* and in PTOLEMY we find the following places. From *Allahabad* to the river *Tuso*, now the *Tonse*: and, eighteen miles from its conflux with the *Ganges*, in a S. W. direction, he places a town called *Adisdara*, probably the same with *Attersar*, or *Attersarour* in the same place; and, about one mile and half to the north of the *Tonse*. Thence to *Cindia*, now *Cauntee*, on the banks of the *Ganges*, and almost opposite to *Goopygunge*. But this place is out of the direct road: though it might not have been so formerly, on account of the continual encroachments and shiftings of the *Ganges*.

The next is *Sagala*, now *Mirzapoor*, and connected with another called *Sigala*, or rather *Sagala*, now *Monghir*. The present *Sanscrit* name of the former is *Vind'hyávásini*, from the Goddess of that name, who is worshipped there, and who resides in the *Vind'hya*, or *Bind* mountains, as implied by her name. The common title of this tremendous deity, is BHADRA-CA'LI', or the beautiful CA'LI'; though she by no means deserves that epithet. This place is supposed to communicate with the other *Sagala* or *Monghir*, through subterraneous passages, opened by lightning; which sunk under ground at *Vind'hyá-vásini*, and re-appeared at *Monghir*, at a place dedicated also to the same *Dévi*, though little frequented. This accounts for these two places having the same name in PTOLEMY; though these names are now entirely unknown to the *Hindus*. But BHADRA-CA'LI', and SU-CA'LI are perfectly synonymous: the latter, however, is seldom used as an epithet of that deity, except when persons, either male, or female, are denominated after her; then they never use BHADRA- CA'LI', but they say SU-CA'LI'. *Mirzapoor* is sometimes called the *St'hán*, or place of BHADRA-CA'LI', which appellation is distorted into *Patrigally*, in the voluminous treatise of the religious ceremonies of different nations.

The other *Sagala*, or *Monghir*, is called *Mudgala* in *Sanscrit*, as I am told, in a derivative form from *Mudga*, its name in the imperial grant found there: for *Mudga-giri* signifies the hill of *Mudga*. In the *Deccan*, PTOLEMY mentions two places, nearly at the same distance from each other, one called *Petirgala*, and the other *Modogulla*. *Madighir*, or rather *Modu-gir*, is a very common name for places in the *Peninsula*, and also in other parts of *India;* as *Madugar*, near *Jaypoor; Matgar*, near *Cotta*, &c. The first part of this compound is found, in composition, with *pura* city, *giri* hill, *griha* fort, *vana*, or *bán* forest, &c. thus we have *Modu-pura*, *Modugiri*, *Modu-ghir*, *Modu-vana*, or *Modu-ban*, &c.

That *Monghir* was called *Mudga-giri*, *Mudgala*, and *Sagala*, is certain and that *Mirzapoor* was denominated equally, BHADRA-CA'LI or *Petri-gally*, and *Sagala*, is equally so; like the two places in the *Deccan*, called *Petir-gala*, and *Modogulla*, by PTOLEMY. In all the names of places, in which the word *Modu* is introduced, this word is uniformly interpreted *pleasing*, *charming*, from the *Sanscrit Moda:* thus *Modu-bán* signifies the beautiful grove: *Modwa*, the name of several rivers, implies their being delightful. Thus *Moda-giri*, or *Modu-gir*, in the spoken dialects, signifies the beautiful hill; *Modu-gali*, the beautiful pass: thus *Sancri-gali*, now *Sacrigulley*, implies the narrow pass. The word *gali* is not *Sanscrit;* but *Sancri* is derived from *Sancírn'a:* and innumerable instances might be produced, of compound names of places, and even of men, in which one word is *Sanscrit*, and the other borrowed from the spoken dialects. In this case *Modu-gali*, *Bhadra-gali*, and *Su-gali*, imply equally the beautiful pass, between a projection of the hills and the *Ganges*. Several places in *India* are denominated *Su-golley*, *Sugouly*, and *Sucouley*, from their being situated near a pass, either through mountains, or almost impervious woods. PLINY seems to suppose, that the Royal, or *Nyssæan* road passed through *Pacli*, or *Peucolais;* but this is highly improbable. It went directly through the ferry of *Aornos* or *Attock-Benares*, to *Nysa*. *Aornos*, or *Avernus*, is probably derived from the *Sanscrit Varan'asa*, pronounced *Benares* in the spoken dialects. Father MONSERRAT, who accompanied the Emperor ACBAR, in his expedition to *Cabul*, says, that that Emperor paid the greatest attention to the measurement of the roads, during his march; and that, instead of a common rope, he substituted *Bamboos*, joined together by iron links. He then says, that there were twenty-six and one fourth, of these *Cos*, to one degree: each *Cos* consisted, of course, of 13911. 77 feet, or 4637. 26 yards.

V. From *China*, says PTOLEMY; there were two roads: one leading to *Bactra;* and the other to *Palibothra.* The author of the *Periplus* has strangely disfigured this passage, or a similar one, from some other author. He says, that wool (I suppose some particular kind of it), and silk, were brought by land from *China* to *Baroche*, through *Bactra*, or *Balkh;* and then, down the *Ganges*, to LIMYRICA. He certainly meant, that the goods were sent, part to the west, through *Balkh*, and part to *Palibothra;* and from the latter they were carried down the *Ganges*, and by sea, to LIMYRICA: this was, I suppose, the original meaning. The country of LIMYRICA is that of *Maru*, in the *peninsula;* called also, though improperly, *Mura*, *Mur*, and *Muri;* which, in a derivative form, becomes *Muruca* and *Murica;* from which, *Arabian* travellers made *Almurica*, and the *Greeks* LI-MYRICA. In *Sanscrit*, but more particularly in the spoken dialects, the derivative is often used for the primitive form. Thus they say, *Bengála* for *Benga:* and for *Lar*, they said *Larica*, a district in *Gurjarát*. With regard to this track, from *Magad'ha*, and *Palibothra*, to *China*, the *Peutingerian* tables afford us considerable light. From the *Palitæ*, the *Bolitæ*, and *Cabolitæ* of PTOLEMY; now *Cabul*, there was a road, leading through the mountains, north of the *Panjab*, and meeting another road from *Tahora*, in the same country, (still retaining the same name,) at a place called *Aris*, in the mountains to the north of *Hari-dwár*. These two roads are frequented to this day; and they meet at a place called *Khama-lang*, a little beyond what is called the *Eyes* of *Mansarovar;* which are three small lakes, and to the south of *Bindu-Sarovara*, or *Lancá* lake. This information I received from several natives, who had travelled that way. The road then goes to *Aspacora*, or *Asparaca*, a place in *Tibet*, mentioned by PTOLEMY: there it met with another, from the *Gangetic* provinces; and passing

through *Parthena*, probably now *Kerten*, or *Kelten*, with the epithet of *Ponjuling*, from which is probably derived the *Paliana* of PTOLEMY. This road, in the tables, ends at *Magaris*, corruptly for *Thogaris*, or *Thogara*, in PTOLEMY; and now *Tonker*, near *Lassa*, on the river *Calchew*, (called, in the *Peutingerian* tables, *Calincius*). The mountains to the north, are called by PTOLEMY, *Thaguri*, and the inhabitants of the country, *Itaguri*. These famous mountains still preserve their ancient name, being called *Tingri* to this day. The road, from the *Gangetic* provinces, is represented as coming from a place called *Carsania*, near the *Ganges*; and probably the *Cartasina* of PTOLEMY, now called *Carjuna*, near *Burdwan*. Between this, and *Aspacora* in *Tibet*, the tables place a town called *Scobaru*, which strange and uncommon name is still preserved in that of *Cucshabaru*, (in the maps, *Cocsabary*,) near *Jarbarry*, to the north of *Dinagepoor*. *Cucshabaru* is the epithet of a giant, living in the mountains to the north of *India*. His real name was ST'HULO'DARA, and, from his insatiable and ravenous voracity, he is surnamed *Cucshábárá*, and he is often mentioned in the *Puráńas*. This was probably the rendezvous of the caravans, from *Taprobane*, or *Ceylon*; which, according to PLINY, went by land to *China*. RACHIA, the chief embassador of the king of *Ceylon*, to the Emperor CLAUDIUS, said, that his father had gone by land to *China*.

ABBE' GROSIER, in his description of *China*, says, that at *Pou-eul*, a village in *Yunnan*, on the frontiers of *Assam*, *Ava*, and *Laos*, people resort from the adjacent countries: but that the entrance is forbidden to foreigners, who are permitted to approach no nearer than the bottom of the mountains. There they exchange their goods for tea, the leaves of which are long and thick. They are rolled up into balls, somewhat like

tobacco, and formed into masses, which are carried into the adjacent countries, and even to this day to *Silhet*.

This trade was carried on, exactly in the same manner, 1600 years ago, according to ARRIAN's Periplus. On the confines of *China*, says the author, there is a nation of men, of a short stature, with a large forehead, and flat noses. They are called *Sesatæ*, (and by PTOLEMY *Basadæ*). These come, every year, to the frontiers; not being permitted to enter the country. They make baskets of certain leaves, as large as those of the vine, which they sew together, with the fibres of *bambus*, called *petri*; and fill them with the leaves of a certain plant, rolled up into balls, which are of three sorts, depending on the quality and size of the leaves; and are of course denominated balls of the larger, middle, and smaller size; and are carried all over *India*. *Petri* could not be the name of the *bambus*, but of the leaves, called in Hindu *pátrá*. These leaves are probably those of the *Dhác* tree*, used all over India to make baskets, and made fast together, with skewers, from the fibres of the *bambu*, or other similar plant. These *Basadæ* were, in my opinion, a wandering tribe, still called *Bisáti*†, who live by selling small wares and trinkets; for which purpose they constantly attended markets, fairs, and such places, where they think they can dispose of their goods. These *Bisáti*, or *Besadæ*, from their features, must have belonged to some of the tribes living on the eastern borders of *Bengal*, whose features are exactly such as described by the author of the *Periplus*. MR. BUCHANAN mentions two places called *Palé*, perhaps *Pou-eul*, and *Palaung*, in the mountains to

* Butea frondosa.

† See Asiat. Researches, Vol. 7th. p. 466.

the N. E. of *Ava*, where they pickle the tea leaves, used all over the *Burman* empire.

There is another route, in the *Peutingerian* tables, leading from *Tahora*, (or *Tahaura*, in MAJOR RENNELL's map,) to *Elimaide*, or *Patna*. From *Tahora* to *Palipotra*, 250 *cos:* to the *Ganges* 500: to *Elymaide*, 250: in all 1000 *cos*, or 1228 B. M. Here we see, that *Palipotra* cannot be, either *Patna*, or *Ràjamahl:* besides, the distance is too great, in a direct line. There are three towns, thus called, in *India:* the first, or *Pali-putra* near *Cabul*, called *Palpeter* by DANVILLE, is unconnected with this route. The second is *Báli-putra*, or *Ràjamahl*, which is too far to the eastward. The third is *Páli-putra*, in the interior parts of *India*, and is now called *Bo-Pál*, for *Bhu-Pála*. It is mentioned by PTOLEMY, under the name of *Siri-Palla* for *Sri-Palli*. This, I conceive to be the *Palipotra*, of the *Peutingerian* tables, and accordingly propose the following correction. From *Tahora* to *Palipotra*, or *Bopaul*, 500 *cos*, or 639 B. M. Thence to *Elimaide* or *Patna*, 500 *cos*. also. Between *Tahora* and *Palipotra*, the route passed near the mountains of *Daropanisus*, which are those of *Dhár*. Between *Palipotra* and *Patna*, there is a station *ad Gangem*, or near the *Ganges:* this station, I take to be *Allahabad*, called the town of *Ganges*, in ancient authors: but then the distances, either according to our correction, or without it, do not agree so well; and probably there is a transposition.

I have mentioned before, the constant intercourse, both by sea and by land, between the kingdom of *Magad'ha* and *China*, on the authority of *Chinese* History; and their trade, to an island and kingdom, called *Founan*, to the eastward of *Siam*, during the third and fourth centuries. This was probably a *Malay* kingdom: but we cannot ascertain its situation.

.t seems that some *Malay* emperors, and kings, as those of *Zápágc*, and *Founan*, did what they could, to introduce trade and learning into their lominions: but their exertions proved ineffectual; at least they were ıot attended with much success; and their subjects soon relapsed into .heir former mode of life. The Mohammedan travellers of RENAUDOT, ıpeak of the power of the kings of *Mabed;* and declare, that they used to ıend, every year, embassadors to the Emperor of *China*, with presents: but that these embassadors were narrowly watched, on their entrance into the *Chinese* territories. They lived in peace with *China*, but were not subjects of its monarchs. These travellers consider *Mábed*, and *Mujet*, ɔr *Maied*, as distinct countries: and there are some grounds for it; and t was perhaps so originally. The inhabitants of *Asam* were divided formerly, into *Cuj* and *Muj;* and the appellation of *Mujet* may be derived from *Muj*, whom I suspect, however, to be the same with the *Magas*, or *Burmahs*, who greatly imitate the *Chinese* manners. Thus, for *Magog*, they say *Magiuge*. After the death of PULIMA'N, the whole country was thrown into confusion, according to the *Puráńas* and *Chinese* Historians, as we observed before. One of his chief officers, called OLONACHUN,* seized upon the kingdom, but was made prisoner by the *Chinese* embassador, with the assistance of the Emperor of *Tibet*.

Then, say the *Paurán'ics*, the AND'HRA-BHRĬTYAS, or servants of the AND'HRA kings, set up for themselves: but one, more fortunate, surpassed the others in power: his name was RIPUNJAYA, with the title of VISVASPHURJI, the thunder of the world. He exterminated the remnants of the Barons or *Cshettris:* and filled their places with people of the lowest classes: he drove away also the *Bráhmens;* and raised, to the priesthood, men of the lowest tribes, such as the *Caivartas*, boatmen and fisher-

men, *Patus*, *Pulindas*, and *Madracas*: but these *Brâhmens* were no better than *Mlech'has*, or impure and base born men. These boatmen and fishermen, being used to live upon fish, would never give up their favourite food, when raised to the priesthood: and their descendants, the *Bengal Brâhmens* live upon fish even to this day. The same circumstance is mentioned in the *Vishnu-Purâ'na*. Then, afterwards, a *Guptavansa*, or obscure race, will reign all over *Anu-Gangam*, or the *Gangetic* provinces; some in *Sâcéta*, (or *Oude*) others at *Padmâvatí*, (or *Patna*;) *Prayâg*, (or *Allahabad*) *Mathurâ*, (or *Muttra*) and *Canti-puri*, (now *Cutwall*, nine *cos* to the north of *Gwalior*). Here no mention is made of *Gaur* in *Bengal*: and indeed, its kings are never noticed by the *Paurâ'ics*.

VI. The following towns are placed, obviously, in the country of *Tibet*, by PTOLEMY, and in the *Peutingerian* tables. Their names are *Aris*, *Orosana*, *Aspagora* (or *Aspacora*,) *Paliana* (the same with *Parthona*,) *Thogara*, *Abragana*, *Ottorocoras*, *Solana*, with the river *Bautes* (or *Bautisus*). These are in the country of the *Batæ*, (or *Budtan*) seemingly limited to the districts round *Lassa*; which, it is highly probable, was originally the case. The situation of *Aris* is at the meeting of two roads; one from *Tahora*, and *Hardwar* (probably the *Eorta* of PTOLEMY;) and the other from *Cabul*, through the hills. From the nature of the country, there is every reason to suppose, that the place, where they met, has not altered its situation. *Thogara*, at the other extremity, and on the river *Calinæus*, is obviously the present *Tonker*, on the river *Calchew*, near *Lassa*. The distance between *Aris* and *Thogara*, in the *Peutingerian* tables, arising from the intermediate ones, amounts to 175. But these cannot be miles, nor even *cos*: let us suppose them to be 157 *yójanas*, or 771. B. miles; which would be sufficiently accurate. From *Aris*, to *Orosana*, (the *Thubrassene*

of the tables, and now called *Ari-jun*,) 40 *yójanas*, or 196 B. miles. Then, leaving *Kheiron* (the *Chiron* of the maps,) to the right; the route proceeds to *Aspagora*, of which the present situation is unknown: distance 52 *yójanas*, or 255 miles. Thence, to *Parthona* (probably *Carthona*, or *Calthona*, and, of course, the town of *Kelten* or *Kerten*, on the *Sampu*:) listance 15 *yójanas*, or 73 B. miles. According to PTOLEMY, the horizontal listance, between *Aspacora* and *Paliana*, is 47 B. miles; which, in a mountainous country, like this, must be greatly enlarged, to bring it into computed distance. *Kelten* is called also *Punjulin*, according to my friend, the late PURANGIR, who accompanied the LAMA to *China*; and who greatly assisted me, in ascertaining the true pronunciation of the names of places in *Tibet*. *Paliana* is probably derived from *Ponjulin*; and *Parthona* (or rather *Carthona*,) from *Kelten*. From this place to *Thogára*, (or *Tonker*,) 50 *yójanas*, or 245 B. miles: and the horizontal distance, according to MAJOR RENNELL's map, is about 150 B. miles. According to the *Peutingerian* tables, a route branched out from *Aspacora*, towards *India* and the *Ganges*. About seventeen years ago I had a long conversation with PURANGIR, on the subject of *Aspagora*, or *Aspacora*. He told me, that *Gor*, *Khar*, and *Car*, were frequently used, in composition, in the names of places; and that *Aspa* might be a corruption from *Sipá*, or *Sápu*, which was a very common name of places in *Tibet*; and that *Sipá-gor*, or *Sápu-gor*, *Sipá*, or *Sapu-khar*, were perfectly idiomatical; though he did not recollect any place of that name. It struck me then, that this was also the name of a famous river, in that part of *India*, mentioned by CTESIAS, under the names of *Sipa-c'horas*, *Hyparchos*, and *Hypobarus*; because it came, I suppose, from the country of *Sipa-c'hor*, in *Tibet*: the same is now called the *Teestah*, in *Bengal*. PHOTIUS has given us, in his *Bibliotheca*, an extract of this curious passage, from

CTESIAS, in general true, and correct, with a few wild and extravagant notions as usual with him. There is a river in *India*, about one furlong broad, or two stadia, called *Hyparcho*. PLINY, who had seen CTESIAS's works, long before PHOTIUS, says it was called *Hypobarus*, and flowed from the north into the *Eastern sea*, (or gulph of *Bengal*, called, by the *Paurán'ics*, the eastern, as that, between *Africa* and *India*, is named the *Western sea*). The mountains abound with trees, hanging over the numerous streams, which flow through them. Once a year, during thirty days, tears flow plentifully from them, which falling into the waters beneath, coagulate into *Amber*. These trees the Hindus call *Sipa-chora*. In the country, about the sources of this river, there is a flower of a purple colour, which gives a dye, not inferior to the Grecian, but even much brighter. There is also an insect, living upon these *Amber*-bearing trees, the fruit of which they eat; and, with these insects bruised, they dye stuffs, for close vestures, and long gowns, of a purple colour, superior to the Persian. These mountaineers, having collected the *Amber*, and the prepared materials of the purple dye, carry the whole on board of boats, with the dried fruit of the tree, which is good to eat; and then convey their goods, by water, to different parts of *India*. A great quantity they carry to the Emperor (the king of *Magad'ha*,) to the amount of about one thousand talents. In return they take bread, meal, and coarse cloth. They sell also, their swords, bows, and arrows Every fifth year the king (of *Magad'ha*) sends them, as a present, a vast quantity of bows, arrows, swords, and shields.

This *Amber* of CTESIAS is obviously the *Indian Lacca*, which has many properties of the *Amber* or *Electrum*. Till very lately, authors differed, as to the production of this curious drug. Some imagined, that it

was the indurated juice of some trees. Others, that it was produced by a sort of insect. This last opinion is the true one: and these insects, being bruised, make a powder, as fine as Cochineal. These two opinions were current, in the time of CTESIAS, who, most injudiciously, has blended them together.

To the trees, he has given the name of *Sipa-c'hora;* and to the river, that of *Hyparcho*, or *Hypobarus:* but *Hyparc'ho* is but a corruption for *Sypa-c'hor*. *Sypo-bári* is the Hindu name, answering to the *Tibet* one of *Sypa-c'hor:* for *Bári* or *Barry*, as it is written in the maps, is very frequently used at the end of proper names of places, and signifies a limited spot of ground, an inclosure, and a garden.

It is more probable, that the river was thus called, because it came from the country of *Sipa-gor*, or *Aspacora*. CTESIAS says, it was a Hindu name; and yet, the meaning of it he attempts to derive from the *Persian*, as most of his other Hindu etymologies: but, though he had spent seventeen years in *Persia*, it seems, he understood that language but very imperfectly; and, I think, he was peculiarly fortunate in not forgetting his own. He accompanied the younger CYRUS, with the 10,000 *Greeks*, in the unfortunate expedition, in which that prince lost his life, in the year 401 B. C. CTESIAS was taken prisoner, and being a physician, became a great favorite with ARTAXERXES MNĔMON. *Sipa-gor* was obviously on the road, between *Ari-jun* (or *Aridsong*,) and *Lassa;* and which, according to P. GIORGI, branches out into three, which reunite again at *Lassa*. It is tolerably well delineated in the maps of the LAMAS. The distance between *Sipá-c'hor*, and *Ponjulin*, as given, either by PTOLEMY, or in the *Peutingerian* tables, does not agree, being certainly too short. But when we

consider that the geography of that country is yet in its infancy, and the want of accuracy in PTOLEMY, and in the geographical works of the ancients, we shall not be surprised at it. It appears, however, that *Sipá-c'hor* was situated in the beautiful valley of *Tankya*, near the streams which form the *Teestah*. There is a place called *Sipá*, on the road, from *Napál* to *Lassa:* but it is too near *Napál*. PTOLEMY places it on the river *Bautes*, or *Bautisus*, now the *Bont-su:* though *Bot-su*, or the water of *Bot*, or *Bud-tan*, would be a very proper name for the *Sanpoo*. This, I believe, misled PTOLEMY, who places *Aspacora* on that river. The southern branch of this river, the real *Bautisus*, he derives from the country to the west of *Aridsong*, and makes it pass through the valley of *Tankya*. The town, called by him *Solana*, is probably *Ujulin*, called *Ujuk-link*, in the map of the LAMAS. Thus they call *Punjulin*, *Pusuk-liang:* but my friend PURANGI'R assured me, that the true pronunciation of it, in *Tibet*, is *Punjulin*, with a nasal *n* at the end. The name of the country of *Ottora-cora*, with a city of the same name, is pure Hindu: *Attáro-ghur*, the eighteen forts, or *Rájaships*. It is the country of *Napaul*, now called the 24 forts, or *Rájaships*. I am informed, that *Napaul* proper consisted, originally, of eight forts, or *Rájaships;* in Hindu, *At-ghur;* perhaps, the *Attacori* of PLINY: for the number of vassal Rájahs, and tributary forts to *Napaul*, must have been constantly fluctuating. But, let us return to CTESIAS, and his account of the inhabitants of the southern parts of *Budtan*, which will be found remarkably accurate, (though received into *Persia* 400 years B. C.) a few wild notions excepted.

These people, says he, inhabit the whole range of mountains, as far as the *Indus*, to the westward. They are very black, but otherwise remarkable for their probity, as the other Hindus are in general; and with

whom there is a constant intercourse. They live by hunting, piercing the wild beasts with their darts and arrows: but they are also so swift as to run them down. They have the head and nails of a dog, but their teeth are longer; and they bark like dogs, having no other language: yet they understand the Hindu, but express themselves by signs and barking. They have also tails like dogs, but longer, and more bushy. The Hindus call them *Calystrii*, or *Dog-faced*.

This idle story originates from their being swift-paced, and running down their prey like *Gre-hounds*. These *Dog-faced Sylvans*, are called *Swána-mu'chas*, in the *Puránas*; in which we read also of tribes, with faces like horses, parrots, &c. in these mountains. But it was, however, a very appropriate hieroglyph, by which to designate these people. Thus the *Icthyophagi*, or fish-eaters, on the coasts of *Persia*, are called in *Sanscrit*, I am told, *Sir-matsyas*, or fish-heads, and in Persian romances, *Ser-mahi*; which signifies the same thing. *Calystrii* seems to be derived from the *Sanscrit Caulcyaca-Siras*, or *Caulcyá-Siras*, with the heads of *Gre-hounds*.

They live upon flesh, dried in the sun: (and in *Tibet* they thus dry whole sheep, which they place upon four legs). The men never bathe: women only once a month. They rub their bodies with oil. (This is the practice in *Tibet*, and they use butter instead of oil). They generally live in caves: (this is the constant practice of the mountaineers, to this day, in winter: in summer, they live under tents, and in arbours). Their clothes are of skins, except a few of the richest, who wear linen.

Beyond the sources of the *Sipa-c'hora*, is a tribe of men, black also; but they have no evacuations. They however, make a little water

occasionally. Their food is milk alone, which they know how to prevent from coagulating in their stomachs. In the evening they excite a gentle vomiting, and throw up the whole. This strange narrative is not without foundation: many religious people in *India*, in order to avoid the defilement attending the coarser evacuations, take no other food but milk: and previous to its turning into *fæces*, as they say, they swallow a small string of cotton, which, on their pulling it back, brings up the milk, or those parts of it, which they consider as the *Caput mortuum*. This they make the credulous multitude believe: their disciples are ready to swear to it; and they have even deluded persons, otherwise of great respectability. I suppose they conceal themselves, with great address; and their evacuations cannot be very frequent, nor very copious; for they really live upon nothing else but a very small quantity of milk: but certainly more (at least I should suppose so) than they do acknowledge: and the ceremony of the string they perform occasionally, before a few friends. I have known many of these people: they are all hermits, who seldom stir from the place they have fixed upon. There is one near the military lines, at *Sicroare*, near *Benares*, on the banks of the *Barna:* but, I believe, he is rather in too good case, for a man living upon so scanty an allowance.

The next place in PTOLEMY, is *Abragana*, placed by him to the S. E. or nearly so, of *Paliana*, and *Aspacena*. This I conceive to be the large district of *Bragion*, called also *Bramahsong;* extending from *Napál*, along the borders of *India*, and *Asam*, toward the east; and the capital city of which was called, also, by the same name. PTOLEMY places a famous city, about 350 geographical miles, horizontal distance, from *Thogara*, to the eastward, under the name of *Sera*, the metropolis: but of what country?

of the *Seres?* no surely; for they are not introduced into his maps. It was obviously the metropolis of *Serica,* a derivative form, from *Ser,* the name of *China,* to this day, all over *Tibet,* and implying a country subject to *Ser.* This *Será* is, much more probably, the ancient and famous city called *Dsiri, Siri,* and *Sera,* to the S. E. of *Lassa.* Its real name is *Cheri,* or *Tseri,* according to several pilgrims who had visited this famous place of worship. Between it and *Tonker,* PTOLEMY places, about half way, a town called *Dac-sata,* probably in the kingdom of *Tac-po,* between *Seri* and *Tonker.*

There is another *Bracmania,* or *Bragmania,* in the *Gangetic* provinces mentioned by PALLADIUS, in his account, in *Greek,* of the *Bragmans.* CALANUS and DANDAMIS came from that country; and the latter is introduced, reproaching CALANUS with his desertion, who could not remain satisfied with the pure waters of the *Tiberoboas,* or *Taberuncus.* This river was to the eastward of the *Ganges;* for DANDAMIS, or DAMA-DAMIS, says, how can ALEXANDER be called the conqueror of the world, whilst he has not yet crossed the *Tiberoboas,* or *Tyberoboas:* let him only go beyond the *Ganges,* &c. The country of these sages was probably *Tirhoot,* in *Sanscrit, Tribucta.* This word has been distorted various ways, which have very little resemblance with their primitive and original form. The district of *Tirhút* consisted originally of three divisions; the first of which is called to this day *Tirhút,* or *Tyroot;* the second is denominated *Ti-Ru-hut;* and the third, *Ru-Ti-hut.* These words are also pronounced *Ti-Ru-buct, Ru-Ti-buct.* Thus *Sri-hut,* is now called *Silhet,* and by *Arabian* authors, *Sarirat. Tribucta* is derived from *Tri,* three, and *Bucta,* from a verb implying to foster; either because there were three *Rájas,* fostering the whole country, or one

Rája, who alone fostered the three districts, and we may say either *Tribucta*, or *Tribhuc*.

Its capital city is *Durbungah*, by many derived from *Tir-bucta*, or *Tirbhuc*. From *Tirubucta*, and *Tirbucta*, the name of the river *Tiberoboas*, or *Taberuncus*, may, possibly, be derived. Some learned *Pandits* derive the etymology of *Dur-bungah* from *Dwára*, or *Dewar*, and *bangah*: because the *door*, or gate way, of the palace of the king, was destroyed by the river, during the rains; and the palace was in consequence forsaken, as it had been recently built. From *Dwára-bangah*, *Dewára-bangah*, synonymous with *Dewar-báha*, is probably derived the name of the river *Tiberoboas*, or *Tiberobancus*: for thus we should read in the original, instead of *Tiberancus*. The *Bragmana* of PALLADIUS is probably the same with the *Bracmana* of the anonymous geographer: for the greatest part of *Tribuct* is in the *Indian Serica* of that author, and, of course, belongs to the *Rájáship* of *Napál*. MR. DANVILLE was induced to suppose, that the country of BRAMSONG was the *Bracmania* of the anonymous geographer of *Ravenna*; because the French say, *Brámes*, instead of *Bráhmens*; *Tir-hut*, called also *Mit'hila*, and *Mait'hila*, is famous, from the most remote antiquity, for the learning of many *Bráhmenical* families, residing there even to this day. The appellation of *Bramsong* is probably derived from a colony of *Burmans*, settled there. The language of these mountaineers has much affinity with the dialect of the *Burmahs*, according to MR. BUCHANAN's vocabulary. Their country is called, in the *Mahá-Bhárata*, *Varma-dêsa*, and placed in the east, seemingly, in opposition to *Sarma-dêsa*, or *Ethiopia*. The names of *Magad'ha*, or *Mabed*, have been distorted, by *Persian* and *Arabian* authors, into *Máber*, or the passage: because there is a passage through it to the adjacent countries: for the same reason, they have altered the name of

Lahaur, into *Rahwer*, the road; because there is really a road through it. They say also, that the kings of *Mábed* were called BIRDOWAL; which may be a corruption from VRISH-BALA, or VRIJA-BALA, pronounced in general, BRIJBALA', and BIRJWA'LA'. This was also one of the many names of BALIN, the founder of the *Dynasties* of the *And'hras*, and *And'hra-bhrityas*.

VII. From *Gaud'idèsa*, *Gaud'i-varsha*, or *Gaud-warsha*, its inhabitants are called *Gadrosi*, by ARRIAN: their country *Gandaris*, by DIODORUS the *Sicilian*, and *Goryandis*, by NONNUS in his *Dionysiacs* *, and this last comes nearest to *Gaúri-dèsa*. This passage is really curious and interesting. The poet is enumerating the various nations which joined DERIADES, or DURYO'D'HANA, and MORRHEUS, the *Mahá-Rájá*, in the great war. Then came, says he, those, who live toward the east of *India*, in the populous country of *Encolla*, the abode of warlike AURORA, and in the divine *Goryandis*, with its well cultivated fields. After them came those who inhabit the country of *Oeta*, the mother of long lived elephants, ranging through its extensive forests. *Encolla* is the country of *Utcala*, now *Orissa*: formerly inhabited by a warlike race, at last extirpated by the CARN'AS, or kings of *Magad'ha*, according to the inscription on the pillar at *Buddaul*. UT-CALA, or UD-CALA, implies the great, and famous country of CALA: and, in the spoken dialects, as well as in *Latin*, UDCALA, may be pronounced *Uc-cala*, as *Ac-currere*, for *Ad-currere*. NONNUS gives to *Gaura-dèsa* the title of divine, from its capital city, which was originally a place of worship, in a forest, dedicated to the goddess *Gaúri*. From this circumstance, it is called *Corygaza*, by PTOLEMY, from the *Sanscrit Gaúri-ghosha*.

* Nonni Dionys. lib. 26. v. 294.

The country of *Oita*, or *Oëta*, is that of *Oude*, with forests in the northern parts, still abounding with elephants. The town is situated on the *Gagra* or *Sarjew*, called after it, the river *Oëdanes*, or *Oude* river, by STRABO, who represents it as a large river, abounding with crocodiles and dolphins, and falling into the *Ganges*. The town itself is called *Athé-nagara*, or the town of *Athe*, by PTOLEMY. The geography of the countries to the north of the *Ganges*, in that author, is distorted in a most surprising manner; and every geographer since has been equally unfortunate, with regard to that country, till MAJOR RENNELL's time. All the ancient maps of *India*, in THEVENOT's collection of travels, and in other authors, are equally bad: and MR. DANVILLE's description of this tract is by no means superior to that of PTOLEMY; for he places *Canouge* below *Allahabad*. Fortunately, the names of these places in PTOLEMY, being very little disfigured, may be easily brought again into their proper order and situation. The town of *Athé* (or *Oeta*) is *Oude*; *Suan-nagura*, for *Suan-nagara*, is the *Nagara* or town of *Sewan*, in *Sircar Sarun*: *Cassida* is *Cási*, or *Benares*, with the mark of the genitive case, according to the idiom of the western dialects. Thus TAVERNIER calls *Sooty*, *Soutiki*; and other travellers use *Dacca-ca* for *D'haca*. *S'elampura*, from the *Sanscrit Salam-pura*, or the *Stone-town* or *fort*; and in the spoken dialects, *Pattar-ghar*, is near *Hardwár*. The kings of *Gaur'da* were not known till the declension of the empire of *Magad'ha*: until then they were vassals and tributaries. They extended, afterward, their dominions as far as *Allahabad*, and assumed the titles of *Mahá-rájas*: and *Bengal* is called *Maaracia*, or country of the *Mahá Rajá*, by NICOLO DE CONTI, who visited it in the fifteenth century.

Tradition says, that BUDDHA-SINHA, emperor of *Gaur'da*, was in pos-

session of *Benares*, at the time of the invasion of the *Musulmans*; and this is confirmed by an inscription found near *Benares* some years ago, and inserted in the fifth volume of the Asiatic Researches, but without a translation. It was written in the year of *Vicramad'itya* 1083, answering to the year 1026 of the Christian *era*. There it is said, that STHI'RAPA'LA, and his brother VESANTAPA'LA, the sons of BHUPA'LA, king of *Gaura*, had erected a most sumptuous monument, still existing, at a place called *Sarnáth*, near *Benares*. This monument of *Bhaudd'hist* kings is mentioned by TAVERNIER, who mistook it for a *sepulchral* monument of the kings of *Boutan*. S'THI'RAPA'LA is mentioned under the name of DHIRAPA'LA, in the list of the kings of *Bengal*, in the AYIN' ACBERI; by which it appears that they pretended to be descended from BHA'GADATTA, the son of NARACA, king of *Prágyotisha*, now *Gauhati*, beyond *Gualpara*, on the borders of *Assam*.

NARACA was put to death by CRĬSHNA; but he restored the kingdom to his son BHA'GADATTA.

VIII. The country of *Magad'ha* was thus called from the numerous families descended from the sage MAGA, the offspring of the sun, and the grandson of the venerable TWASHTA'H in the west. They came into *India* in the time of CRĬSHNA, at the request of his son SA'MBA. They settled in the province of *Cícáta*, now south *Bahar*. There are two tribes of *Bráhmens* in *India*: those of *Can'yáculbja*, or *Canoge*; and the *S'acas* or *S'acalas*, thus called because they came from *Sácam*, or *Sácadwípa*. They are also called *Magas*, from their sire MAGA; and from them are sprung all the *Magas* (or *Mugs*) in the eastern parts of *India*, the *Burman* empire, *Siam*, and *China*. I shall give an account of their

origin and emigration to *India*, when I come to treat of the White Island. The other *Bráhmens* in *India* are called *Canyácubja*, because that was their first settlement on their arrival in *India*. It is universally acknowledged, that the kings of *Magad'ha* gave every possible encouragement to learning, which they endeavoured to diffuse through all classes, by encouraging learned men to write in the spoken dialect of the country. Tradition says, that there were treatises on almost every subject in the *Magad'hi*, *Báli*, or *Páli* dialect, which are supposed to be still extant. I could not, however, procure any; and I believe that they were doomed to oblivion by the *Brahmenical* class, who by no means encourage the composing of books in the vulgar dialects. Should they exist, however, they are to be found among the followers of JINA: and MAJOR MACKENZIE says, that these sectaries are in possession of a great many treatises on different subjects. That this is the case here, I am credibly informed: but the JAINAS are not of a communicative disposition; and I hope that gentleman will find them more tractable in the *Peninsula*. From that circumstance, the dialect of *Magad'ha* is become the *Sanscrit* of *Ceylon*, *Siam*, and the *Burman* empire, where it is called indifferently *Báli* or *Magad'hi*. CAPTAIN MAHONY writes that word *Magedee;* and MR. BUCHANAN, in his learned and interesting Essay on the Religion and Literature of the *Burmahs*, calls it *Magata*. Both say that it is the same with the *Báli*, or *Páli*, which last denomination prevails through the countries of *Ava*, *Siam*, and *Ceylon*, though hardly known in *India*, where they call it *Magadhi*. According to CAPT. J. TOWERS, the word *Páli* is written in *Aracan*, *Palit*, where the letter T has a very peculiar sound. The country of *Pali*, or of the children of PALI, or BALI, the same with MAHA-NANDA, according to the *Puránas*, included all the country to the south of the *Ganges*, from the banks of the *Soane* to the western branch of the *Ganges*.

The *Báli* characters, either square or round, are obviously derived from the *Sanscrit;* but it is doubtful whether, in their present state, they ever prevailed, or were used in any part of *India.* Among the numerous inscriptions in *Bahar,* only a few in that character have been found. One was kindly sent to me by MR. DICK of the civil service. It was obviously written in the *Burmah* character, but I could not decypher it.

The *Bards* of *Magad'ha* were in great repute formerly, and they are mentioned under the name of *Magad'has.* They reckon three sorts of *Bards* in *India:* the *Magad'has,* or historians, thus called because those of *Magad'ha* were the most esteemed; the *Sutas,* or *Genealogists;* and the *Bandis,* whose duty was to salute, early in the morning, the king or chief, in selected phrase, and well-chosen words, wishing him long life and prosperity. The usual name in *India* for a *Bard* is, *Bhát,* vulgarly pronounced *Bhat.* It is not a *Sanscrit* appellation, though asserted to be derived from it. But the original name, as it was pronounced several hundred years ago, was *Bárdái* or *Bárdáhi,* though some think it a different name, applied to the same class of people.

Bhát, or *Bhat,* is derived from the *Sanscrit Várta,* or *Barta;* and which is the same with the *English* word and the *German wort,* a word. In the west, *Bhats* were equally called *Bardi* in *Latin,* and *Bhardh* in *Welsh.* They were also called *Vates,* from *fari, fatus sum* in *Latin,* the same with *Vártá,* the letter R being dropped, as in the vulgar dialects of *India.* They were also denominated *Eubages,* from the *Sanscrit* verb *Vacha* or *Bacha,* to speak, which becomes *Uvácha* and *Ubacha,* through various moods and tenses. *Vacha,* or *Bacha,* becomes also *Bága,* or *Vága;* hence the Irish word *Bogh,* rendered *Logos,* or speech, by GENERAL VALLANCEY. The word

Bardai, or *Vardai*, comes obviously from the same root *Várttá*; but my learned friends are of opinion, that it comes from *Bhár-dánam*, which signifies to *burden* with; because they are *burdened* with the internal management of the royal household: and this is the case, to this day, in *Gurjarát*; being next to the *Prad'hán*, or prime Minister (called *Pardon* by Mr. Lord), though independant of him.

The famous *Chandra*, or *Chanda-Bárdái* was *Bard* to Prĭthu-Ra'ja, King of *Dilli*, whose wars are the subject of an Epic Poem, in the spoken dialect of *Canoge*, and of some antiquity, since it is mentioned in the *Ayn-Acberi*. He was a favorite of Devi, and was *Tri-Cála*, knowing the past, present, and future. The title of *Bárdái* is translated musician by Abul Fazil*. His functions, both in the field, and at home, were exactly those of the ancient *Bards* in the west: except, that, in *India*, a real Bard sings only, but does not play upon any instrument; this being the office of musicians who do not sing. He took a most active part in the bloody war between Prĭthu-Ra'ja, and Jaya-Chan'dra, king of *Canoge*, and *Mahá Rájá* at that time, about a beautiful damsel given to the latter, by Vi'rabhadra, king of *Ceylon*; when Jaya-Chan'dra went in person, at the head of a numerous army, to force him to become tributary, and vassal of the empire; giving out, that he was only going to worship at the place of *Cárticéya-Swámí*, in the fort of *Sancara ghar* in *Sinhala*, or *Ceylon*: which place is resorted to, equally by orthodox Hindus, *Bauddhists*, and even *Musulmans*. He was accompanied by Carna-Daharya, king of *Magad'ha*. Prithu-Ra'ja waged a long and bloody war against Sultan Gori; but was defeated, and lost his life, in the year 1192. Part of the poem, in

* Ayin-Acberi. Vol. 2. p. 120.

which PRĬTHU-RA'JA'S wars with JAYA-CHANDRA, and SULTAN GORI, are described, is in my possession.

The *Bards* of mortal men are not mentioned in any *Sanscrit* book that I ever saw: only those of the Gods. The *Sid'dhas*, the *Chárań'as*, and the *Cinnaras* are the three classes mentioned in the retinue of the Gods, besides the *Puróhita*, or high priest: the regent of the planet JUPITER enjoys that high office, among the Gods; and S'UCRA, who presides over VENUS, among the giants. The SIDD'HAS are priests, and persons of uncommon learning and deep knowledge, to whom nothing is impossible. The *Chárań'as* are really the *Bards* of the Gods: and were probably the same with the *Saron* class of Druids, called also *Saronides*. The *Cinnaras* are historians; and the *Chárań'as* are also acquainted with the genealogies of the Gods, and of mankind. The bards of mortal men were also called *Chárań'as*, according to ABUL-FAZIL. Every great man in India had *Bhats* in his retinue: the practice is still kept up in *Gurjarát*; where they are highly respected to this day, according to my *Pandit*, who is a native of that country. The *Bhats* or *Bhactas*, and *Chárańas*, are mentioned by ABUL-FAZIL, in his description of *Subah Gujarat*. Their employment, says he, is to sing hymns, recite genealogies, and warlike songs in battle, to animate the troops. They acted also as heralds, as in the case of CHANDRA-BARDAI. ABUL-FAZIL makes some difference between the *Bhats*, and *Chárań'as*: but my *Pandit* says, that he never knew of any, *Chàrań'a* being really the *Sanscrit* word for *Bhat* or *Bhacta*. CHA'RAŃA, their ancestor, is said to have sprung from the sweat of MAHADE'VA, who in trusted him with the care of his OX NAṆDI, who resides in the white *Island*. But I am told, that, in the *Puráńas*, it is said, that they were born from the churning of the right arm of VE'NA, father of PRĬTHU or NOAH. *Bards*, in this part of *India*, being without employ, are

become a most despicable race of men. They are more respected in the *Deccan*, according to MAJOR MACKENZIE, who says, that they are generally called CAVÍSARS, from *Cávyéswaras*, or the Lords of the *Drama*.

The Merchants of *Magad'ha* formed not only a peculiar class, but also a particular tribe, called the *Magad'hà* tribe. It seems, that they were bold, enterprising, and at the same time cautious and circumspect: hence they are said to be merchants by the father's, and warriors by the mother's side, according to MR. COLEBROOKE's account of the Hindu Classes. According to the VISHNU-PURA'N'A, the kings of *Magad'ha* originally resided at a place called *Giri-Vraja*, or *Giri-Braja*. *Vraja* is synonymous with GHOSHA, a herdsman, also the abode of a herdsman: and being situated in the hills, it was called *Giri-vraja*. From that circumstance, the kings of *Magad'ha* were, till a very late period, called *Vraja-balas*, or rather, in the spoken dialects, *Vraja-wàlàs*, or *Braja-walas*, distorted afterwards by *Musulman* writers, into *Birdaoval*, according to HERBELOT, and *Birdawal* according to ABULFEDA; who says, that it was also the name of their metropolis. *Giri-Braja* was situated in the province of South *Bahar*, among the mountains of *Sivira*, now called the *Rája-gir*, or the Royal mountains: but more probably the real name was RA'JA-GRÌHA, from a place of that name, implying the royal abode. It is erroneously written, in MAJOR RENNELL's atlas, *Rargiara*. This is acknowledged to have been one of their places of abode: for they say, that the royal throne was at a place called *Asana*, above *Gáyá*, on the river *Balga*, now *Fulgo*, called *Cacuthis*, by ARRIAN. *Asana* signifies a royal seat, or throne: and PTOLEMY mentions, also, a place of that name, *Asana mára*, or the destroyed throne. It is called *Pràcjyotisha* in the *Purán'as*, and its remains are near *Go-háti*, on the frontiers of *Assam*.

There, among the *Rája-gríha* mountains, the unfortunate JARASAND'HA had a palace, near some hot springs, where he generally resided: some remains of it are to be seen to this day, and it is considered as a place of worship. The *Pújá* is there performed, first in honor of CRISHNA, and the five *Pándavas:* then with flowers in honor of old SAND'HA, and his son SAHADE'VA. There, in memory of this unfortunate hero, martial games are annually exhibited. They are performed with clubs, whilst drums are constantly beating. I am informed, that there is a statue of him, of an ordinary size, and seemingly of great antiquity. He is represented naked, with a club in his hand. Formerly the same games were exhibited, in his honor also, opposite to *Patna*, in a small island, called, from that circumstance, *Sam-Mallaca*, and *Sambalaca* by PTOLEMY. They were then celebrated with great solemnity: people came from distant parts; and, during the time they lasted, a fair was held there. The games, the fair, and the place where it was held, were famous all over *India*, and the name of *Sam-Mallaca* became synonymous with *Pátalì-putra*. It is now called *Summalpoor* or *Sumbulpoor*, and, in MAJOR RENNELL's atlas, *Sabelpoor*.

From the manner in which JARA-SAND'HA is represented there, and also from other circumstances, he is fully entitled to the epithet of HERCULES or HARA-CULA, given to him by NONNUS in his *Dionysiacs*.

The *Sinhálas*, according to CAPT. MAHONY, say that BUDD'HA was born in the country of *Maddadesa (Magad'ha-desa)* in *Dumba-deeva (Jambudwípa,)* at a place called *Cumbool-wat-pooree, (Camalá-vatí-puri):* and that he died at *Cooseemapooree (Cusumá-puri)* in the same country. *Camalávatí-puri* is the same with *Padmávatí-puri*, or the city of the *Lotos;* which we have seen is the same with *Cusumápuri*, now understood of *Patna*. It is added, that he

died at the court of king *Mallalel*, which should be *Mahá-ballala*, or *Má-vallala*, a very common name for kings. I have shewn before, that *Cusumápuri*, *Padmávatí*, *Camalá-vati-purí* are epithets, and not proper names of places; and applicable, and generally applied, to the place of residence of great kings. *Pátalí-putra* is never mentioned in the *Puráńas*, or *Sanscrit* books of any antiquity; and its grammatical name is *Pátalí-pura*. As it was the metropolis of the empire of *Magad'ha*, in latter times, and had also the emphatical name of *Padmá-vatí-puri* given to it; every transaction mentioned, as having happened at *Padmávatí*, was of course understood of the last known place under that name; and indeed, it was soon forgotten, that there were once several cities of that name in that country.

The *Magas* in *Bengal* are mentioned by PLINY under the name of *Macca-Calingas*. It appears from the context, that the upper part of the Bay of *Bengal* was divided into three parts, called in general *Calinga*, or the sea-shore in *Sanscrit*, from its abounding with creeks. West *Calinga* extended from the river of *Cuttaca* to the western mouth of the *Ganges*. In an island of the *Ganges*, *amplæ magnitudinis*, of very great magnitude, and of course the *Delta*, was a single nation called *Modo-Galica* and *Modo-Galenca*, from the *Sanscrit Madhya-Calinga*, or middle *Calinga*: then came the *Macco Calingas*, or the *Magas* of *Chittigong*, from *Maga-Calinga*. The *Magas* or *Mugs* maintained themselves as an independent tribe in the *Delta* for a long time; and they were at last expelled by the *Musulmans* and the *Rájas* of *Tipera*, about the beginning of the sixteenth century, as mentioned by P. MONSERRAT*. Through the *Burman* empire, *Arracan* and in *Chittigong* the Priests only

* Gens vero *Modo-Galica*, u qui vulgo dicuntur *Mogi*, quamvis nostrâ memoriâ a *Patanicis* et *Tybreris* ultra *Balsaris* rivum pulsi *Arracani* consistunt. P. MONSERRAT de legatione *Mongolica* Vol. the 1st. p. 19. a manuscript in my possession.

are called *Magas* according to Col. Symes: but in *Chittigong* and adjacent countries, the name of *Muga* is also attributed to the whole tribe.

ESSAY III.

Of the Kings of Magad'ha; their Chronology.

I. As the kings of *Magad'ha* were Lords Paramount, and Emperors of *India*, for above two thousand years; and their country the seat of learning, civilization, and trade; a Geographical and Historical description of this once famous country, cannot but prove both curious and interesting. By *Magad'ha* proper, South *Bahar* is understood: but, in a more extensive sense, it includes all the Gangetic provinces, and is by far the richest and best part of the British empire in *Asia*. It is also famous for having given birth to Budd'ha, and being, as it were, the cradle of the religion of one of the most powerful and extensive sects in the world.

The *Chronology* of its kings is connected with the period of the *Cáliyuga*; which consists of 432,000 years. This, the Hindus have divided into six unequal portions, or subordinate periods, called *'Sacas*, because they derived their origin from six *Sacas*, or mighty and glorious monarchs: three of whom have already made their appearance; and three more are expected. This system of the six *'Sacas*, with their periods, is thus explained in the *Jyotirvidábharána*, an astronomical treatise. Whatever man kills 550,000,000 *'Sacas* (a mighty tribe of heretics), becomes a *'Saca*; and whoever kills this *'Saca* only, becomes a *'Saca* also.

The first was Yud'hish tira, born on the *Saba-Sr'inga*, or mountain

with an hundred peaks, at the extremities of the world; beyond which no body can go; his period lasted 3044 years. Then came the *era* of VICRAMA'DITYA, the second *'Saca*, which lasted only 135 years. He was born at *Támrá-vatí-nagari*, or the town abounding with copper. It is called *Trambá*, or *Tambá-vati*, in the spoken dialects. It no longer exists, having been overwhelmed with a deluge of sand. It was near *Cambát*, thus called from a place of worship, denominated *St'hamba-tirt'ha*, or with a *St'hamba* or pillar, called, in the spoken dialects, *Camba*. From *St'hamba*, the *Greeks* made *Asta*: and from *Támra, (Tramba,)* they made *Trapera, Campra*, and *Copra, Copper*: and, as these two places are contiguous, they said *Asta-Trapera, Asta-Capra, Campra*, &c. Sometimes they represented them as two distinct cities.

The third *'Saca* was SALIVAHANA, born at *Sàleyà-Dhára* in the *Deccan*; and his period will last 18,000 years. The fourth *'Saca* will be VIJAYA'BHI NANDANA, who will be born at *Su-Chitra-cút'a*: his period will last 10,000 years. Then, at *Rohita* (or *Rotas,*) will be born NAGARJUNA; whose period will last 400,000 years. Then will re-appear the antediluvian BALI, who is to be born at *Bhrĭgu-gosha, Barigaza*, or *Baroach*: his period will last only 821 years; when a general renovation of the world will take place.

The Hindus have thought proper to connect their chronology with an astronomical period of a most strange nature. It is that of the seven *Rishis*, or seven *stars* of the wain, which are supposed to go through the *Zodiac*, in a retrograde motion in the space of 2700 years. They are at present in the Lunar mansion of *'Swáticà*, according to the most famous astrologers of *Benares*, who cautioned me against the erroneous opinion of other astronomers, in various parts of *India*, who insist that they are now in *Anurádhá*.

I requested an able astronomer to give me, in writing, an account of this wonderful revolution. This period, says he, is not obvious to the sight; but it does, however, really exist, being mentioned in old *Sástras*, and by holy *Munis;* and certainly the seven *Rĭshis* preside in every Lunar mansion, for a hundred years; and their presence, or rather influence, over it, is sufficiently obvious: and, according to SA'CALYA MUNI, their yearly motion is of eight *liptas*, or minutes.

In the *Varáhi-sanhìta*, the *Vishnu-Purána*, and also in the *Bhágavata*, I believe, it is declared, that, at the birth of PARICSHITA, the seven *Rĭshis* had been in *Maghà* for four years, or 4905 years ago; and they were in *Purvásharà* in the time of NANDA.

But in the *Brahma-Sidd'hánta*, it is declared, that they were then in *'Sravan'a*, which makes a difference of fifteen Lunar mansions, or 1500 years: so that, according to that author, the *Cali-yugá* began 2405 years ago, or 1600 years B.C. supposing the seven *Rĭshis* to be now in *'Swàticá*, in which they are to remain ten years more; but, if they are in *Anurádhá*, the *Cali-yugá* began 1400 years B. C. The author of the *Garga-Sanhita*, according to BHATTOTPA'LA in his commentary, seems to be of that opinion, when he says, that the seven *Rĭshis* were in *Maghá*, in the twilight between the *Dwápar* and the *Caliyuga*. In the *Lalloctád'hi-vridd'hi*, it is declared, that they were then in *Abhijìt*, or in the first of *'Sravana*.

The names of the seven *Rĭshis*, shining in the wain, are *Pulŭha*, or the star α; *Cratu*, β; *Atri*, γ; *Pulastya*, δ; *Angiras*, ι; *Vasisht'ha*, ζ; and, close to it is a small star, representing *Arundatí* his wife; the seventh is *Marichi*, or η. My friends insist that their motion is perceptible; and they shewed

them plainly to me in *Swáticá*. Of this they wanted to convince me, by drawing a line, from that mansion through the stars β and α of the great bear. When they are in *Maghá* then the line passes through this asterism and the stars δ and α. By these means they could see them in every part of the starry heavens. When NANDA was born, they were then in *Purváshádhá*, or about 400 years B. C. and he died 327 before the Christian *era*. Astrologers watch carefully their motion, because their influence is variously modified through every mansion: and whatever new married couple see them in a fortunate moment, they are sure to live happy together for a hundred years. Hence, says the ingenious MR. BAILLY, we may safely conclude, that no body ever saw them in that propitious moment.

The period of the seven *Rishis* begins to be neglected in the more northern parts of *India*, because they are not always to be seen at the lucky moment; and, in their stead, they use DHRUVA, or the polar star: this star is often mentioned in the sacred books of the Hindus, and it is connected with their mythology; but has not long been near enough to the *Pole*, to be thus denominated after it: and for a long series of years, before, there was no DHRUVA or immoveable star. Be this as it may, DHRUVA, with his relations, shines in the lesser bear. In the *Yantra-ratna-vályam*, this constellation is called the fish of DHRUVA-BRAHMA'NA'D'HICA'RA. It consists of thirteen stars: DHRUVA is in the mouth, and UTTA'NAPA'DA his father in the tail. The mouth is turned towards *Bharaní*, and its revolution is the same.

The wives of the seven *Rishis* are the PLEIADES, at least six of them; for the Hindus do not know that they were seven formerly. AGNI fell in love with them; but his wife, dreading the resentment of the holy *Rishis*, assumed their shapes and countenances, and thus personifying them, satisfied her

husband's lust. She was however unsuccessful with regard to ARUND'HATI', the consort of VASISHTA, on account of her extraordinary holiness and sanctity. Soon after, some scandalous reports prevailed, and the six other *Rishis* dismissed their consorts, and drove them out of their places, within the *Arctic* circle. They were intrusted with the education of young CA'RTICE'YA, who placed them in the *Zodiac*, after expelling *Abhijit*.

The PLEIADES, according to Mythologists in the west, were intrusted likewise with the education of BACCHUS, (who, according to MACROBIUS, was the same with MARS, or CA'RTICE'YA); and, on that account, he translated them into heaven. According to those writers, they suffered a real bodily pollution; and the seventh, says HYGINUS, left her sisters, and fled to the region of the heavens within the *Arctic* circle*; and this is the ARUNDHATI' of the Hindus.

I have not been able to ascertain whose daughters the consorts of the seven *Rishis* were: neither did the western mythologists agree about it; though they supposed, in general, that they were the daughters of ATLAS; but, as they never existed, it is a matter of little consequence. Thus we see, that, according to some, YUDHISHTI'R, or JUDHISHTER, lived 3100 B. C. and began his reign immediately after the *Pralaya*, or *flood*; like XISUTHRUS, or SISISTHRUS; whilst, according to others, he lived between the years 1500 and 1370 B. C. like SESOSTRIS.

The beginning of the *Cali-yuga*, considered as an astronomical period, is fixed and unvariable; 3044 years before VICRAMADITYA, or 3100 B. C. But the beginning of the same, considered either as a civil, or historical period, is by no means agreed upon.

* Hygin. Poetic. Astronom. p. 471.

In the *Vishnu*, *Bráhmánda*, and *Váyu Puránas*, it is declared, that from the beginning of the *Cali-yuga*, to MAHA-NANDA's accession to the throne there were exactly 1015 years. This emperor reigned 28 years; his sons 12; in all 40; when CHANDRAGUPTA ascended the throne, 315 years B. C. The *Cali-yuga* then began 1370 B. C. or 1314 before VICRAMA'DITYA: and this is confirmed by an observation of the place of the Solstices, made in the time of PARA'SA'RA, and which, according to MR. DAVIS, happened 1391 years B. C. or nearly so. PARA'SA'RA, the father of VY'ASA, died a little before the beginning of the *Cali-yuga*. It is remarkable that the first observations of the *Colures*, in the west, were made 1353 years before CHRIST, about the same time nearly, according to MR. BAILLY.

In the same *Puránas*, it is also declared, that, from the *Dynasty* of the NANDAS, to king PULIMA'N, there would elapse 836 years. PULOMA', or LOMADI, called POULOMIEN, OULOMIEN, and OULOMIENTO, in the annals of *China*, died in the year 648, according to DE GUIGNES. This passage from the *Brahmánda* is obscure, being in a prophetical style: the words are: 'From the birth of PARICSHITA to NANDA (I suppose his accession to the throne) there will be 1015 years: from NANDA to PULOMA' and the ANDHRAS, 836 years.' NANDA died 327 years B. C. and PULOMA in the year 648, according to the annals of *China:* the difference is 975 years, instead of 836.

If we suppose that the 836 years are to be reckoned, from the end of the *Dynasty* of NANDA, instead of the death of their primogenitor, the numbers will agree perfectly well. This *Dynasty* lasted, either 137, or 139 years, according to the *Puránás;* which, added to 836, give exactly 975, the number of years required.

The accuracy of the annals of *China*, and the carelessness of the Hindu chronologers, are equally known; and, of course, the former must be our guide.

According to the BAUDD'HISTS, the ancient BUDDHA, or DHARMA-RA'JA, probably the same with YUDHISHTI'RA, manifested himself, or began to reign, 1367 years B. C. as mentioned in the *Ayin-acberi*. It will appear hereafter, that the DHARMA-RA'JA, the subordinate MENU of his *Calpa*, was really the MINOS of the *Greeks:* that CRĬSHNA, or RA'D'HA'MO'HANA, was the same with RHADAMANTHUS, or RADHAMANES. MINOS could not have lived earlier than 130, or 140 years, before the Trojan war, which happened 1184 B. C. and the time of his death happened about 1320 years before the same *era*. If the taking of *Troy* happened 1200 B. C. as some suppose, then MINOS died about the year 1330: and admitting, that the first year of the *Cali-yuga* was the 1370 year B. C. YUDHISHTI'RA, of course, died in the 1332; according to some who assert, that he died 38 years after the beginning of the *Cali-yuga*. Others say, that he lived 28, and even 8 years only, after the beginning of that period. The DHARMA-RA'JA of the *Bauddhists* lived 120, and MINOS 120 also, or 125 years, according to others. NONNUS, in his *Dionysiacs*, shews that JARA'-SANDHA, literally old SANDHA, *Mahá-rája*, of *India*, and whom he well describes, when he says, that MORRHEUS, the Emperor of *India*, who was called SANDES, was contemporary with MINOS; and his BACCHUS is the same with BHAGAVA'N, in the character of CRĬSHNA. Thus we have two *eras* of the same event, (an inferior, and subordinate Cataclysm, or desolation,) one 1578, and the other 1370 years B. C. This desolation of the world was the deluge of DEUCALION, as I have shewn in my Essay on Mount *Caucasus:* and they

made use of the same computation nearly with the *Paurânics*, for they say that it happened 1529 years B. C. according to EUSEBIUS and the *Parian Chronicle*, and other authors: whilst the ablest Chronologers have shewn, that it could not have happened earlier than the year 1380 B. C. The *Greeks* had also four ages, like the Hindus; and the last, or *Iron age*, answering to the *Cali-yuga*, began some time before the *Trojan war*, and a little after the expedition of the *Argonauts* and DEUCALION. HESIOD laments very much, that he was born during that age of corruption and wretchedness. Thus the *Greeks* and the *Paurânics* themselves, in their more sober moments, agree perfectly about the beginning of the *Cali-yuga*, or *Iron age*.

According to the Institutes of MENU, we may place the beginning of the *Cali-yuga* about the year 1370 before CHRIST. For we read there, that men in the golden age lived 400 years; 300 in the next, or silver age: 200 in the brass one: and 100 in the *Cali-yuga*. These four ages are obviously to be reckoned from the *flood;* after which men, as far down as EBER, lived about 400 years: and then, regularly decreasing, till the beginning of the *Iron age*, or 1370 B. C. when we find that YUD'HISHTHI'RA, CRĬSHNA', MINOS, and JUPITER lived about 100 years.

The followers of JINA place the beginning of the *Cali-yuga* in the year 1078 B. C. as we shall see hereafter Their chronological system has of course, much affinity with that of SIR ISAAC NEWTON. Every *Pandit* will boast, that they have uninterrupted lists of kings, from the beginning of the *Cali-yuga*, to the *Era* of VICRAMA'DITYA; and even lower down, for the space of 3044 years: but what was my astonishment, to find in perusing the *Purân'as*, that this was by no means the case, as it appears from the accompanying table, in which, one list gives only 1718

years, and the other no more than 1672, from the first year of the *Cali-yuga* to the *Era* of VICRAM'ADITYA. In the third column, which I have made out of the shortest numbers in both lists, the sum total amounts only to 1409 years; from which we must deduct 36 years, for the supposed reign of PUSHPAMITRA, (for he did not ascend the throne himself, after having murdered his own sovereign; but resigned it to his son;) and there remain 1373 years: and the highest numbers in both lists give 1855. The first list is from the *Brahmánda*, and the second from the *Váyu-puráńa*. In other *Puráńas*, the number of years, during which each prince reigned, is omitted; but the sum total of the reigns of each dynasty is recorded. From the first year of the *Cali-yuga*, to the death of PURANJAYA, they reckon 1000 years, for 22 reigns, or perhaps generations; which is inadmissible. From the first year of the *Cali-yuga* to the birth of BUDD'HA they reckon also 1002 years, including 23 generations: now Budd'ha was born 618 B. C. This places the first year of the *Cali-yuga* 1564 before the *Era* of VICRAMA'DITYA.

From the first year of the *Cali-yuga* to the death of PURANJAYA, they reckon 1000 years, as we have seen before: add to this,

	From the BHA'GAVAT,	From the VISHNU *Puráńa*,
for the SUNACAS, - -	138	128
the SISUNACAS, - -	360	362
MAHA'-NANDA, &c. -	-	-
to CHAND'RAGUPTA's reign,	100	100
	1598	1590
before CHRIST, - -	315	315
	1913	1905
Subtract, - - -	56	56
Before VICR'AMADITYA,	1857	1849

It appears, that the SUNACAS and SI-SUNACAS were two branches of the same family: the first sat on the throne 128 years; but the sum of the reigns, in both dynasties, amounted to 362. MAHA'-NANDA and the SUMA'LYA'DICAS reigned only 40 years, instead of 100: and the whole may stand thus corrected, from the first year of the *Cali-yuga*, down to the

1000 } accession of CHAND'RAGUPTA, or 315 years B. C. There are 52
362 }
40 } generations and reigns mixed together, to fill up that space, or
1402 } about 31 years for one reign; which calculation is too large.

These different computations of the *era* of the *Cali-yuga* from the *Purán'as*, with the several corrections which they are susceptible of, I thought of the greatest importance to lay before the learned. In the two accompanying lists, the numbers, particularly in the beginning, are obviously too large either for generations or reigns, and of course they must be rejected. It is remarkable, that these numbers are pretty regularly decreasing, from 98 for a reign, in the beginning down to VICRAMA'DITYA, to three or four years. This regular decrease is equally inadmissible.

The first king of *Magad'ha* was JARA'-SAND'HA; for that country began to be known under that name in his time, being before denominated *Cícata*. But JARA'-SAND'HA was not the first king of *Cícata;* his ancestors had ruled over it for many generations, at least from the time of VRÌHADRATHA, or VRÌHAT-RAT'HA; from whom the whole dynasty, as far down as PURANJAYA, or RIPUNJAYA, is denominated the dynasty of the *Bàrhadrat'has*, in a derivative form. They were descended from PURU, the fifth son of YAYA'TI, the son of NAHUSHA. We are told in general, that YAYA'TI divided his empire, the whole world, amongst his five sons. To PURU, the youngest and his favourite, he gave *India*, or the middle part; to the others, who had incurred his displeasure, he allotted in-

ferior kingdoms. To YADU, the ancestor of CRĬSHNA, he gave the south, by which they understand the *Deccan* or *Peninsula*. The north to ANU, the east to DRUHYA, and the west to TURVASU: but this division does not agree with what we read in the *Harivansa*. Besides, as the *Bráhmens* acknowledge that they are not natives of *India*, but came from the N. W. and that *Canoge* was their first settlement; their ancestors, at that early period, surely could not yet have conquered India, or even made any settlement in it. The offspring of TURVASU, so far from settling in the west, is declared, in the *Harivansa*, to have settled in the southern parts of *India;* and in the tenth generation, including their *sire*, four brothers divided the *Peninsula* among themselves. Their names were PANDYA, CE'RALA, CO'LA, and CHO'LA; and this division obtains even to this day. CO'LA lived in the northern parts of the *Peninsula*, and his descendants are called COLES and COLLERS to this day; and they conceive themselves, with much probability, to be the aborigines of *India*, to which they give the name of *Coller* or *Colara*. Hence we read in PLUTARCH, that the *Ganges* was called formerly the *Calaurian* river; and the same author mentions a *Calaurian*, or *Hindu*, and a handsome damsel, called DIOPETHUSA, who was also a *Calaurian*, or native of *India*, or country bordering upon the *Calaurian* river *.

In the same manner, we find the posterity of ANU dividing the eastern parts of *India*, among themselves, under the names of *Anga, Banga, Calinga, Pundhra* (now *Tamlook*) and *Undhra* (or *Orissa*); and we are always reminded, that CRĬSHNA and the PA'NDAVAS came from the west; and their first settlements were on the banks of the *Hydaspes* or *Vitastá*, the country bordering upon which is called, by PTOLEMY, the country of the PANDOVI

* Plutarch. de fluminibus.

or PANDAVAS. CHRĬSHNA had a small estate near *Dwáraca*, in *Gurjarát*, where he generally lived.

The first kings of the *Dynasty* of the *Bárhadrat'has* being omitted in the table, are given here from the *Harivansa*. The famous UPARICHARA was the sixth in lineal descent from CURU; and his son was

VRĬHADRATH'A
CUSH'AGRA
VRĬSHABHA
PUSHPAVA'N
SATYASAHITA
URJA
SAMBHAVA
JARA'-SAND'HA.

JARA'-SAND'HA, literally old SAND'HA or SAND'HAS, was the lord paramount of *India* or *Mahá Rájà*, and in the spoken dialects *Mà-Raj*. This word was pronounced *Morieis* by the *Greeks*; for HESYCHIUS says, that *Morieis* signifies king in *India*; and in another place, that Μαι in the language of that country, signified great. NONNUS, in his *Dionysiacs**, calls the lord paramount of *India*, *Morrheus*, and says that his name was SANDES, with the title of HERCULES. Old SAND'HA is considered as a hero to this day in *India*, and pilgrimages, I am told, are yearly performed to the place of his abode, to the east of *Gayá*, in south *Bahar*. It is called RAJA-GRĬHA, or the royal mansion, in the low hills of *Ràja-giri*, or the royal mountains; though their name I suspect to be derived from RAJA-GRĬHA. The *Dionysiacs* of NONNUS are really the history of the *Mahá Bhàrata*, or great war, as we shall see hereafter. A certain DIONYSIUS wrote also a history of the

* Nonn. Dionys. lib. 34. v. 197.

Mahábhárata in *Greek*, which is lost: but from the few fragments remaining, it appears that it was nearly the same with that of NONNUS, and he intitled his work *Bassarica*. These two poets had no communication with *India*; and they compiled their respective works from the records and legendary tales of their own countries. NONNUS was an *Egyptian*, and a *Christian*. The Dionysiacs supply deficiencies in the *Mahá-Bhárata* in *Sanscrit*; such as some emigrations from *India*, which it is highly probable took place in consequence of this bloody war.

JARA'-SAND'HA erected a *Jaya-sthamba* or pillar of victory at *Benares*. According to tradition, it was destroyed by the *Musulmans*, and the capital, the only remains of it, has been shewn to me. It stood near the *Ganges*, at the *Gaut*, or landing-place of JARA'-SAND'HA, as it is called to this day. These pillars are pretty numerous along the banks of the *Ganges*, and most of them are of very great antiquity. They were known to the *Greeks*, who called them the pillars of *Bacchus*.

The accession of CHAN'DRA-GUPTA to the throne, and more particularly the famous expiation of CHANACYA, after the massacre of the *Sumályas*, is a famous *era* in the Chronology of the Hindus; and both may be easily ascertained from the *Puránas*, and also from the historians of ALEXANDER. In the year 328 B. C. that conqueror defeated PORUS; and as he advanced*, the son of the brother of that prince, a petty king in the eastern parts of the *Panjáb*, fled at his approach, and went to the king of the *Gangaridæ*, who was at that time king NANDA of the *Purán'as*. In the *Mudra'-ráchasa*, a dramatic poem, and by no means a rare book, notice is taken of this cir-

* Diodor. Sic. lib. XVII..c. 91. Arrian also, &c.

cumstance. There was, says the author, a petty king of *Vicatpalli*, beyond the *Vindhyan* mountains, called *Chandra-dása*, who, having been deprived of his kingdom by the YAVANAS, or *Greeks*, left his native country, and assuming the garb of a penitent, with the name of SUVI'DHA, came to the metropolis of the emperor NANDA, who had been dangerously ill for some time. He seemingly recovered; but his mind and intellects were strangely affected. It was supposed that he was really dead, but that his body was re-animated by the soul of some enchanter, who had left his own body in the charge of a trusty friend. Search was made immediately, and they found the body of the unfortunate dethroned king lying as if dead, and watched by two disciples, on the banks of the *Ganges*. They concluded that he was the enchanter, burned his body, and flung his two guardians into the *Ganges*. Perhaps the unfortunate man was sick, and in a state of lethargy, or otherwise intoxicated. Then the prince's minister assassinated the old king soon after, and placed one of his sons upon the throne, but retained the whole power in his own hands. This, however, did not last long; for the young king, disliking his own situation, and having been informed that the minister was the murderer of his royal father, had him apprehended, and put to a most cruel death. After this, the young king shared the imperial power with seven of his brothers; but CHANDRAGUPTA was excluded, being born of a base woman. They agreed, however, to give him a handsome allowance, which he refused with indignation; and from that moment his eight brothers resolved upon his destruction. CHANDRAGUPTA fled to distant countries; but was at last seemingly reconciled to them, and lived in the metropolis: atleast it appears that he did so; for he is represented as being in, or near, the imperial palace, at the time of the revolution, which took place twelve years after. PORUS's relation made his

escape to *Palibothra*, in the year 328 B. C. and in the latter end of it. NANDA was then assassinated in that year; and in the following, or 327, B. C. ALEXANDER encamped on the banks of the *Hyphasis*. It was then that CHANDRAGUPTA visited that conqueror's camp; and, by his loquacity and freedom of speech, so much offended him, that he would have put CHANDRAGUPTA to death, if he had not made a precipitate retreat, according to JUSTIN*. The eight brothers ruled conjointly twelve years, or till 315 years B. C. when CHANDRAGUPTA was raised to the throne, by the intrigues of a wicked and revengeful priest called CHA'NACYA. It was CHANDRAGUPTA and CHA'NACYA, who put the imperial family to death; and it was CHANDRAGUPTA who was said to be the spurious offspring of a barber, because his mother, who was certainly of a low tribe, was called MURA, and her son of course MAURYA, in a derivative from ; which last signifies also the offspring of a barber: and it seems that CHANDRAGUPTA went by that name, particularly in the west; for he is known to *Arabian* writers by the name of MUR, according to the *Nubian* geographer, who says that he was defeated and killed by ALEXANDER; for these authors supposed that this conqueror crossed the *Ganges:* and it is also the opinion of some ancient historians in the west.

In the *Cumáricá-c'handa*, it is said, that it was the wicked CHA'NACYA who caused the eight royal brothers to be murdered; and it is added, that CHA'NACYA, after his paroxism of revengeful rage was over, was exceedingly troubled in his mind, and so much stung with remorse for his crime, and the effusion of human blood, which took place in consequence of it, that he withdrew to the *Sucla-Tírt'ha*, a famous place of worship near

* Lib. xv. c. 4.

the sea on the bank of the *Narmadá*, and seven coss to the west of *Baroche*, to get himself purified. There, having gone through a most severe course of religious austerities and expiatory ceremonies, he was directed to sail upon the river in a boat with white sails, which, if they turned black, would be to him a sure sign of the remission of his sins; the blackness of which would attach itself to the sails. It happened so, and he joyfully sent the boat adrift, with his sins, into the sea.

This ceremony, or another very similar to it, (for the expense of a boat would be too great), is performed to this day at the *Sucla-Tírt'ha*; but, instead of a boat, they use a common earthen pot, in which they light a lamp, and send it adrift with the accumulated load of their sins.

In the 63d section of the *Agni-puráńa*, this expiation is represented in a different manner. One day, says the author, as the gods, with holy men, were assembled in the presence of INDRA, the sovereign lord of heaven, and as they were conversing on various subjects, some took notice of the abominable conduct of CHA'NACYA, of the atrocity and heinousness of his crimes. Great was the concern and affliction of the celestial court on the occasion; and the heavenly monarch observed, that it was hardly possible that they should ever be expiated.

One of the assembly took the liberty to ask him, as it was still possible, what mode of expiation was requisite in the present case? and INDRA answered the CARSHA'GNI. There was present a crow, who, from her friendly disposition, was surnamed MITRA-CA'CA: she flew immediately to CHA'NACYA, and imparted the welcome news to him. He had applied in vain to the most learned divines; but they uniformly answered him, that his crime was of such a nature, that no mode of expiation for it

could be found in the ritual. CHA'NACYA immediately performed the CARSHA'GNI, and went to heaven. But the friendly crow was punished for her indiscretion: she was thenceforth, with all her tribe, forbidden to ascend to heaven; and they were doomed on earth to live upon carrion.

The CARSHA'GNI consists in covering the whole body with a thick coat of cow-dung, which, when dry, is set on fire. This mode of expiation, in desperate cases, was unknown before; but was occasionally performed afterwards, and particularly by the famous SANCARA'CHA'RYA. It seems that CHANDRAGUPTA, after he was firmly seated on the imperial throne, accompanied CHA'NACYA to the *Sucla-tírt'ha*, in order to get himself purified also.

This happened, according to the *Cumáricá-c'handa*, after 300 and 10 and 3000 years of the *Cali-yuga* were elapsed, which would place this event 210 years after CHRIST. The fondness of the Hindus for quaint and obscure expressions, is the cause of many mistakes. But the ruling epocha of this paragraph is the following: "After three thousand and one hundred years of the *Cali-yuga* are elapsed (or in 3101) will appear king SACA (or SA'LIVA'HANA) to remove wretchedness from the world." The first year of CHRIST answers to 3101 of the *Cali-yuga*, and we may thus correct the above passage: "Of the *Cali-yuga*, 3100 save 300 and 10 years being elapsed (or 2790), then will CHA'NACYA go to the *Sucla-tírt'ha*."

This is also confirmed in the 63d and last section of the *Agni-puráṇa*, in which the expiation of CHA'NACYA is placed 312 years before the first year of the reign of SACA or SA'LIVA'HANA, but not of his *era*. This places this famous expiation 310, or 312 years before CHRIST, either three or five years after the massacre of the imperial family.

My *Pandit*, who is a native of that country, informs me, that CHANACYA's crimes, repentance, and atonement, are the subject of many pretty legendary tales, in verse, current in the country; part of some he repeated to me.

Soon after, CHANDRAGUPTA made himself master of the greatest part of *India*, and drove the *Greeks* out of the *Panjáb*. Tradition says, that he built a city in the *Deccan*, which he called after his own name. It was lately found by the industrious and active MAJOR MACKENZIE, who says that it was situated a little below *Srí-Sálam*, or *Parwutum*, on the bank of the *Crishna*; but nothing of it remains, except the ruins. This accounts for the inhabitants of the *Deccan* being so well acquainted with the history of CHANDRAGUPTA. The authors of the *Mudrá-Rácshasa*, and its commentary, were natives of that country.

In the mean time, SELEUCUS, ill brooking the loss of his possessions in *India*, resolved to wage war, in order to recover them, and accordingly entered *India* at the head of an army; but finding CHANDRAGUPTA ready to receive him, and being at the same time uneasy at the increasing power of ANTIGONUS and his son, he made peace with the emperor of *India*, relinquished his conquests, and renounced every claim to them. CHANDRAGUPTA made him a present of 50 elephants; and, in order to cement their friendship more strongly, an alliance by marriage took place between them, according to STRABO, who does not say in what manner it was effected. It is not likely, however, that SELEUCUS should marry an *Indian* princess; besides, CHANDRAGUPTA, who was very young when he visited ALEXANDER's camp, could have no marriageable daughter at that time. It is more probable, that SELEUCUS gave him his natural daughter, born in

Persia. From that time, I suppose, CHANDRAGUPTA had constantly a large body of Grecian troops in his service, as mentioned in the *Mudrá-Rácshasa.*

It appears, that this affinity between SELEUCUS and CHANDRAGUPTA took place in the year 302 B.C. at least the treaty of peace was concluded in that year. CHANDRAGUPTA reigned four-and-twenty years; and of course died 292 years before our *era.*

§ III. After the decline, and ultimately the fall of the imperial house of NANDA, and of the *Báli-putras,* the most illustrious family that sat afterwards upon the imperial throne of *India,* was that of the AND'RHAS. From the *Báli-putras,* the inhabitants of the *Gangetic* provinces were denominated *Páli-bothras* and *Páli-potras:* in the same manner they were called, after the AND'HRAS, the AND'HRA *Indians;* these are the ANDRE-INDI, which lived along the banks of the *Ganges,* according to the *Peutingerian* tables.

The AND'RHA dynasty lasted 456 years: in the *Váyu-purâṅ'a,* it is said 418; but some copies have 458. Be this as it may, the general opinion is, that it lasted 456 or 458 years. These deducted from 648, there remains 192, or 190, for the year of the inauguration of its first king, called BA'LIN, BALIHITA or BA'LEYA, CSHESHMACA, SIND'HUCA, 'SIPRACA, 'SUDRACA, and 'SURACA. In the *Cumáricá-c'haṅ'da,* it is declared, that after 3300 years, save 10, of the *Cali-yuga* were elapsed, a great king, called 'SUDRACA, would reign in *Chárchita:* the name of his metropolis is, however, omitted in many copies. 'SUNDRACA, 'SIPRACA, or SIND'HUCA began then his reign, in the year 191 of the *Christian era.*

From CHANDRAGUPTA's accession to the throne, 315 B. C. to the year 190 A. C. there are 505 years; but during this period the chronological particulars, from the *Puráńas*, are not to be easily reconciled with the general outlines which I have traced out. According to the *Puráńas*, there were ten *Maurya* kings, who ruled 189 years: these were succeeded by the *Sunga* dynasty, consisting of ten kings also, and VICRAMAMITRA was the eighth of that dynasty.

The next was that of the *Canwas*, consisting of four kings; then SUDRACA succeeded to the throne in the year 191. Thus we have six reigns, the last of the *Sunga* dynasty, and the four *Canwas* only, to fill up a space of 246 years; which is impossible.

These *Canwas*, are said to have reigned 345 years; which is still more extravagant. It is obvious, that there is some gross error in the context; to rectify which, in a satisfactory manner, can hardly be expected. It is my humble opinion, that a dynasty is omitted here; and that dynasty is that of the seven AND'HRAS, mentioned in the *Brahmánda*, *Váyu*, *Bhágavata*, and *Vishnu Puráńas*; but out of its place. In some *Puráńas*, the AND'HRA dynasty is made to consist of seven, and in others of nine, kings. In one it is said, that they reigned 300 years; in another only 250 years.

The AND'HRAS made a most conspicuous figure on the banks of the *Ganges* for above 800 years, under three distinct dynasties. The first was called simply the AND'HRA dynasty; and its kings were considered as pure and genuine AND'HRAS. The second dynasty is that of the AND'HRA-JA'TICAS, or of the family or tribe of the AND'HRAS, but a spurious

branch of it. The third is that of the AND'HRA-BHRITYAS, or servants of the AND'HRA sovereigns; who, after the death of PULOMA, seized upon the kingdom, and divided it among themselves. SIPRACA, or SURACCA, was the first of the AND'HRAJ'ATICAS; and the venerable PULOMA was the last. In the *Purán'as* no place is assigned, in the chronological lists of the kings of *Magad'ha*, to the first dynasty of the genuine AND'HRAS: except in one, in which they are placed immediately after PULOMA', who, it is well known, was succeeded by the servants of the AND'HRAS, not by the seven genuine AND'HRAS. In the *Bhágavata*, we read only, that the seven AND'HRAS would reign over the land. In the *Vishnu-purán'a* they are not mentioned, unless they be the same with the COS'ALAS or CAUSALAS. In the *Brahmán'da*, they are introduced between PULOMA' and the AND'HRA-BHRITYAS in an obscure manner; and there the nine AND'HRAS with the AND'HRA-JA'TICAS are joined together in an immediate order of succession; and it is added, that there were thirty-six of them, nine genuine AND'HRAS, and twenty-seven belonging to a spurious branch of the same family; but it is not said which of them ruled first. Now, it is universally acknowledged, that the AND'HRABHRITYAS succeeded PULOMA'; and the fact being testified by the annals of *China*, no doubt can remain concerning this circumstance; and the seven or nine genuine AND'HRAS must of course be placed before the spurious branch, and immediately after the *Can'wa* dynasty. Thus we shall have either 13 or 15 kings, to fill up a space of 246 years. The occasion of this omission is, I believe, that the first kings of the AND'HRA and AND'HRA-JA'TICA dynasties, were prime ministers, and both put their masters to death, and usurped their throne. That SISUMAN, the last of the *Can'wa* dynasty, was put to death by his prime minister, an AND'HRA, is acknowledged by

every historian; and in the *Mahábhráta**, it is declared, that MAHA'-CARN'I, or SUDRACA, usurped the throne from his master, the king of *Magad'ha;* whom he confined, in a place, *amid* waters; from which circumstance, the venerable old man was called, by way of ridicule, *Ambuvícha.* It is added, that the old king was blind and deaf.

The famous 'SRI'-CAR'NNA-DE'VA, in his grant, lately found at *Benares,* declares that he was of the *Haihaya* tribe, who lived originally on the banks of the *Narmadá,* in the district of the western *Gau'da,* or *Gaur,* in the province of *Málava.* Their residence was at *Chauli-Mahéswara,* a famous place of worship to this day, on the *Narmadá;* and built by one of his ancestors. The western *Gaur* was also the native country of a most respectable tribe of *Bráhmens* called SANDILA; who, for several generations, acted as prime ministers to the emperors of the AND'HRA tribe. That this was their native country, is attested by *Major* MACKENZIE, in his account of the kings of *Warangal.* One of the thirty-six musical modes in *India,* and belonging to the superior RA'GA, or mode, called *Malava,* is denominated *Gau'di,* from the country of *Gau'da,* which was part of the province of *Málava.*

They afterwards were called AND'HRAS, from the country of *And'hra,* on the coast of *Coromandel,* and extending from *Nellore* to the *Godaveri;* of which they became kings: but in what manner, and when this was effected, we do not know. They were called AND'HRAS in the time of the *Canva* dynasty, about the beginning of the *Christian era.* At that time,

* *Rájagrihé nagaré* Mágadhánám Ràjà AMBUVÍCHA sa Caranaih chacshushàdihinah. Tasyàmàt *yó mahá Carni* íswary rajánam avamanyaté amátóádhína *iti carnoctih.*

says PLINY, the AND'HRA, ANDARÆ kings, were very powerful in *India*. They had no less than thirty fortified cities, with an army of 100,000 men; and 1000 elephants. Their cavalry consisted only of 2000 men. SRI-CARNNA-DE'VA takes the title of king of *Tri-Calinga*, or of the three shores, to the east and west, and to the south of *India*.

There was another CARNA, mentioned in the *Mahá-Bhárata*, (section of the *Rájah-Dharma*) to whom JARA'-SANDHA gave the city of *Malinì*, with the country round it, now the district of *Bhágleepoor*, called from him, the country of *Carna*. *Malinì*, in lexicons, is said to be the same with *Champá-nagari*, now *Champá-nagar* in that country. This CARN'A was the son of CANTÍ, the wife of PAND'U, who conceived by the sun; and, of course, CARNA is an incarnation of the sun. Tradition says, that the little kingdom of CARNA, now the *Bhágleepoor* district, remained for many generations, in the possession of the descendants of CARNA. This CARNA is totally unconnected with our CARNA, who likewise is of divine extraction, as one of his ancestors, CA'RTAVÍRYA, was conceived in a miraculous manner; and to this day, divine honours are paid to him, in the west of *India*. Hence, they all assumed the titles of 'SRÍ and DE'VA, as in 'SRÍ-CAR'NA-DE'VA, the fortunate and divine CAR'NA, and in 'SRÍ-DE'VA-PALA-DEVA', whose original name was DEVA-PA'LA, answering exactly to the *Greek Theo-philos*, in which the word *Philos* is taken in a passive sense, as well as PA'LA, in *Sanscrit*, in the word DEO-PA'LA. In the compound 'SRÍ-DE'VA-PA'LA-DE'VA, the second DE'VA, is no part of the name, but a title. There is a living instance of such an hereditary divinity, near *Poona*, of which an interesting account is given in the seventh volume of the Asiatic Researches, in the family of MURABAGOSSEYN, whose descen-

dants add the epithet of DE'VA to their proper names, and the chief of the family is considered as a god. There is then every reason to believe that 'SRI'-DE'VA-PA'LA-DE'VA claimed equally a divine origin: and as he was originally from the same country *Gau'da*, in *Málwá*, it is probable that he belonged to the same family.

For by *Gau'da* we must not by any means understand *Bengal:* which, as far as I can recollect, is never thus called in any book I ever met with. Its metropolis is indeed called *Gaudí* from the goddess of that name, who was worshipped there: hence it is with propriety called *Gau'rigosha (Corygaza)* by PTOLEMY. But *Gau'da*, as the name of a country, does not seem to be in the least connected with that of the goddess *Gaudí*.

In the names of six kings, mentioned in the grant found at *Mongir*, we find the adjunct *pála*, which seems to be characteristic of that branch of the HAIHAYA tribe.

The HAIHAYA tribe, to which the AND'HRA family belongs, claims for their ancestor HAIHAYA, the son of the godlike YADU, and the grandson of NAHUSHA, or NOAH: MAHISHMA'N, the fourth in descent from him, built *Mahishmatí*, now *Chauli-mahéswara* on the *Narmadá*. The fourth descendant of the last mentioned was 'SRI'TAVI'RYA, whose son was the famous CA'RTAVI'RYA, to whom divine honors are paid to this day.

There is a dynasty of HAIHAYAS, mentioned in the *Purán'as*, who have no connection with the AND'HRA dynasty; and they are introduced as possessed of some district, the situation and name of which are omitted; but it was probably the country of *And'hra* in the *Deccan*. A

powerful tribe of these HAIHAYAS, according to the *Puráńas* (as I have been lately informed,) lived in the countries on the banks of the *Ganges*, in the time of king SAGARA; but in consequence of their ill behaviour to him and his son, he was obliged to drive them out of *India*, except a few, who held the conduct of their relations in abhorrence. Tradition says, that they withdrew to western countries, where it is added that they were better known under the names of *Párasicas*, *Asvamuc'has*, or horse-faced, and that of *Asva pati* for the title of their kings. This traditionary legend originates probably from their name, HAIHAYA, implying horses, or horsemen: PLINY mentions a nation in *Persia* called HYI.

The CARŃ'A of the *Mahá-Bhárata*, to whom JAR'A-SAND'HA gave the country of *Bháglepoor*, cannot be the same who dethroned the king of *Magad'ha;* for this king was blind and deaf, and the usurper was his prime minister: but JAR'A-SAND'HA was in the full enjoyment of his bodily faculties, when he was put to death by CRISHŃA, or rather BHÍMA. The first is called CARŃ'A, and the usurper MAH'A-CAR'ŃI. This last is famous, all over *India*, and even as far as *Malaca*, and the adjacent islands, according to MR. MARSDEN; who says, that they have legends there, mentioning MAHA'-CARŃ'A, and a lion possessing surprising powers, and shooting arrows at him. This lion they call SINGA-SACTEE, (SINHA'-SACTI,) and SINGA-RAJOON (SINHA-RA'JA*). He is mentioned also in the grant of the king of *Tagara*, inserted in the first volume of the Asiatic Researches, and his munificence and liberality are there highly praised. King BHO'JA, in his address to RA'JA MUNJA, considers him and VICRA-

* Asiat. Researches, Vol. 4. p. 22.

MA'DITYA as the two most powerful kings that ever existed. He is, for that reason, called AD'ITYA, and also RA'JA-VICRAMA: and in the *Agni-purán'a* VICRAMA'DITYA, the son of GAND'HA-RUPA, is positively declared to be CA'RN'A'NSYA, or descended from RA'JA'-CARN'A. This is, of course, the VICRAM'ADITYA mentioned by FERISHTA, as contemporary with SAPOR king of *Persia*, who ascended the throne in the year 241: and in some lists 'SURACA is said to have reigned 56 years. FERISHTA knew of no other VICRAMA'DITYA, but this; and some missionaries, who have fixed the death of VICRAMA and the beginning of his *era*, in the year 250, must have been misled by legends wholly relating to this VICRAMA'DITYA.

He is mentioned in the *Vrihat-cat'há*, under the of name 'SUDRACA, or 'SURACA, among the several worthies, dignified with the title of VICRAM'ADITYA. In another section he is introduced as the prime minister of an emperor of *Pátali-putra*, or *Patna*, who was labouring under various infirmities; when he was advised, by a mischievous *Bráhmen*, to avail himself of these circumstances, and usurp the throne; which he did, according to the *Puránás* and the *Mahábhárata*.

In the *Bhágavata*, he is called BALIHICA, or rather BALIHITA: in the *Vishnu-puráná*, 'SIPRACA; in the *Brahmán'da*, CH'ITSMACA; in the *Váyu-puráná*, SIND'HUCA: he was the first of the AND'HRA-JA'TIYAS. In the *Cumáricá c'han'da* he is called 'SU'DRACA, and in some copies 'SU'RACA; and the first year of his reign was the 3291 of the *Cali-yuga*. In the *Mahá-Bhárata*, he is called MAHA'-CARN'I, king of kings; and the name of his sovereign, whom he dethroned, but did not put to death, was AMBU-VÍCHA.

In his grant, found lately at *Benares*, he called himself ŚRÍ-CARN'N'A-DE'VA, king of *Tri-Calinga*, or *India*.

A few years ago (in 1801) this grant was found at the bottom of an old well filled with rubbish, in the old fort of *Benares*. It is engraven upon two brass plates, joined by a ring, to which is affixed the imperial seal. It is of the same size nearly, and in the same shape with that found at *Mongír*. The writing is also the same, or at least without any material deviation. The imperial seal is about three inches broad: on it, in *bas-relievo*, is PA'RVATÍ, with four arms, sitting, with her legs crossed: two elephants are represented, one on each side of her, with their trunks uplifted. Below is the bull, NANDI, in a reclining posture, and before him is a basket. Between PA'RVATÍ and the bull is written ŚRÍ-CARN'N'A-DE'VA. The grant is dated the second year of his new *era*, and also of his reign, answering to the *Christian* year 192. According to the *Puráńas*, he reigned twenty-three years, and was succeeded by his brother CRÍSHNA, who reigned eighteen; and his son was ŚRÍ-ŚAT-CARN'I, or ŚRÍ-ŚAT-CARN'A, who reigned 56 years. This surely could not be his name, as it signifies the prosperous seven CARN'IS.

The ancestors of ŚRÍ-CARN'N'A-DE'VA, mentioned in the grant, were, first, his father GA'NGE'YA-DE'VA, with the title of VIJAYA-CANTACA: he died in a loathsome dungeon. He was the son of COCALLA-DE'VA, whose father was LACSHMANA-RAJA'-DE'VA. MAHA'-CARNI, according to tradition, resided at a place called *Jangirah*, near *Sultangunj*, and about half way between *Mongír* and *Bhágalpoor*. There some remains were shewn to me of his palace, on the site of which an indigo factory

now stands. He is called there 'SRÍ-CARN'E'SWARA, or simply CARN'E's WARA, perfectly answering to SRÍ'-CARNA-DE'VA. The opposite rocks in the *Ganges* were known by the name of *Carnagiri*, or the hill of CARNA'. There lived the old king of *Magad'ha*, blind and deaf; and in that state of infirmity, this was certainly a very comfortable place for him to live in. It does not appear that 'SRÍ-CARN'A-DE'VA used him ill: certainly, the good old man could no longer act, or appear as a sovereign. Be this as it may, from that circumstance the old king was nicknamed AMBU-VÍCHA, or he who resides in the middle of waters.

There was also another king of *Magad'ha*, called CARN'A with the surname of DAHA'RIYA; because he generally resided at a place called *Dahára*, between *Mongìr* and *Surujgurh;* and inserted in *Major* RENNELL'S atlas. This CARN'A is mentioned in an Epic Poem, entitled the wars of PRÍT'HU-RA'JA, in the spoken dialects; and part of which is in my possession. PRÍT'HU-RA'JA waged war against SULTAN GORI, in the year 1192 of the Christian *era*. The king of *Magad'ha* is called there, CARN'A DAHA'RA, and he accompanied the Emperor JAYA-CHANDRA, in his expedition against *Ceylon*, which he undertook, under pretence of a pilgrimage to worship the famous statue of CA'RTICE'YA-SWA'MI. At the head of a numerous army, he marched from *Yóginí-pura*, or *Dilli*, for thus the last is spelled throughout the poem. The general rendezvous of the vassal kings was to be at *Govál-chan'da*, said to be *Gowel-ghur*, near *Ellichpoor*. He then sent a message to VÍ'RA-BHADRA, king of *Singala*, (or *Ceylon*,) to prepare every thing for his reception; being a vassal of the empire. VÍRA-BHADRA submitted with good grace: and JAYA-CHANDRA went to *Ceylon*, worshipped CA'RTICE'YA-SWA'MI, and visited the famous fort of *Sancara-gríha*, near the sea shore, and saw there the statues of RA'MA and

RA'VANA. I am also informed, that this CARN'A had a daughter, who lived in one of the royal seats near *Colgong*; and was seduced by the poet CHAUDA, whose works are still extant. I have mentioned before, that the *And'hra* princes, who ruled on the banks of the *Ganges*, are divided into three classes, the dynasty of the genuine AND'HRAS, consisting of nine kings: then the *And'hra-játiyas*, or of the family of the AND'HRAS: and lastly the *And'hra-bhrityas*, or servants of the *And'hra* princes, who seized upon the government. It is not an easy matter to ascertain, whether the AND'HRA dynasty is to be placed before, or after the *And'hra-játiyas*. I have placed it before, first to fill up a chasm in the list of the emperors of *India:* in the second place, it is universally agreed, that the AND'HRA-BHRITYAS usurped the throne, immediately after the death of PULOMA, the last of the *And'hra-játiyas:* and this last circumstance is corroborated by the testimony of *Chinese* historians, according to MR. DEGUIGNES. Besides, in the *Brahmán'da*, the AND'HRAS and AND'HRA-JA'TI'YAS are considered but as one dynasty, consisting of thirty-six kings, from which, subtracing the nine AND'HRAS, remain twenty-seven kings, which is the exact number of kings in the dynasty of the AND'HRA-JA'TI'YAS, resulting from four lists compared together.

Nothing is related of the kings of this dynasty, except of the last, called PULIMA'N, PULOMA, LOMA'DI, and PULOMA'RCHHI, or PULOM'A the pious RISHI. He was a great conqueror, and put an end to his life in the holy stream of the *Ganges*.

In an inscription found at *Budd'ha-gáyá*, and inserted in the first Volume of the Asiatic Researches, mention is made of three kings of *Magad'ha*, emperors of *India*. The first called YAJNYA-VARMA, was a

most religious prince, and, taken up with the performance of religious duties, he disturbed not the powerful ocean. His son SARDULA-VARMA', though religiously inclined, was a great warrior: and he conquered the world or *India:* and he terminated his brillant career, by the voluntary deed of death, near the uprising ocean; probably at old *Ságar* behind *Fultá* near *Moorgatcha,* in MAJOR RENNELL'S atlas. His son was also a pious prince, called ANANTA-VARMA'. YAJNYA-VARMA' appears to be the same with YAJNYA'SRI in the accompanying lists, and the great grand father of PULOMA'. His name YAJNYAS'RI, as mentioned by the *Pauránics,* implies that he was fortunate, through the constant performance of the YAJNYA. YAJNYA-VARMA signifies the warrior, who delighted in the performance of the YAJNYA: and had he been of the sacerdotal class, they would have called him YAJNYA-'SARMA'. His son conquered the refractory princes through *India,* or the world; he was then entitled to the epithet of *Vijaya,* or the great conqueror: and such is the name of the son of YAJNYASRI', in the *Puránas,* where ANANTA-VARMA' is called CHANDRA'SRI, because, being a religious prince, he was probably addicted to the worship of the moon. The *Chinese* historians mention an emperor of *India,* called YEUGNAI, which name is the same with YAJNYA, generally pronounced YAGNYA. As he lived in the year 408, the times do not coincide: but this was probably the title of some other pious prince. PULIMAN, PULOMA', or LOMA' is called POULOMILN, HOULOMILN, and HOULOMIENTO, by the *Chinese.* According to Mr. DEGUIGNES, he conquered all *India,* in the year 621, and died in 648. From him *India* was called *Poulomuen-Koué,* or the country of PULIMA'N by the *Chinese:* and the *And'hra* princes were so famous, that the inhabitants of the *Gangetic* provinces were called, in the west, the *And'hra Hindus,* or *André Indi,* according to the *Peutingerian* tables, in which they are placed

along the banks of the *Ganges*. After the death of PULIMA'N, the whole country was thrown into confusion, according to DEGUIGNES. OLONACHUN, one of the chief officers, (perhaps CALYANA'-CHANDRA,) seized upon the *Gangetic* provinces, and hearing that the embassadors, from TAITSONG, Emperor of *China*, to king PULIMAN, were coming with HIUENTSE, the chief of the *embassy*, he sent troops to seize them: and HIUENTSE effected his escape, with much difficulty, to *Tibet;* where YETSONGLONGTSAN, king of that country, gave him an army, with which HIUENTSE re-entered the *Gangetic* provinces, defeated the usurper, and took him prisoner.

From the death of PULIMA'N we may date the fall of the empire, though not of the kingdom, of *Magád'ha*, or south *Bahar*, in the year 648. There were *Mahárájás*, or Emperors, at *Canoge*, in *Gurjárát*, and other parts of *India*. *Anu-Gangam*, or the *Gangetic* provinces, was parcelled out, among several petty kings, such as the kings of *Magad'ha*, (or south *Bahar;*) *Mait'hila* (now *Tirhoot;*) *Sáceta* (*Oude*,) and *Benares*: the kings of *Carna-des'a* formerly *Anga* (CARNA-DAHA'RYA, in the latter end of the twelfth century, was one of them). There were also kings of *Tamralipta* (or *Tamlook* in *Bengal*,) and one of them sent an embassy to *China*, in the year 1001: he is styled king of *Tanmouielicou*, by the *Chinese*.

The kings of *Gaur* became very powerful afterwards, and even conquered all the *Gangetic* provinces, at least as far as *Benares*. They assumed the title of *Mahá-Rájás*, even as late as the 15th century. It was then, that the town of *Gaur* (or *Gauda*) became the first city of that part of *India*: and this certainly accelerated the fall of *Páli-putra;* if it

existed then: and two rival cities, so near, or rather close to each other, could not exist together; and the vicinity of *Gauda* probably induced the kings of *Magad'ha* to reside at *Patna;* and this, at so early a period, that even the name of the ancient capital is almost effaced from every record, and even from the remembrance of the *Hindus*.

The emperor SRÍ-DE'VA-PA'LA-DE'VA boasts of his having humbled the *Hun'as*, a foreign tribe, who had invaded *India*, and are occasionally mentioned in the lists of countries and tribes in *India*. They succeeded the *Parthians*, and seem of course to be the same with the *Murundas*, whose thirteen kings ruled in the northern parts of *India*, immediately after the *Tushâras* or *Parthians*. These are the *Morundæ* of PTOLEMY, who were masters of the whole country to the north of the *Ganges*, from *Delhi* to *Gaur* in *Bengal*. They are declared in the *Purán'as* to be *Mléch'has*, impure tribes, and, of course, they were foreigners. The same are called *Maryanthes* by OPPIAN in his *Cynogetics**, who says that the *Ganges* runs through their country. COSMAS calls them white *Huns;* and relates, that when he wrote, their king GOLLAS besieged a certain city, and that his elephants and horses drank up the water round it, and thus forced it to surrender. This has happened very often in the parched countries of *Bicanere* and *Jesselmere;* and it does not even require a numerous army, to drink up the scanty waters of a few wells round a city: but then the besiegers, far from taking the town are obliged to raise the siege in the greatest distress.

The seven CARN'AS, in despite of the *Bráhmanical* tribes, are still famous

* Oppian Cynoget. lib. 4. v. 163.

all over *India;* and their memory held in the greatest veneration, and their fame reached even as far as the *Peninsula* of *Malacca,* where they have still poems mentioning CARN'A, the *Mahá-Rájá,* or emperor of *India,* according to MR. MARSDEN *. These poems, if procurable, might possibly throw some light on the history of those kings. Among the AND'HRA princes of this dynasty, there is one called GAUTAMI-PUTRA, or the son of GAUTAMA, being supposed to be an incarnation of him. He appears to be only a BODHI-SATWA, a disciple, or spiritual son; an appellation of the same import, but more generally used in the western parts of *India,* and by the followers of BUDD'HA. It is foretold in the *Cumáricá-c'han'da,* that after the year 3600 of the *Cali-yuga,* answering to the year 500 of our *era,* a BUDD'HA would be king of *Magad'ha,* of the house of *Hema,* and a *Chandra-vansí;* and that after reigning 64 years, he would ascend into heaven. This *Bod'hi-satwa,* or subaltern incarnation of BUDD'HA, or, in other words, BUDD'HA himself, the D'HARMA-RA'JA, went to *China,* in the year 515 of our *era,* where he is called D'HARMA: at *Siam,* and in the *Peninsula,* he is called POUTI-SAT, and POTI-SATU.

We may consider PULIMA'N as the last king of *Magad'ha,* at the same time emperor of *India.* After him appeared a powerful king called VISVASPHATICA, VISVASPHURJI, and VISVA-SPHAN'I. His real name was PURANJAYA. He expelled the *Cshettris* or the barons, as being too troublesome; and exalted the lowest classes, such as the *Caivarttas,* boatmen and fishermen, the *Pátics,* the *Pulindas,* &c. He was, however, a great and powerful prince, and his dominions extended all over *Anu-Gangam,* or the Gangetic provinces.

* Asiat. Researches, Vol. IV. p. 227.

Then came a dynasty of nine kings, called the nine *Nágás*, or *Nácás*. These were an obscure tribe, called for that reason *Gupta-vánsas;* there were nine families of them, who ruled independent of each other, over various districts in *Anu-Gangam;* such as *Padmávatí* (*Patna*); *Cantipurí* (now *Cotwall*, nine coss to the north of *Gwalior*); *Magad'ha* (or *Bahar*); *Prayagá* (or *Allahabad*); *Sácéta* (or *Oude*); and *Benares*. There is still a powerful tribe of the *Nácás* on the banks of the *Jumná* and the *Betwá-nadí*. The *Causalas* or *Pund'hracas* ruled in *Tamralipta*, near the sea-shore, according to the *Vishnu-puraná*. In other *Puráńas*, we read the *Causalas*, or *And'hras*, which is inadmissible. The kings of *Mait'hila* (or *Tirhut*) are often mentioned; but the kings of *Gaur* (or *Bengal*) are never noticed, unless they be the *Bángavas*, once mentioned in the *Brahmán'da*. The kings of *Bengal* are not mentioned in the book of the wars of PRÌT'HWIRA'JA in the twelfth century; whilst those of *Oude*, *Tirhut*, *Bahar*, *Napal* are noticed, as well as BHOJ'A king of *Ud'ya-desá*, now *Orissa*.

A COMPARATIVE TABLE

OF THE

KINGS OF THE ANDHRA DYNASTY,

FROM THE

Bhágavat *Vishnu* *Váyu* *and* *Brahmánda.*

Bhágavat	*Vishnu*	*Váyu*	*Brahmánda.*
Balihita	'Sipraca	Sin'dhuca.....23	Ch'hismaca 23
Crishn'a	Crishná	Crishn'a 18	Crishn'a 18
'Sri-'Sata Carn'a	'Srí-'Sàt-Carn'i....	'Srí-'Sàt-Carn'i	'Srí-'Sát-Carn'i 10
Paurn'amása ..	Purn'ótsanga	Purn'ótsanga 18	Purn'ótsanga 18
	'Sàta Carn'i	Sáta-Carn'i 56	'Sáta Carn'i 56
Lambódara ..	Lambódara	Lambódara 18	Lambódara 18
Vivilaca	Vivilaca	'Apílaca 12	'Apílaca 12
Mégha-Swáti ..	Mégha-Swáti		Saudása 18
A'tamána	Putúmán.....	Putúmábi 24	A'bi.....12
	Arishta-Carna....	Némi-Crishna 25	
Háléya	Hála	Hála.....1	Scanda-Swàti 28
Talaca	Pattalaca.....	Pulaca 5	Bhávaca 5
Purìshbhóru ..	Pravillaséna	Purícashen'a 21	Pravillaséna.....12
Sunandana....	Sundara Sát-Carn'a	Sáta-Carn'i 1	Sundara Sát Carn'i..1
Chacóra.....	Chacóra Sát-Carn'i	Chacóra Sát-Carn'i	Charcóra Sát Carn'i 6
Vatáca		6 *months*	Mahéndra Sát Carni 3
			Cuntala Sát Carni ..8
Siva Swáti	'Siva Swáti	'Siva Swámi.....28	Swátisháena.....1
Gómati-putra..	Gómati-putra	GAUTAMI-PUTRA21	Yantramáti 34
Purìmán	Pulimán		
	Sáta Carn'i		Sát-Carni 29
Madàsirá	'Sivàsrí		Abi 4
'Siva-scanda ..	'Siva-scanda		SivascandaSátaCarni 8
Yajnàsri.....	Yajnasrí.....	Yajnásrí 29	
		Sáta-Carn'i 60	
Vijaya	Vijaya.....		Yajnàsri-Sáta Carni 19
Chandravijaya	Chandràfri	Dan'dasrí 3	Dandasrí Sáta Carni 3
Lómadhi...	Pulómárch'hi	Pulómá 7	Pulómá.....7

D'HA, EMPERORS o

1370 | 200 | 100 | 500 | 600 | 700

IV. TUSHARAS, *or* PARTHIANS

VIII. YA'VANAS, *or* *Grecian Kings of* Bactria.

PAURAS, PAWA'RAS *or Pauwáras, Punwaras, their country called the Kingdom of* Bourou, *by early Musulman writers.*

SA'CAS, *or INDO-SCYTHIANS.*

Kings

9 Viti-hotras - - 20

10 Coshalas, - - - 9

11 Mecalas *Narmadá*, 13

12 Asmacas - - - 20

13 Meg'has,

14 Comalyas,

15 Nalavansas,

16 Naishadhas, - - 9

17 Man'idhanyajas,

18 Canacávayas, *in Gurjerat', it is supposed.*

GARDABHINAS

ng of the Ass, *called* Bahram-Gur, *by the Persians,* *upa by Hindus.*

From this last is descended the

VINDHYA-SACTI, *or the Might and Glory of the* Vindhya *hills, the family of the Rajas of* Udaya-pura *and* Chaitor.

JARA'SAND'HA,

SAHADEVA. PARICSHITA is born, Conclusion of the GREAT WAR. The CALIYUGA begins.

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Indra-pálita, or Salisuca,	13—14—13	
Déva-dharma,	7—7—7	
Sóma-S'arma,	7—7—7	
Satadhanwa,	8—8—8	
45 Vrihadratha,	87—7—7	
Pushpamitra,	36—60—36	
Agnimitra,	81—2—2	
Sujyashta,	7—7—7	
Vasumitra,	13—10—10	
50 Bhadraca,	2—2—2	
Pulindaca,	3—3—3	
Chósha-raja, / *Vicramitra,*	3—3—3	
	14—11—14	
Bhágavata,	32—32—32	
Cuntala Sri Carn'a,	8—	
Siva-Swámi,	28—1—	
GAUTAMI-PUTRA, first year 500 A.C.	21—5—	
Madasíra,	—4—	
Siva Scanda Sri Carn'i,	—3—	
Yajnasri Sri Carn'i,	29—19 (60)	
Vijaya	— —	
Chandras'ri,	3—3—	
PULIMAN dies, 648 A.C. (29)	7—7—	

RYAS SUNGAS ANDHRAS

PUTRAS

RIHADBALA,

ESSAY IV.

VICRAMA'DITYA AND 'SALIVA'HA'NA:

THEIR RESPECTIVE ERAS,

With an Account of the

BALA-RAYAS OR BALHAR EMPERORS.

THE two periods of VICRAMA'DITYA and 'SA'LI-VA'HANA are intimately connected; and the accounts we have of these two extraordinary personages are much confused, teeming with contradictions and absurdities, to a surprising degree. Their history is to be found in the *Vicrama-charitra*, the *Sinhásana-Dwátrins'ati*, and the *Vétála-pancha-vins'ati*, which have been translated from the Sanscrit into all the dialects of *India*; and the two last tracts are sections of the *Vrihat-cat'há*. The *Vicrama-charitra* is very scarce in the *Gangetic* provinces: but this deficiency is abundantly supplied, by ample extracts from that book, communicated to the Society, by MAJOR MACKENZIE of the *Madras* establishment. In general, the *Hindus* know but of one VICRAMA'DITYA; but the learned acknowledge four; and when, at my request, they produced written authorities, I was greatly surprised to find no less than eight or nine. Those who reckon four heroes of that name, agree only about two. The first VICRAMA was he, after whom the period is denominated: the second is RA'JA' BHO'JA. Some suppose that 'SA'LIVA'HANA was one of them, and that the fourth was the son of BHO'JA; whilst others insist that this last was either JAYA-CHANDRA, or PRITHWI'-RA'JA, who fell in the great war against the *Mahá-*

bhátadicas, or *Musulmans*, in the year 1192. Every VICRAMA'DITYA is made to wage war against an antagonist called 'SA'LIVA'HANA, 'SA'LABA'N, and often denominated NRĬSINHA, NA'GE'NDRA, &c. except one, whose opponent's name was MAHA-BHAT, and that of his followers *Mahá-bhátadicas*, that is to say MUHAMMED and the *Muhammedans*.

VICRAMA'DITYA made a desperate *tapasya*, in order to obtain power and a long life from CA'LI'DE'VI', and as she seemingly continued deaf to his intreaties, he was going to cut off his own head, when she appeared, and granted him undisturbed sway over all the world for 1000 years, after which a divine child, born of a virgin and the son of the great TACSHACA, carpenter or artist, would deprive him both of his kingdom and of his life. Such are the words of the *Vicrama-charitra :* and in the *Cumáricá-c'handa* it is said, that this would happen in the year of the *Cali-yuga* 3101, answering to the first of the *Christian era.* Thus, VICRAMA'DITYA reigned for 1000 years nearly unmolested, in the enjoyment of every rational pleasure, and never troubling himself about his latter end; till, recollecting the prophecies about this wonderful child, and that the time for their being fulfilled was near at hand, he grew very uneasy, and sent people all over the world, to find him out, that he might destroy him: and having discovered the place of his abode, he advanced at the head of an immense army, but was defeated, and lost his life, by the hand of this divine child, who was then five years of age.

The history of these nine worthies, but more particularly when considered as a single individual, is a most crude and undigested mass of heterogeneous legends, taken from the apocryphal gospel of the infancy of CHRIST, the tales of the Rabbis and Talmudists concerning SOLOMON, with some

particulars about MUHAMMED; and the whole is jumbled together with some of the principal features of the history of the Persian kings of the *Sássánian* dynasty. For VICRAMA is supposed to have waged war with the *Romans*, all the time that he lived: that is to say for 145 years: and to have taken one of their emperors prisoner, whom he carried in triumph through the streets of *Ujjayiní*. One of these VICRAMAS was really a *Sassanian* prince: and the famous SHABOUR or SAPOR, of that dynasty, took the Emperor VALERIAN prisoner.

Thus VICRAMA is made contemporary with SOLOMON; and, like him, he is said to have found the great *mantra*, spell or talisman; through which he ruled over the elements, and spirits of all denominations, who obeyed him like slaves: otherwise they were sure of being severely punished. Like SOLOMON, he had a most wonderful throne, supported and adorned with lions, who were endued with reason and speech: and this wonderful fabric is called, in Sanscrit, *Sinhásana*, or the seat supported by lions. We read in the *vétala-pancha-vinsati*, that it was through the assistance of the great *Vétala*, or Devil, that two VICRAMA'DITYAS obtained the empire of the world, a long life, with unlimited sway. They performed the *pújá* in his honor, offered sacrifices, and in short dedicated, or gave themselves up to him. This is highly reprobated by divines in *India*, yet they seem to allow, that when all other means fail, it may be done, provided it be not for wicked and abominable purposes. We read in the *Thamuráthnameh** that the div. ARGENK had likewise applied to the devil, to become the SOLOMON or VICRAMA of his age. ZOHAC gave himself up also to the devil, in order to become the sovereign lord of the world, and with his assistance he killed his predecessor.

* D'HERBELOTS's Bibl. Orient. v. SULEIMAN.

But let us return to the extract from the *Vicramacharitra*, by MAJOR MACKENZIE. Then came BALARĬSHI, VICRAMA'RCA, BALI and BHARTRĬ-HARI, four brothers, from four mothers, of the four different classes, and sons of a holy *Bráhmen* of *Benares*. The last, or BHARTRĬHARI, was of the fourth class, and succeeded to the throne. He was learned, pious, and valiant; and it is believed that he is still alive, as a *Muni*, in the wilds above *Hari-dwár*. He was succeeded by VICRAMA'RCA, who made a sacrifice in honor of the goddess CA'LI', and offered his own head. The goddess appeared to him, saying, what is your boon? That I may rule the world for a long time. The goddess, pleased with his faith and devotion, told him, that at *Ujjayiní*, he should rule the terrestrial world for 1000 years, without hindrance or molestation, and at last that he should be slain by a child, born of a virgin one year and a half old. His brother, being informed of this circumstance, said he would lengthen his life to 2000 years, for, as he was to rule at *Ujjayiní* for 1000 years, he had only to remain in that city six months in the year, and the other six out of it. He then ascended to heaven, in his human body, where he was well received by INDRA, saw RAMBHA' and URVAS'Ĭ' dancing, and there was presented with the famous *Sinhásana*, or seat adorned with lions.

He chastised the VE'TA'LA-DE'VA, or the king of the devils, made him his slave, who then related to him twenty-five curious stories, to be found in the *Vétála-pancha-vinsati*. Toward the latter end of his reign, he sent secret emissaries, through all the world, to inquire, whether a child were born of a virgin one year and a half old. The messengers returned to *Ujjayiní*, with the news, that a male child was born of a virgin, the daughter of a potmaker, begot by the king of snakes (called TACSHACA, or the Carpenter, in the original,) while she was in her cradle. They

informed him also, that this child, named SA'LAVA'HANA, had attained the age of five years; and that his grandfather had made numberless clay figures of soldiers to amuse him.

VICRAMA'RCA marched at the head of an army; but the protecting snake came to the assistance of the child, and inspired the figures of clay with life, who started up as able warriors, attacked VICRAMA'RCA and his army, and defeated him. SA'LA-VA'HANA cut off his head, and flung it into *Ujjayiní*, that his death might be known to all the world. The queen was delivered in that very month of a male child; after which she burned herself with the head of her lord, who was re-united to the Supreme Being. Whilst the grandees of the state were assembled to place the child upon the imperial throne, a voice from heaven declared, that as the child was born after the death of his father, he could not succeed to the empire of *India*, but only to the throne of *Málava*; and the same voice ordered the *Sinhásana*, or the imperial throne, to be buried in a secret place. SA'LA-VA'HANA, who was a learned and pious man, became a *Muni*, and withdrew to desert places, to give himself up to devout contemplation. MAJOR MACKENZIE informs us, that in the chronological list, VICRAMA'RCA is declared to have reigned only 944 years; and in another, that it was only his dynasty or empire which is said to have lasted so long.

The learned of the western parts of *India*, whom I had an opportunity to consult, assured me, that the first *Millenium* ended about the beginning of the Christian *era*, and the second *Millenium*, when the Musulmans penetrated into the more inland parts of *India*; probably under MAHMOOD, about the year 1000 of our *era*.

The year 3044 of the *Cali-yuga* is looked upon by many as the year of VICRAMA'RCA's death: hence in the *Deccan*, they have reduced his supposed reign to 944; but by others it is looked upon as the first of his reign, which then must have ended in the 1000th year, answering to the first of the Christian *era*. Hence VICRAMA is said, in the *Tádkerát-Assalatin*, as cited by BERNOULLI, to have lived 1100 years, before he re-appeared and reigned at *Dilli*.

This VICRAMA'RCA, called also VICRAMA-S'ENA and VICRAMA-SINH, is supposed to be the most ancient; yet his brother BHARTRÍHARI (also named 'SUCA'DITYA or SUCARA'JA), besides a treatise consisting of 300 moral sentences, and simply called BHARTRÍHARI, after him, wrote likewise a collection entitled *'Sucasaptati*, or the 70 tales of the Parrot. Mention is there made of a more ancient king, VICRAMA-S'ENA, to whom, and his daughter-in-law PRABH'ATI', the Parrot relates these amusing stories. Every VICRAMA has either a parrot, a demon, or statue to entertain him. Another peculiarity of every one of them is, that upon the least disappointment, or fit of ill-humour, he is ready to cut off his own head, and throw it at the feet of the goddess CA'LÍ, who interposes and grants his boon. Hence it is said, that the first time he cut off his own head, CA'LÍ granted him only one hundred years; when cutting it off again, he obtained to live for 100 years more: and every time, his familiar, the *Vétála*, replaced it upon his shoulders. This he did ten different times, when the *Vétála*, or the devil, informed him that this could be done ten times only, and no more, as in the case of RA'VAN'A, *as every body knows*.

We read, that there was a king of *Pátalíputra-pura*, called VICRAMA-TUNGA, who was like a lion, *sinha:* hence he is called VICRAMA-SINHA

through the whole legend. He happened to be in the holy city of *Pratishtán'a*, when fifty of his relations (the heads of whom were MAHA'BHATA, and his four confidential associates, MAHA'-VÍRA-BA'HU, or MAHA'-BA'HU, SU-BA'HU, SU-BHA'TA, and PRETA'PA'DITYA, all *mahabalas*, strong and valiant men), surrounded him with a numerous army of *Mahábhatadicas*, or *Muhammedans*. He effected his escape with much difficulty, and fled to *Ujjayiní*, where he concealed himself in the house of a rich merchant, who with his wealth enabled him to raise another army, when he attacked the *Mahábhatádicas*, and gained a complete victory. In the mean time, his wife SA'SI-LE'C'HA', having been informed that her lord had been killed in battle, burned herself. The merchant's son having been confined by the king of *Ujjayiní*, VICRAMA-SINHA, at the head of his army, set him at liberty, and then returned to his own capital *Patalí-putra-pura*, or *Patna*. It is said, in the third story of the *Vétála-pancha-vinsati*, that MAHA'-BHATA', or MAHA-BA'HU, was from *Anangapura*, in *Ananga-de'sa*, or country of ANANGA; the same with CA'MADEVA, which *Pandits* suppose to be toward the west. MUHAMMED is said to be the grandson of a king of *India:* hence he is called a relation of VICRAMADITYA.

In the seventh section of the *Vrihat-cat'há*, we read, that there was a king of *Pátalí-putra-pura*, called VICRAMA'DITYA, who hearing of the growing power of NRISINHA, king of the consecrated city, or *Pratishtán'a*, called to his assistance the *Gaja-pati*, (lord of the elephants, or king of *Tibet*), and the *Aswapati* (lord of horses or horsemen, or the king of *Persia*). The confederates took the field; but were defeated by NRISINHA-NRIPA or SA'LIVA'HANA, with an incredible slaughter. VICRAMADITYA fled with the utmost precipitation to *Pátalí-putra;* but meditating vengeance, he disguised himself like a *carpati*, or man who carries all over *India* the holy

water of the *Ganges*, and went to *Pratish'tán'a*. There he was kindly received by a rich merchant, in whose house he remained a long time. King NRĬSINHA, or S'A'-LIVA'HANA, happening accidentally to call at the merchant's house, they recognised each other; and NRĬSINHA, admiring his comely appearance, and also his courage and confidence, acknowledged himself overcome by him; when VICRAMA'DITYA advanced, and they embraced each other most cordially. NRĬSINHA carried him to his palace, where, having entertained him in a suitable manner, they parted in peace, and VICRAMA returned to *Pátalí-putra-pura*, having seemingly settled every thing concerning their respective *eras*, at least it is so supposed.

In the tenth section of the *Vrihat-cat'ha*, we read that VICRAMA-CES'ARI, was prime minister to MRIGA'NCADATTA, king of *Pátalí-putra*. The king used to wander by himself through the woods, where he often lost his way, seemingly through some infirmity; and his prime minister used to go in search of him. It happened once that he could not find him, and, passing near a holy place called *Brama-st'hala*, he saw a *Bráhmen*, sitting under a tree, near a well. VICRAMA-CE'S'ARI approached the holy man, who forbade him to come near, as he had just been bitten by a venemous snake: but VICRAMA, who was well acquainted with the medical art, soon cured him. The *Bráhmen*, willing to shew his gratitude, asked him why he did not aspire to power and dominion. VICRAMA-CE'S'ARI seemed willing enough, and asked him how this could be effected. The priest replied, perform the *púját* in honour of the great *Vétála*, or the devil, and you will obtain from him whatever you wish; and you will become like VI-SAMA-SAILA, with the title of TRI-VICRAMA, who had the *sidd'his*, or power of working miracles.

At *Pratish'táná*, says the *Bráhmen*, on the banks of the *Gódáverí*, reigned

TRI-VICRAMA-S'ENA, the the son of VICRAMA-S'ENA. He was thus called, because he possessed *acrama*, *pracrama*, and *vicrama*, three synonymous words, implying energy in a great degree. A *Bráhmen* used to come very often, and presented him every time with a flower, in which was concealed a jewel of great value. The king respectfully received the flower, and afterwards threw it away into a corner, where they all remained neglected and undisturbed. At last the king accidentally discovered a jewel, and searching into every flower, found in every one a gem also. When the priest came again, he asked the reason of this strange circumstance, and what he meant by it. The *Bráhmen* informed him, that, if he would come alone to a certain place, which he pointed out, he would then reveal the whole mystery. The king did not fail to go, on the appointed day: when the *Bráhmen* informed him, that before he could unfold this secret, it was necessary that he should go into an adjacent grove, where was a corpse hanging upon a tree: cut the rope, says he, and bring the dead body to me. The king, though very unwilling, was obliged to comply, and having cut the rope, he placed the dead body upon his shoulders; and, on the road, a spirit that was in it, spoke, and related five and twenty stories to amuse and deceive the king; when, at the end of each story, the corpse flew back to its tree, and every time TRI-VICRAMA went and brought him back, and being at last irritated, he took care he should no more escape. Then the spirit informed him that the *Bráhmen* wanted to destroy him, and usurp his throne. For this purpose, he was going to perform some magical rites, in which a dead corpse was absolutely necessary; and that this was the reason why he had insisted on the king bringing him a dead body. TRI-VICRAMA-S'ENA being satisfied with the truth of this information, put the *Bráhmen* to death; and MAHA'DE'VA appeared to him, saying, thou wert before VICRAMA'DITYA, a portion of my own essence. I have now generated thee in the character of

TRI-VICRAMA to destroy the wicked; and ultimately thou wilt be VICRAMA-DITYA again; and, when thou diest in that last character, thou wilt be reunited to me. This alludes, according to the learned, to the two *Millenniums* of VICRAMA'DITYA. This legend is a little obscure, and the compiler seems to have jumbled together the legends of VICRAMA'DITYA and SA'LIVA'HANA; though of the latter no mention, by name at least, be made.

As VI-SAMA-S'ILA was at first king of *Pratisht'ánà*, he was, of course, the same with 'SA'LIVA'HAN'A; and the first part of the legend has an obvious reference to him in that character. VICRAMA-CESA'RI appears to be the S'RI-CARN'A-DEVA-RA'JA-VICRAMA, with the title of A'DITYA, who dethroned his sovereign, taking advantage of his infirmities; and this VICRAMA-CES'ARI, in the third story of the *Vétála-panchavinsati* is declared to be king of *Pátalí-putra-bhú-mandàlam*, or country and region of *Pátalí-putra*, as every body knows: and his wife's name was CHANDRA-PRABHA'-MAGADHÍ, being a native of *Magadha*.

It is said, in some legends*, that three male children were born the same day: one, the son of a *Bráhmen*, the second, a *Cshettri*, and, the third, a *Vais'ya:* some add a fourth of the *'Súdra* tribe. It was foretold, that one of them would become king, or, at least, remain so without being molested, if a king already; but not before the two others had been put to death. The *Bráhmen*, hearing of this, easily circumvented the *Vais'ya*, who was a *Taili*, or oil-man, with whose body he wanted afterwards to perform a most abominable sacrifice to *Vétála*, or the devil, in order to destroy VICRAMA'DITYA. MAHA'DE'VA became incarnated in the person of TRI-VI-

* In the *Bhója-prabanď'ha.*

CRAMA, at *Ujjayiní*, or rather *Pratisht'an'a*, on the following occasion. The gods, that is to say, the *Bráhmens* and *Hindus*, being vexed by the *Mléch'has*, or foreign and impure tribes, went in a body to *Cailása*, to MAHA'DE'VA, to whom they said, you and VISHNU have destroyed the *Asuras*, or *Daityas*, but these are born again on earth as *Mléch'has*. They vex the *Vipras*, or *Bráhmens*, and will not allow the performance of religious rites and sacrifices, destroying all the religious instruments, and other requisites: they even carry away the daughters of holy *Munis*. In consequence of this remonstrance, TRIPURA'RI, or MAHA'-DEVA, was incarnate, in the house of SURA'-MAHE'NDRA'DITYA-JAGATJAYA, at *Ujjayiní*, who was making *Tapasya* to obtain a son. As soon as his wife had conceived, the heavenly host came down to worship her. The high-priest and prime minister, who were also childless, obtained each a son; and young VICRAMA'DITYA, called also VI-SAMAS'ILA in this place, soon surpassed his teachers in learning and wisdom.

The old king resigned the throne to him, and then withdrew to *Benares*; and VICRAMA'DITYA became king of heaven, hell, and earth: the genii and demons were obedient to him, and his fame reached the *White island* in the *sea of milk*, or *White sea*. His general, VICRAMA-S'ACTI, conquered *Dacshin'a-pat'ha*, (or the *Deckin,*) *Mad'hya-des'a*, (or the inland parts of *India,*) *Cásmir* and *Saurashtra*, (or *Soret,*) and the countries to the east of the *Ganges*. He forced VÍRA-SE'NA-SI[illegible]ES'WARA, or the king of *Sinhala*, or *Ceylon*, to sue for peace, and to give him his daughter, and *Cut'aca*, (or *Cuttack*,) was obliged, at last, to submit. He extirpated several tribes of *Mlech'has*, and others surrendered at discretion. He married, at *Ujjayiní*, three wives, GUN'AVATÍ, CHANDRA'VATÍ, and MADANA-SUNDA'RÍ: wishing

to marry a fourth, he saw, in the house of VIS'VACARMA, a beautiful damsel, daughter of CALINGA-S'ENI, king of *Stambhasta*, (now *Cambát*, or *Cambay*,) in *Calingades'a*. He sent a trusty man to demand her of her father, who refused his consent: but VICRAMA'DITYA sent one of his attending spirits, who soon obliged him to comply.

This is, it seems, the VICRAMA'DITYA who obtained a famous boon from INDRA, in favour of his favourite country *Málava*, that it should never be visited by drought. In his time there had been no rain for twelve years, owing to SAN'I or (SATURN,) passing into the house of 'SUCRA, (or VENUS,) in VRISHA, (or TAURUS,) through the *S'acata-bhéda*, (or section of the wain) in *Róhiní*, (or the stars near *Aldebaran*). In the time of DA'S'ARAT'HA, SATURN, the offspring of the Sun, attempting to go through this path, was prevented by DAS'ARAT'HA, and hurled down into a country which he set on fire, and it was, from that circumstance, called *Barbara*.

In the *Sinhásana-dwátrinsáti*, the twenty-fourth statue is introduced, giving to king BHÓJA an account of VICRAMA, and of 'SA'LIVA'HAN'A. There was, in *Purandarpura*, a rich merchant, who, before he died, gave to every one of his four sons an earthen pot, sealed, with injunctions not to open it till after his decease. When opened, the first was found to contain nothing but earth; the second, coals; the third, bones; and the fourth, bran. VICRAMA was applied to for an explanation, but neither he nor any body else could explain this enigma. The four sons went afterwards to *Pratisht'an'a*, and neither the king nor any body else there could give them an answer; but there was a wonderful child who did. There were two *Bráhmens*, who had a sister, who lived with them in a state of widowhood, her husband having died whilst she was yet very

young. She conceived by a *Nága-cumára*, (or *Tacshaca;)* and the brothers, ashamed of this seeming disorderly behaviour of their sister, left the country. The unfortunate young widow, thus deserted, found an asylum in the humble cottage of a pot-maker, where she was delivered of a male child, whom she called SA'LIVA'HANA. The child, hearing of this strange case, went to the king's presence, where the four sons of the merchant were, with a numerous and respectable assembly. He spoke without embarrassment, and they were astonished, for his words were like *amrit* or *ambrosia*. The first pot, says he, containing earth, entitles the owner to the landed property of his father. The second contains coals, and of course all the timber and wood become the property of the second son. The third is entitled to the elephants, horses, cattle, and animals of all descriptions belonging to the estate; and the fourth is entitled to the corn and grain of all kinds, the property of his father. VICRAMA'DITYA, on hearing of this, sent for the child, who refused to come: go, says he to the messenger, and tell him that when I have completed my business, or in other words, when I shall be perfected, or my time is arrived, he will come to me of himself. VICRAMA'DITYA, irritated at this answer, wanted to kill him; and advanced, at the head of a numerous army, against the child, who, making figures of soldiers with clay, animated them. They fought on both sides with courage; but the *Nága-cumára*, or son of the great serpent, stupified VICRAMA's army: who, finding his soldiers asleep, implored the assistance of the serpent VASUCI, who gave him some *amrit*, with which he revived his troops; and SA'LIVA'HANA, hearing of this, sent two men for some of it, and VICRAMA complied with his request: and here ends the legend, which was introduced only to give an instance of VICRAMA'DITYA's unbounded generosity.

The next VICRAMA'DITYA, and whose history is best known all over *India*, was the son of GARDDABHA RUPA, or he with the countenance of an ass; and an account of him is given in the *Vicrama-upac'hyána*, or first section of the *Sinhásana-dwátrinś'ati*.

The next VICRAMA'DITYA was the famous king BHÓJA, who recovered the *Sinhásana*, and going to the *White island*, dived into the infernal regions, where he saw the apartments of CRĬSHNA, or VISHNU; and close to them those of BALI, who received him kindly, and bestowed upon him the title of VICRAMA'DITYA; and his son, called JAYA'NANDA, was stiled also VICRAMA'DITYA. According to others, JAYA'NANDA was only either the adopted son, or the son-in-law of RAJA-BHÓJA, having married his daughter BHA'NU-MATÍ.

The principal feature of the history of these VICRAMA'DITYAS, as I observed before, at whatever period they lived, is their quarrels with a certain king, called SA'LIVA'HANA, with the title of NRĬSINHA, NA'GA-CUMA'RA, NA'GE'NDRA, &c. except one, who is introduced as contemporary with MUHAMMED, and waging war against him, and his followers, the *Mahábhatádicas*. Even in the time of JAYA CHANDRA, the last emperor of *India*, we find, in Persian records, a 'SA'LBA'HAN, king of *Dilli*: and in the district of *Budhaon*, in that province, there is a small town, the capital of a Pergannah of the same name, called *Cote-'Sálbáhan*, or the fort of 'SA'LBA'HAN, and said to have been built by him.

The chief authorities, after the *Vicrama-charitra*, and the other books I have mentioned before, are the last sections, or rather supplements to the

Agni and *Bhavishya-purán'as*, the list of the kings of *Málwá*, in the *Ayin-Acberi*, the *Vansáváli*, or *Rájáváli*, written by RA'JA' RAGHUNA'THA, of the *Cach'hwa* tribe, at the command of the emperor AURENGZEBE; and, lastly, a list of the *Bala-Ráyas*, or *Balhara* emperors, and of the sovereigns of *Malwá*. The last section, or rather supplement or appendix to the *Agni-purán'a*, is the best chronological list that has come to my knowledge. It is seldom found annexed to that *Purán'a;* no more than the appendix to the *Bhavishya*. I was however fortunate enough to find it at the end of a copy of the *Agni-purán'a*, at least two hundred years old; and, though complete, almost worn out. There I found the beginning of the appendix on futurity, exactly in the same hand-writing with the body of that *Purán'a*, and the owner most kindly made me a present of the last leaf, which contains both the end of that *Purán'a*, and the beginning of the appendix. In a copy of that appendix, it is said to be the 63d and last section of the *Agni-purán'a*. The numbers do not correspond now, though it be acknowledged, that the division of the *Purán'as*, into sections, has not been the same, at all times, and in every part of *India*.

With regard to the appendix, or section, of the *Bhavishya-purán'a*, it is obvious that it never made part of that *Purán'a*, at least in its present state: but, as it treats of futurity *(Bhavishya)*, it was probably on that account attributed to it; for it appears that it belonged originally to some astronomical treatise, and it is very much like the preliminary section to the *Jyótirvidábharána*. It is supposed by some, that it is a short extract from the second part of that *Purán'a*, which either no longer exists, or is not to be commonly found. In the first part, there is not a word about futurity, or the times to come.

These lists are the more valuable, as they give us an account of the emperors of the west in *India*, of whom little or no notice is taken in the *Purán'as*. The chief object of the compilers seems to be to establish the chronology of the western parts of *India*, since the expiation of CHA'NACYA, down to the death of PITHAURA', and JAYA-CHANDRA, in the year 1192. The three first lists are nearly the same, and probably they were originally so; and as the list of the emperors of the west in *India*, in the *Ayin-Acberi*, is one of them, it is obvious, that above two hundred years ago, they were considered, by the *Pandits* who assisted ABUL-FAZIL, as authentic documents.

The fourth list is from a work entitled *Vansávali*, or the genealogies; but more commonly called *Rájavali*, or reigns and successions of kings. It was written in the year 1659, by RA'JA' RAGHUNA'THA, of the *Cach'hwa* tribe, at the command of AURENGZEBE. This has been translated into all the dialects of *India*, and new modelled, at least twenty different ways, according to the whims and pre-conceived ideas of every individual, who chose to meddle with it.

It is, however, the basis and ground-work of modern history among the *Hindus;* as in the *Khuláset-ul Tuwáric*, and the *Tadkerátussalátín*. The latter treatise is a most perfect specimen of the manner of writing history in *India;* for, excepting RAGHUNA'TH's list, almost every thing else is the production of the fertile genius of the compiler, who lived above a hundred years ago. In all these lists the compilers and revisers seem to have had no other object in view, but to adjust a certain number of remarkable epochs. This being once effected, the intermediate spaces are filled up with names of kings not to be found any where else, and, most pro-

bably, fanciful. Otherwise they leave out the names of those kings of whom nothing is recorded, and attribute the years of their reigns to some among them better known, and of greater fame. They often do not scruple to transpose some of those kings, and even whole dynasties; either in consequence of some preconceived opinion, or owing to their mistaking a famous king for another of the same name. It was not uncommon with ancient writers, to pass from a remote ancestor to a remote descendant; or from a remote predecessor to a remote successor, by leaving out the intermediate generations or successions, and sometimes assigning the years of their reigns to a remote successor or predecessor. In this manner the lists of the ancient kings of *Persia*, both by oriental writers and others in the west, have been compiled: and some instances, of this nature, might be produced from scripture. I was acquainted lately, at *Benares*, with a chronicler of that sort; and, in the several conversations I had with him, he candidly acknowledged, that he filled up the intermediate spaces between the reigns of famous kings, with names at a venture; that he shortened or lengthened their reigns at pleasure; and that it was understood, that his predecessors had taken the same liberties. (His lucubrations were of little use to me; but he had collected various lists of kings, of which he allowed me, with much difficulty, to take copies.) Through their emendations and corrections, you see plainly a total want of historical knowledge and criticism; and sometimes some disingenuity is but too obvious.

This is, however, the case with the sections on futurity in the *Bhágavat*, *Váyu*, *Vishnu* and *Brahmánda-puránas*; which, with the above lists, constitute the whole stock of historical knowledge among the Hindus; and the whole might be comprised in a few quarto pages of print. These I have

collected together, with notes, derived from the assistance of foreign writers; and hereafter they may be corrected, from a few historical passages in their books, grants, and inscriptions, which last must be used soberly. With regard to these lists, their being brought down, even to our own days, can be no objection; for it is the case with many of our old chronicles. We have them in the *Ayin-Acberi*, in the state they were in at that time. I have some copies, in which their chronology is brought down to the reign of AURENGZEBE: and, lastly, some, in which the arrival of the English is foretold, under the name of *Támra-varn'a*, foreigners, the offspring of MAYA, the engineer of the giants, and the son of TWASHTA. *Támra-varn'a* literally signifies copper-coloured, but is interpreted *Arúna-varn'a*, or of the colour of the morning dawn; and, in lexicons, the *Greeks*, or *Yavanas*, are said to be *Támra-varn'a*. In RAGHUNA'T'H's list, it is remarkable, that no obvious notice is taken, either of the elder VICRAMA'DITYA, or of 'SA'LIVA'HANA; they are however concealed under the names of ADITYA, ridiculously written ADHESCHT by TIEFFENTHALER, and under that of D'HANANJAYA, which last is meant for 'SA'LIVA'HANA. 'ADITYA is obviously meant here for VICRAMA; in some copies he is called HARA-BHA'GA, or a portion of HARA, the destroyer; because it was necessary that he should destroy 550,000,000 men from among the impure tribes, before he could obtain the rank of a *Sacés'wara;* and whatever man kills a *Sacés'wara* only, obtains that exalted rank, as did 'SA'LIVA'HANA.

DHANANJAYA, or DHANID'HARA, as he is called also, is supposed by ABUL FAZIL, to have been the grandfather of 'SA'LIVA'HANA*: but, as

* Ayin-Acberi, vol. 2d, p. 54.

there are several kings and legislators called VICRAMA; in the same manner we find also several SA'LIVA'HANAS. This grandson of DHANANJAYA is made contemporary with another VICRAMA'DITYA, who is supposed to have begun his reign A. D. 191; but, according to others, either in the year 184 or 200. In RAGHUNA'TH's lists, current in the western parts of *India*, which have appeared in print, instead of SA'LIVA'HANA, we find SAMUDRA-PA'LA, perhaps a disciple of his, and thus called, because he came by sea. In this remarkable instance, these lists differ, most materially, from those in use in the *Gangetic* provinces, and eastern parts of *India*. In the latter, in the room of VICRAMA'DITYA, we read SUDRACA, or SUDRACA, a famous emperor of *India*, mentioned in the *Purán'as*, and of whom it is said, in the *Cumárica-c'han'da*, that he would ascend the imperial throne, after 3290 years of the *Calì-yuga* were elapsed, that is to say, in the year of our Lord 191, and that he would reign in the city of *Charchitá*, thus called from the search (*cherche* in French,) or inquiries made there into various religious opinions, and new dogmas; and thus it is understood by learned men from the west of *India*, and it appears that there were several cities thus called. This SUDRACA had also the title of VICRAMA, and of A'DITYA: but in the eastern lists no mention is made of SAMUDRA-PA'LA. TIEFFENTHALER takes notice of him, and BERNOULLI has given us the whole legend, such as it is in the MSS. copies.

When VICRAMA'DITYA was nine years of age, then came SAMUDRA-PA'LA, or he who was fostered, or wafted over, by *Samudra*, or the ocean, because it is understood, that he came from distant countries by sea. He appeared in the character of a holy man, working miracles, and, as it seems, preaching about regeneration. He was kindly received by VICRAMA'-

DITYA, who being old and decrepit, wished very much to be regenerated. ŚAMUDRA-PA'LA complied with his wishes; and, as there was a stout young man just dead, he directed the old king to send his own soul into that corpse, and showed him how to do it. VICRAMA'DITYA did so, and the young man revived immediately, to the great astonishment of the multitude. In the mean time, SAMUDRA-PA'LA conveyed his own soul into the body of the king; and, in that old and decrepit frame, he contrived to maintain himself, for the space of 55 years, or more correctly 54 years, two months, and twenty days; and thus governed the country, with unlimited sway, in the shape and character of VICRAMA'DITYA. These 55 years being added to the 90 years of VICRAMA's life or reign, the sum, 145, is exactly the difference between the eras of VICRAMA, and 'SA'LIVA'HANA, in the *Dek'hin;* for, in the northern parts of *India*, they reckon only 135 years. This new 'SA'LIVAHANA, or rather his disciple, or follower, if he ever existed, died in the year 335: for this second VICRAMA, or 'SUDRACA, as he is called in the *Cumáricá-c'handa*, ascended the Imperial throne in the year of CHRIST 191: but in RAGHUNA'T'H's list, this event took place in the year 291. That there is an error of 100 years is obvious, on the authority of the above section of the *Scanda-purán'a*, and also from the particulars in the same list. There it is declared, that the succession of the Hindu princes ended in the year of the *Cali-yuga* 4116, answering to that of CHRIST 1016; but the particulars give 4216; and, by retrenching these 100 years, the aggregate sums, resulting from the subordinate periods, perfectly agree with the general one, as given at full length in the list. These subordinate periods become also proportionate to one another, from MAHA'BALI's accession to the throne, 355 B. C. down

to the year 1016 of our *era*. The reason why these 100 years, and a few more in another place, were introduced, is that the correctors of this list confounded the final overthrow of the Hindu empire, in the year 1192, by SAHEBUDDEEN, with the mortal wounds given to it by SEBECTEGHIN, and his son MAHMUD, in the beginning of the eleventh century. In all the copies which I have seen, of RAGHU NA'TH'S' list, an obvious notice is taken of the famous emperor BHÓJA: yet the learned insist that he is concealed there, under the epithets of DEVA-DHA'RA'-SINHA, as he is called in some lists, and 'SAILA-DHA'RA-SINHA in others: but in many copies these names are written erroneously DAMO-DHARA-S'ENA, and JALA-DHARA-SENA. In the *Bhója-prabandha* the epithet DE'VA is always prefixed to his name, thus DE'VA-BHÓJA; and in the room of these various surnames, we find in some copies DIVA'YANA-SINHA. As BHÓJA was king of *Dhárá* (now *Dhár)* he might certainly be denominated DHA'RA'-SINHA. This famous city is called also *'Sàila-dhárá*, and BHÓJA is called 'SA'ILA'DITYA, or VICRAMADITYA, who resided at *'Sàila-dhárá*, in the *Satrujaya-mahatmya*; and in the same manner, 'SA'LIVA'HANA is denominated PATTAN-SINHA or 'SE'NA, from the town of *Pratisthána* (or *Pattan)* where he is said to have resided. If so, the new modellers of these lists have introduced many obscure, or rather fictitious names, in order to fill up the space, between that emperor and the downfal of the empire in 1192, by SAHEBUDDEEN, which they have confounded with the catastrophe under MAHMUD-BEN-SEBECTEGHIN. In various lists, which I have seen, SEBECTEGHIN'S name is written SEBUCTEKIN, SANECTEKIN, NECTEKIN, &c.

As BHÓJA is not noticed by any foreign writer, it is impossible to ascertain the time in which he lived, from the vague and contradictory *data* to

be found in Hindu romance, within 100 years at least of the real time. Such is however the state of the Hindu chronology, even in modern times: and from such wretched materials what can be expected? Western historians, and those of *China*, have occasionally recorded eclipses, which are of great service in chronology; but they are absolutely disregarded by Hindu writers; at least, I have never been able to procure a single observation upon record, and connected with any historical fact, or the reign of any well-known king or emperor.

In these different lists, the principal *eras* are, the accession of MAHA'-BALI to the Imperial throne, 355 years B. C. his death in 327, the massacre of the Imperial family in 315, and finally, the expiation of CHAN'ACYA, 312 years B. C. and of these remarkable events I took particular notice in my essay on the *Gangetic* provinces.

The next remarkable *era* is that of 'SA'LIVA'HANA and the eldest VICRAMA'DITYA: this the compilers and revisers have wrapt up in such darkness, and I believe designedly, that it is almost impossible to re-cognise these two famous kings. In some, 'SA'LIVA'HANA is called PATTAN-S'INHA; in others DHANANJAYA, DHANADHARA, &c. 'SACA, 'SACTI-S'INHA; and in the *Vrihat-cat'há*, SAMA-S'ÍLA, and VI-SAMA-S'ÍLA, and lastly HA'LA and SALA, HA'LI and SA'LI, NRISINHA and NARA VAHANA. VICRAMADÍTYA is sometimes called 'ADITYA simply; in other places VICRAMA, VICRAMAMITRA, VICRAMA-TUNGA, VICRAMA-S'INHA, VICRAMA-SE'NA, VICRAMA-CESA'RI, VICRAMA'RCA, &c. whilst he is sometimes left out entirely;, which is immaterial, as they say, when SA'LIVA'HANA, his antagonist, is mentioned.

The third epoch is that of king SURACA, called also 'ADITYA, and RAJA-VICRAMA, who began his reign in the year 191.

The fourth *era* is that of VICRAM'ADITYA the son of GANDHARUPA, whose reign began in the year 441.

The fifth is the appearance of MAHA'-BHAT' or MUHAMMED; and the sixth is the accession of BHÓJA, called also VICRAM'ADITYA, to the imperial throne.

The seventh *era* is the defeat and death of PITHAURA in 1192, and that of JAYA-CHANDRA, in the year 1194.

Let us now examine and compare together the lists in the appendix to the *Agni*, and to the *Bhavishya-purán'as*, and also in the *Ayin-Acberi*. In the *Bhavishya*, the years are omitted, but it agrees otherwise with the other lists, as much as can reasonably be expected.

There are three kings in the appendix to the *Agni purán'a*, seemingly in a regular order of succession; but who are to be rejected from the list; as it appears, from the context, that they were only in a collateral line, and seem to have been rebellious vassals, who, taking advantage of the weakness of their liege, set up for themselves, in their own country. The first was a rebel of the name of 'ATACA, as seemingly implied by his name, who made himself independant, and resided in the town of *D'hára*. He lived 190 years; that is to say, his collateral dynasty lasted so many years, and this dynasty was very properly omitted in the *Ayin-Acberi*. Then comes SUC'H-S'ENA, or SUMUC'H-S'ENA, with another king calle

C'HA'DGA or C'HARGA; and these resided at *Chitra-cúṭ'a* in *Bundelc'hand*, as asserted in that section or appendix. SUMUC'HA-S'ENA is called KENECK-SEIN in the *Ayin-Acberi;* and in that treatise, *Chitra-cúta*, their metropolis, is metamorphosed into a king, to whom a reign of one year only is allotted. The names of the three next princes, CHANDRAPA'LA, MAHE'NDRA-PA'LA and KURRUM-CHUND, in the *Ayin-Acberi*, should be written in this manner, RA'MA-CHANDRA, who did not reign: his son was CHAITRA-PA'LA, who was elected emperor of *India* after the death of JAYA-NANDA. His son and successor was MA'HA-CHANDRA-PA'LA; but I conceive that the true name of the latter was MAHE'NDRA-PA'LA.

From CHA'NACYA'S' expiation to the first year of VICRAMA'DITYA, the son of GANDHA-RUPA, the three lists do not materially differ from each other with regard to the number of kings, and the order of succession. The greatest difficulty is, from the first year of VICRAMA'DITYA, the son of GANDHA-RUPA, or HARSHA-ME'GHA, which last is a ridiculous epithet for an ass, to the first of BHÓJA. The greatest part of the names of the kings, in this list, are probably fictitious, except some of the most illustrious. The first we recognise is MAH'ABALI, or NANDA, who ascended the throne of *India* 355 years before CHRIST. From his accession there elapsed 299 years, according to RAGHUNA'TH'S list, to the death of VICRAMA'DITYA, which happened 56 years B. C. Then appears DHANANJAYA, who put to death 'ADITYA: these are 'SA'LIVA'HANA and VICRAMA'DITYA: the times coincide, and the name of one of them. DHA'NANJAYA is also the name of A'RJUNA in the *Mahá-bhárat*, of whom it is said, that he did not exult over the ignorant and ill-favoured, but spent his riches among the needy; in short, he was the wonder of all good men. This is the character given of 'SA'LIVA'HANA in the *Cumáricá-*

ch'han'da, and the *Agni-purán'a*. This second DHANANJAYA, called also DHANANDHARA, is reckoned as an *Útpata*, or prodigy; and some account of him is given in the *Ayin-Acberi**, and also in traditionary legends. He sprang suddenly from the middle of a temple at *Prat-shtána* in the *Dekhin*, in a human form, and with a divine countenance, holding a bright sword. He attacked A'DITYA, or VICRAM'ADITYA, whom he put to death; then, leaving the *Dekhin*, he made *Ujjayiní* the seat of his empire. In the grant found at *Monghir*, allusion is made to VICRAMA'DITYA, under the name of 'SA'CADWISHI, the foe of 'SACA or 'SA'LIVA'HANA; and it is not improbable that the prime minister, in the inscription on a pillar at *Buddaul*, is compared to 'SA'LIVA'HANA, under the name of DHANANJAYA†.

There were undoubtedly many VICRAMA'DITYAS; but which of them instituted the *era* denominated after him, is by no means obvious: for there is hardly any instance, I believe, of any sovereign or legislator that ever instituted an *era* called after him, and beginning with some memorable event, during the course either of his life or of his reign. Any one of them might have instituted the *era*; but it does not follow that he lived at the beginning of it. The author of the *Vansáváli*, and in general all those who have attempted to new model his list, say, that the *era* of VICRAMADITYA was instituted by his brother BHARTRIHARI, or 'SUCA'DITYA, who is called SACWANTA on that account. He reigned fourteen years; and after his death, VICRAMA'DITYA took it up, made some corrections, and had it called after his own name. This circumstance is noticed by BERNOUILLI,

* Vol. II, p. 54.

† Asiat. Researches, Vol. I.

from the *Tadkerat-assalatin;* but the copy in MR. HARINGTON's possession is the most explicit on this subject, and I find that it is by no means a new idea. According to some, these fourteen years are the difference between the *era* of VICRAMA'DITYA in its corrected, and the same in its original state. This 'SUCA DITYA is called also VICRAMA'DITYA in the *Dekhin*, and is said to have begun his reign in the year of the *Cali-yuga* 3020, and to have died in the year 3034, from which they reckon the *era* of VICRAMA: but in the northern parts of *India*, they say that he began his reign in the year 3030, and died in the year 3044. Yet this BHARTRĬHARI, in the collection of tales attributed to him, alludes to another VICRAMA'DITYA, who, from the context, certainly lived long before him. Such is the uncertainty about this famous emperor, that we are obliged to distinguish between the years since the time of VICRAMA'DITYA and those of his *era*. Thus, in the *'Satrujaya-mahatmya*, we read, *that after 466 years of the era* are elapsed, then would appear the great and famous VICRAMA'DITYA; and then, 477 after him, 'SAILA'DITYA, or BHÓJA, would reign. In the *Ayin-Acberi*, the various dates, from the *era* of VICRAMA'DITYA, are to be reckoned from his accession to the throne, in the middle ages of the Christian *era*.

The third epoch in my list, and in most of the lists in the eastern parts of *India*, is that of 'SURACA, who was succeeded by his brother CRĬSHNA, according to the *Purán'as*. He began his reign in the year 191, and was also considered as a VICRAMA'DITYA, or rather a SAMVATICA, or author of a civil period; and of him also I took particular notice in my essay on the *Gangetic* provinces.

The next period is that of VICRAMA'DITYA, the son of the man with

the countenance of an ass. He is called in the list GANDHA-PA'LA, or fostered by an ass. This prince is omitted in several copies from the west; and between GANDHA-PA'LA and VICRAMA'DITYA, or VICRAMA-PA'LA, as he is called in these copies, there intervenes a king called SA'DATPA'LA. This VICRAMA'DITYA had two sons, one called TILACA-CHANDRA, who reigned only two years, and was succeeded by his eldest brother, VICRAMA-SE'NA, or VICRAMA'DITYA; and this TILACA-CHANDRA appears in the character of BHARTRIHARI.

The next period is that of MAHA'BHAT'-SRI'MAN'-MAHA'RA'JA', or MUHAMMED the blessed, or fortunate, the great commander *of the faithful*. In various copies he is called MAHA'BHA'T'TA'RACA, and MAHA'-BHAT'TA'-RICA. In MR. HARINGTON's list, the epithet of PARASU, answering to SEIFULLAH in Arabic, or the sword of God, is prefixed to his name. In all the copies from the west of *India*, he is called MAHA'-PREMA, for MAHA-PRAMA'RA, or PARIMA'RA, the great destroyer; and to the names of his four confidential associates, the epithet of PREMA, or PREMA'RA, is also added. Instead of PREMA, we should read PRAMA'RA, or PARIMA'RA, the destroyer; for, in the *Satrujaya-Mahátmya*, a favourite tract of the *Jainas*, he and his friends are called the PANCHA-MA'RAS, or the five destroyers. It is said there, that JINA, in his last incarnation, as GAUTAMA in the shape of a white elephant, and therefore denominated SRI-HASTI-SENA, having obtained eternal bliss, then, three years, eight months, and fifteen days after this event, there would appear SACRA-PANCHA-MARA, who would put an end to all *Dharma*, or religion*. Thus the death of GAUTAMA

* Sacra, or the mighty chief.

happened in November 617; and his death, in the *Puráńas*, and according to the *Japanese*, is placed either late in the sixth, or early in the seventh century. PRAMʹARA, the great destroyer, or PARI-MʹARA, he who destroys all round, is one of the titles of YAMA, and very applicable to MUHAMMED. The Hindus, in the western parts of *India*, are well acquainted with the famous *Cháryári* of the Musulmans, or the four friends and associates of MUHAMMED. Some, with a little straining, derive this name from the Sanscrit; and thus the four destroyers, with their leader, become the PANCHA-MAʹRAS, or the five destroyers. MR. HARINGTON's list, which was brought from *Assam* by the late DR. WADE, seems to have been new modelled by the *Jainas;* as GAUTAMA is introduced there, waging war against a certain MANU.

The next subject of inquiry is the *Cumáricá-cʻhańda*, a section of the *Scanda-puráńa*. The copy in my possession was written in *Gujjarát* two hundred and thirty years ago, or in the year of VICRAMAʹDITYA 1630, A. D. 1574; and in the year of VICRAMA 1796, or A. D. 1740, it was the property of a learned *Pandit*, who made several corrections in the margin, as usual in *India*. The owner of that section, 230 years ago, obviously considered it as authentic, and as making part of one of the canonical books; and the copies in general use in this part of the country do not materially differ from it. According to the context, this *Puráńa* must have been written when the *Roman* empire, probably in the east, was in the zenith of its glory; for the author mentions it as the largest in the world, and says that it consisted of no less than 18,030,000 villages, or rather parishes, and he speaks of it as existing in that powerful and extensive state in his own time. Six dates only are given in this section. The first is ʻSUDRACA, or ʻSURACA,

who was to appear when 3300 years, save 10, of the *Cali-yuga* were elapsed in the city of *Charchita.*

The first VICRAMA'DITYA is mentioned in the *Cumáricá-c'han'da**, in which it is declared, that after 3020 years of the *Cali-yuga* had elapsed, then would VICRAMA'RCA appear. He reigned fourteen years, and of course died in the year 3034, when the *era* of YUDHISHTIR ended, and his own began. In the list of the kings who were to appear in the *Cali-yuga*, to be found in the *Bhágavata, Brahmán'da, Váyu,* and *Vishnu-purán'as,* there are two kings, the seventeenth and eighteenth in regular succession from CHANDRAGUPTA, who reigned seven years each. The first is called VICRAMA, and the other MITRA; and they are supposed to have been originally meant for VICRAMAMITRA; who, according to some, reigned fourteen years: and in these lists, the father, or predecessor of VICRAMA, is called GHOSHA-RA'JA, or the king of thickets, which is another name for GANDHARUPA, or GADHA-RA'JA in the west. This looks like an interpolation; and the more so, as it will appear hereafter, that GHOSHA-RA'JA died in the year 440 of our *era.*

This is the VICRAMA'DITYA, after whom the present *Samvat* is supposed to be denominated; and it is the general opinion, that the first year of it is the next to that in which he died. Yet the Pandits, who assisted ABUL-FAZIL, declared that it was the first of his reign: it is also the opinion of many respectable Pandits, particularly in the western parts of *India.* This is more conformable to a passage in the *Cumáricá-c'handa* †, in

* Paragraph. 42d. † Paragraph. 42d.

which it is declared, that after 3100 years of the *Cali-yuga* were elapsed, then would ŚACA, or ŚA'LIVA'HANA, appear. By this first year of ŚA'LIVA'HANA, we must not understand it, as meant of the first of his *era;* but of the first of his reign, which is unconnected with his period. In that case, VICRAMA'RCA lived 56 years; his death happened then in the 57, or the first of the Christian *era*, the very year in which ŚA'LIVA'HANA, the lord and master of *Rome*, made his appearance, and after whom the *era*, in use through that empire, is denominated.

The second VICRAMA'DITYA is the same with ŚRÍ-CARN'A-DE'VA, called also S'UDRACA and ŚURACA; and is mentioned in the *Vétála-pancha-vin'sati*, under the name of VICRAMA-CE'SARI, prime minister of the Emperor of *India*, at *Pátalí-putra-puram*. It is he, to whom a *Bráhmen* gave strong hints, to seize upon the throne, and avail himself of the infirmities of his master. He is the VICRAMA'DITYA mentioned by FERISHTA, in his history of *India;* and whom he makes contemporary with SAPOR, king of *Persia*. He is also mentioned in the *Bhója-charitra;* for, when RA'JA'-MUNJA wanted to destroy secretly young BHÓJA his nephew, the latter, being apprised of it, effected his escape, and wrote to him several couplets, well known to the learned; wherein, reproaching him with his dark and base scheme, he says ŚRÍ-CARN'A-RA'JA-VICRAMA is no more, and he carried nothing along with him out of his immense treasures; but died like another man." From that circumstance, the title ŚRÍ-CARNA-RA'JA-VICRAMA was conferred upon BHÓJA by posterity. It seems that he attempted to establish an *era* of his own, which however did not last long. The Pandits, who waited upon ABUL-FAZIL, informed him, that several princes had attempted to set up *eras*, denominated after their own names: and this is also asserted

by many learned men now; but these new *eras* were soon doomed to oblivion.

The third VICRAMA'DITYA was the son of GARDDABHARUPA, or RASHABHA-SE'NA, or the man with the countenance of an ass. That name is pronounced GADHA'-RUPA, or GANDHA-RUPA, in the spoken dialects; and he is called also GADHENDRA, or the lord of asses, and GHOSHARA'JA, or the king of thickets and bushes.

In the list of the emperors of *India*, in the annexed table, he is called GAND'HA-PA'LA; and, at *Ujjayiní*, his name is GANDHA-RUFFSENA, according to DR. HUNTER of our Society *. A. ROGER writes it VENEROUTFSI, or GUENEROUTFSI: but says, that it was the name of the sister of VICRAMA'DITYA, who, they insist in the *Deccan*, was himself the son of a *Bráhmen* of *Benares*, called CHANDRA-GUPTA; and there is a fulsome account of the birth of this VICRAMA, in the first section of the *Sinhásana-dwátrin'sati*, called *Vicrama-Upác'hyána*. "In *Gurjjara-man'dalam* are the *Sábharamatí*, and *Mahí* rivers: between them is a forest, in which resided TAMRA-LIPTA-RI'SHI, whose daughter married king TAMRA-S'ENA. They had six male children, and one daughter, called MADANA-REC'HA'. The king had two young lads, called DEVA-S'ARMA and HARI-S'ARMA', whose duty chiefly was to wash, every day, the clothes of their master, in the waters of the nearest river. One day, as DE'VAS'ARMA' went, by himself, for that purpose, he heard a voice saying, tell king TAMRA-S'ENA to give me his daughter; should he refuse me, he will repent it. The lad, on his return, mentioned the whole to his master;

* Asiat. Research. Vol. 6th. p. 35.

who would not believe it, and next day sent HARI-S'ARMA' to the river, who heard the same voice also, with the threats in case of a refusal. The king was astonished; and, going himself, heard the voice also. On his return, he assembled his council; and, after consulting together, it was agreed, that the king should go again, and ask him who he was. The supposed spirit, being questioned, answered, I am a *Gand'harva*, or heavenly choirister; who, having incurred INDRA's displeasure, was doomed to assume the shape of an ass. I was born in that shape, in the house of a *Cumbha-cára*, or potter, in your capital city; and I am daily roving about in quest of food. The king said, that he was very willing to give him his daughter; but that he conceived, that such an union was altogether impossible, whilst he remained in that shape. The GANDHARVA said, trouble not yourself about that; comply with my request, and it will be well with you. If, says the king, you are so powerful, turn the walls of my city, and those of the houses, into brass; and let it be done before sun-rise to-morrow. The GANDHARVA agreed to it, and the whole was completed by the appointed time; and the king, of course, gave him his daughter." Several learned Pandits inform me, that this GAND'HARVA's name was JAYANTA, the son of BRAHMA'. When cursed by INDRA, he humbled himself; and INDRA, relenting, allowed him to resume his human shape in the night time; telling him, that the curse should not be done away, till somebody had burned his ass-like frame.

It is said, in the *Vicrama-Upác'hyàna*, that the mother of the damsel spied them once in the night; and, to her great joy, found that the GANDHARVA dallied with her daughter in a human shape. Rejoiced at this discovery, she looked for his ass-likeform, and burned it. Early in the morning, the GANDHARVA looked for this body of his, and found

that it had been destroyed. He returned immediately to his wife, informing her of what had happened, and that his curse being at an end, he was obliged to return to heaven, and leave her. He informed her also, that she was with child by him, and that the name of the child was to be VICRAMA'DITYA: that her maid was with child also, and that the name of the child should be BHARTRI-HARI. He then left his wife, who resolved to die; and, ripping up her own belly, she took out the child, and intrusted it to the care of a *Málini*, or the wife of a gardener, or a flower woman. 'Go,' said she, 'to some distant place, and there remain concealed; because my father will attempt to destroy the child.' The *Málini* went to *Ujjayini*, with the maid; and from the signal preservation of the child, in that city, it was also called *Avanti*, from the Sanscrit *ava*, to preserve.

In the *Agni-puráńa*, the father of the damsel is called SADASVAS'ENA, in the *Bhávishya-puráńa* VASUD'HA': FERISHTA says that his name was BASDEO; whom he represents as emperor of *India*, and residing at *Canouge*; but the author of the *Vicrama-Upác'hyána* says that he was a powerful prince, in the west of *India*, and possessed of the countries which we find, afterwards, constituting the patrimonial territories of the *Balahara*, which included *Gurjjarásht'ra* (or *Gujjarát*,) with some adjacent districts. In the *Ayin-Acberi* he is called SUDHROWSHENEH, and at *Ujjayini*, SUNDERSENA, according to DR. HUNTER, who says that this incarnation took place in the time of that prince *. This is obviously the history of YESDEJIRD, son of BAHRAM-GÓR, or BAHRAM the ass, king of *Persia*: the grand features are the same, and the times coincide perfectly. The amours of BAHRAM-GÓR, with an *Indian* princess, are famous all over *Persia*, as well as in *India*. According to D'HERBELOT, there

* Asiat. Researches, Vol. VI. p. 35.

is still a romance in Persian, called the amours of BAHRAM and GUL-ENDAM, the *Indian* princess.

This VICRAMA'DITYA ascended the throne of *Málava*, in the year 441, reckoning from the first of SA'LIVA'HANA; and 753 years after the expiation of CHA'NACYA, according to the *Agni-purán'a*, answering equally to the year of CHRIST 441. In the *Bhavishya-purán'a*, in which the years are omitted, VICRAMA'DITYA is placed in the same order of regular succession: conformably also to the list of the emperors of *India*, in the annexed table. DU FRESNOY, in his Chronological tables *, says, that the first year of his reign answered to the 441 of the Christian *era;* and the authors of the Ancient Universal History place this event in the 442d: and surely no greater degree of precision could be expected †.

This VICRAMA was the son of the man with the countenance of an ass; but his grand father was ATI-BRAHMA', in the *Ayin-Acberi*, and whose father was BRAHMA'. NOW YEZDEJ'IRD, called ISDIGERTES by the *Greeks*, was the son of BAHRAM with the nick name of GUR or the ass. His grandfather was another YEZDEJIRD, called also VARAMES or BARAM, with the title of ATHIM, and answering to ATI-BIRMAH; and whose father was called BAHRAM, the same with BRAHMA, BIRMAH, or BAHRAM, as his name is spelt by TIEFFENTHALER, and in many MSS. lists. The *Greeks* pronounced it VARAMES, and even BARAM, as it is written by THEOPHYLACT SIMOCATTA ‡. JAYANTA, the son of BRAHMA', incurred the displeasure of INDRA, king of the elevated grounds of *Meru*, or *Turkestan;* and was doomed, by him, to assume the shape of an ass, in

* Du Fresnoy, Vol. 2d. p. 408. † Anc. Univ. History, Vol. 9th. p. 278.

‡ See Photii Bibliotheca. p. 87.

the lower regions. BAHRAM-GUR, or the ass, likewise incurred the displeasure of the *Khacan*, or mortal king of *Meru*. He ascended the throne of *Persia;* and, after having overcome his enemies, he went to *India*, in disguise, to the court of a powerful prince of that country, who took particular notice of him, on account of his valour and personal merit. The Indian prince loaded him with caresses and honours; and gave him his daughter, with an immense fortune; when he was recognized by some nobleman, who had carried the usual tribute to *Persia*. Being thus discovered, he returned to his own country, after an absence of two years. The Hindus assert, that he refused to take his wife along with him; and that, in consequence, she killed herself. They shew, to this day, the place where he lived, about one day's march to the north of *Baroach*, with the ruins of his palace. In old records, this place is called *Gad'hendra-puri*, or the town of the lord of asses. The present name is *Gosherà*, or *Ghojará* for *Ghosha-ráyá* or *Ghosha-rája:* for, says my Pandit, who is a native of that country, the inhabitants, being ashamed of its true name, have softened it into *Ghoshera*, which has no meaning. BAHRAM, the ass, had 12,000 dancing women sent to him, from *India;* and it is supposed, that those of that profession, in the same country, to this day, are descended from them. This BAHRAM had been brought up among Christians, in *Arabia;* and king NOOMAN, who had been intrusted with his education, died a Christian. But BAHRAM abhorred the Christian name, and cruelly persecuted all those of that profession; and this was the cause of a bloody war with the Roman emperors, in which the armies of BAHRAM were repeatedly defeated; and once forced to plunge into the *Euphrates;* when above 100,000 men were drowned. His son inherited all his rancour; but, being beloved by his troops, the emperors of *Constantinople* were obliged to submit, and to pay a yearly contribution.

This BAHRAM, or VICRAMA'DITYA, the Hindus claim as their own countryman; for, in the appendix to the *Agni-purán'a*, he is declared to be *Carn'ánsya*, or of the family of *Srí-Carn'a*; which is possible on the maternal side.

This is the VICRAMA'DITYA, whose younger brother was called BHARTRÍHARI; famous for his piety and learning; and who succeeded his father, though the youngest: but being disgusted with the world, on account of the infidelity of his favourite wife, he abdicated the throne of *Málava*, and retired to *Benares*; where he ended his days in devout contemplation: though many are of opinion that he is still alive. When he left the throne, his brother was gone to distant countries; and the whole kingdom being thrown into confusion, was soon overrun with demons, the chief of whom had taken possession of the throne; and it was with the utmost difficulty that VICRAMA drove him away, by gentle means, and even conciliated his favour, and thereby obtained a boon from him, to sit upon the throne for 100 years.

It is the general opinion, that VICRAMA'DITYA put his brother 'SUCA'DITYA, or BHARTRÍHARI, to a most slow and cruel death, by severing his head, with a knife, both small and bad. His putting him to death is mentioned by HOLWELL, and MR. WILKINS *.

BHARTRÍHARI, according to the Hindus in general, withdrew to *Chun'ar* near *Benares*, where he remained some time; when his brother gave him a

* Asiat. Researches, Vol. 1st. p. 129.

purganah, or small district, called to this day *Bhartari*, and *Bhittri*, after him; and which is to the eastward of the mouth of the river *Gomti* There are the remains of a pretty large fort, with the ruins of his palace Near it is a stone pillar, with an inscription, containing only a few couplets from the *Mahá-Bhárata:* it is however remarkable, on account of the curious connexions of the letters.

Being obliged to go often to *Benares*, he raised an artificial hill, a some distance from the northern banks of the little river *Burná*, to the north of the city, exactly in the shape of the hill of *Chunár*, on which he resided. It is a work of great magnitude; and near it is a small village called, from that circumstance, *Páhár-pur*, or Hill-burgh.

In the lists of the kings of *Gwalior*, both MSS. and printed, it is declared, that SU'RYA-SE'NA, or SU'RYA-PA'LA, called also SO'MA-PA'LA, built the fort of *Gwalior*, in the year 332 of VICRAMA'DITYA, by whom we must understand the son of BAHRAM-GO'R; and thus, the building of this famous citadel took place in the year 773; and probably, on account of the astonishing progress of the Musulman invaders, on the bank of the *Indus*. The kings of that country resided at a place called *Cánti* or *Cántipura* (now *Cotwall*, nine cos to the north of *Gwalior*, according to LIEUT. WILSON's information). The origin of this little kingdom is mentioned in the prophetic chapters of the *Váyu*, *Brahmánda* and *Vishnu-puráńas:* but the latter is more explicit, on this subject, than the others. After the death of PULO'MA', in 648, there appeared, in *Anu-Gangam*, or the *Gangetic* provinces, a king, called VIS'VA-S'PHATICA, or VIS'VA-S'PHURJI; who drove away the *Bráhmens* and *Cshettris* and raised to that dignity persons of the lowest classes. After him came

the *Nágas* or *Nácas*, who divided among themselves *Anu-Gángam*, and the countries to the westward: some resided at *Padmávati* (or *Patna*;) others at *Prayága*, (or *Allahabad*). There was a branch of them who settled at *Cánti* (now *Cotwall* near *Gwalior*,) and another at *Mathurá*: and there were nine families of them. There is still a tribe of the *Nágas*, or *Nácas*, on the banks of the *Jumná*, about *Calpi*. They seem to form a singular tribe, but I am otherwise unacquainted with them.

Thus SU'RYA-PA'LA, or SÓMA-PA'LA, built this fortress, in the year 773, and of VICRAMA the son of BAHRAM-GU'R 332; which computation is further confirmed by another epoch. AJA-PA'LA or GEBAL, is said by FERISHTA', to have been assisted in his wars against MAHMUD, by TANDEPA'LA king of *Gwalior*. There is one DHAND'HUPA'LA, in the Persian list of its kings, and the sixteenth from its foundation. He was the friend and ally of GEPAL, and their combined forces were defeated by MAHMOOD, about the year 1017.

The dynasty of SU'RYAPA'LA consisted of eighty-five princes, according to the prediction of GÓPA'-CHALA the hermit, (called in the Persian list GUA'LIPA';) and ended in the person of TE'JA-CA'RN'A, 103 years before *Gwalior* was taken, by SHAMSEDDIN, or FIROZE the 2d; (who ascended the imperial throne in 1289;) having lasted above 410 years, which is certainly too little for 85 reigns: but these inaccuracies are not uncommon with Hindu chronologers. LIEUT. WILSON informs me, that a *Bráhmen*, in the service of CA'NDU-JEE, has sometime since written a history of *Gwalior*, in Sanscrit, in which he places SU'RYA-PA'LA, or SÓMA-PA'LA, in the *Dwapar* age: and the author declares, that his account is conformable to ancient inscriptions, still existing on the rocks of

Gwalior; and that the chief circumstances in his history are entirely taken from them. If so, neither the inscriptions, nor the work itself deserve much credit. BAHRAM, with the epithet of GÛR, in Sanscrit GARDABHA, or the ass, is the founder of the *Garddabhina* dynasty, mentioned in the prophetic chapters of the *Puránas.* The Hindus say, that when GARDDABHA withdrew from *India*, he left his wife and her maid behind, and that both were with child by him; but Persian writers assert, that he took his wife with him to Persia with her immense fortune. In RAGHUNA'T'H's list, we find, that the son of GADHA'-PA'LA, or GARDDABHA, was VICRAMAD'ITYA; who had two sons TALACA-CHANDRA, who reigned only two years, and another called VICRAMA'DITYA also, who succeeded him. According to Persian history, GARDDABHA had a son called YESDEJIRD, who succeeded him. This prince had two sons FIROZE, the eldest, and HORMUZ the youngest, sirnamed the wise; whom, on account of his wisdom, he appointed for his successor; and, to FIROZE, he gave the government of *Sigistan* and *Mecran.* The account of these two brothers has much affinity with what they relate, in *India*, of VICRAMA'DITYA and BHARTRÍHARI. Some say that VICRAMA'DITYA put him to death; others, that he banished him to distant countries. Be this as it may, they show the ruins of his place of abode in *Gujjarát*, at *Ujjayiní*, and near *Benares.* The dynasty of the *Gardabhínas* is probably that of the descendants and successors of BAHRAM GÛR in *Persia.* The princes in the N. W. parts of *India* were vassals of the Persian kings, at a very early period; and the father-in-law of BAHRAM-GÛR used to send a yearly tribute to them. According to the Hindus, he was not emperor of *India*, but only a powerful king in the western parts of that country, and his capital city was *Cambát* (or Cambay). It is not improbable that FIROZE spared the life of his brother, and banished him to

distant countries; and spread a report of his death to prevent any further commotion in his favour. SHIROVYEH, the son of KHOSRU PURVIZ, caused his seventeen brothers to be secretly conveyed to *India;* and it was firmly believed, in the west, that he had put them all to death: yet there is hardly any doubt, that the kings of *Oudypoor*, and the *Marhattas*, are descended from them and their followers, as it will appear in the appendix. In many copies of RAGHU-NA'TH's list, instead of GADHA'-PA'LA, we read CSHE'MA-PA'LA, or some other name. Next to him, a prince is introduced, called SADAT-PA'LA; probably for SADA'S'VA-PA'LA, the name of the father-in-law of GADHA'-PALA, or BAHRAM-GÛR.

As the famous emperor BHÓJA is not noticed by foreign writers, the period in which he lived is involved in much obscurity. In the *Ayin-Acberi**, BHÓJA is said to have ascended the throne, in the year 541 of VICRAMA'DITYA'S *era;* which is impossible; for it would place BHÓJA'S accession to the throne in the year 982; and, therefore, there would be no room, either for his reign, which was a long one, nor for those of his two successors, the last of whom died in 1000. In the *'Satrujaya-mahatmya*, we read 477 instead of 541, and this will place BHÓJA'S accession in the year 918 of CHRIST. But the author of the above treatise uses another mode of calculation, which will give a difference of four years. In the year 466 of the *era*, says he, was VICRAMA'DITYA, who reigned 108 years; and 477 years after, appeared 'SALA'DITYA, in *A'sárápura.* The era is that of 'SA'LIV'AHANA, and as the *Jainas* reckon from the death of VICRA'MADITYA, the whole will stand thus, 466+79—108+477=

* Vol. 2d, p. 55.

914, for the year of CHRIST, in which BHÓJA ascended the throne. MAJOR MACKENZIE, in his extracts communicated to the Society, says, that in the *Dekhin* it is recorded of BHÓJA, that he reigned fifty years five months and three days; and that the famous CA'LI'-DA'SA lived at his court. Accordingly, BHÓJA died in the year 965 or 969, if we place his accession in the year 918. The author of the *Satrujaya-mahátmya* places the accession of VICRAMA'DITYA in the year of CHRIST 437, instead of 441; and when we read, in the *Ayin-Acberi*, that BHÓJA ascended the throne in the year of VICRAMA'DITYA 541, this might possibly be a mistake for that of his death; and such mistakes are unfortunately but too frequent with Hindu writers; and his death would, in this case, fall in the year 977; or in 982, if we reckon from the year 441. This account is the most probable, as it leaves room for the reign of his adopted son JAYA-NANDA, who died without issue, when CHAITRA-PA'LA, or JYTE-PA'LA of the *Towara* tribe, was raised to the throne. After fighting several unsuccessful battles with SULTAN MAHMOOD, he put an end to his own life, in the year 1002, and was succeeded by his son MAHE'NDRA PALA. This CHAITRA-PA'LA or CHANDRA-PA'LA, and in the spoken dialects CHAITRA-PA'LA, JYTE-PA'LA and GEPAL, by Musulman writers, is called CHAITRA-CHANDRA in the *Bhavishya;* which cannot be explained otherwise, than by supposing, that the author meant, that he was called indifferently either CHAITRA-PA'LA or CHANDRA-PA'LA. He was a most powerful prince, and his authority was acknowledged all over *India;* and he is mentioned in the *Ayin-Acberi**, under the name of CHANDRA-PA'LA: but

* Vol. 2d. p. 55.

he is placed erroneously before RA'JA'-BHÓJA. This is the VICRA-MADITYA, who is made to wage war against MAHABHA'T and the *Mahábhatádicas*, MUHAMMED and the *Muhammedans*. No Hindu prince could have waged war against MUHAMMED; but the whole is an allusion to the subsequent wars with his followers; and in the same manner we must probably consider the wars of the other VICRAMAS with 'SA'LIVA'HANA. The Hindus have confounded SULTAN MAHMOOD with MUHAMMED, whom they claim as their own countryman, as well as 'SA'LIVA'HANA, whilst neither of them ever was in India.

The propensity of the Hindus, to appropriate every thing to themselves, is well known. We have noticed before their claims to BAHRAM-GÛR, and his descendants; and in the same manner, they insist, that ACBAR was a Hindu in a former generation. The proximity of the time, in which this famous emperor lived, has forced them, however, to account for this in the following manner. There was a holy *Bráhmen*, who wished very much to become emperor of *India;* and the only practicable way for him was to die first, and be born again. For this purpose he made a desperate *Tapasya*, wishing to remember then every thing he knew in his present generation. This could not be fully granted; but he was indulged with writing upon a brass plate, a few things which he wished more particularly to remember; then he was directed to bury the plate, and promised that he would remember the place in the next generation. MUCUNDA, for such was his name, went to *Allahabad*, buried the plate, and then burned himself. Nine months after he was born in the character of ACBAR, who, as soon as he ascended the throne, went to ALLAHABAD, and easily found the spot where the brass plate was buried.

Thus the *Hindus* claim MUHAMMED and ACBAR as their own; exactly like the *Persians* of old, who insisted that ALEXANDER was the son of one of their kings; so that, after all, they were forced to submit to their countrymen only. But let us return to MAHA'BHAT, or MUHAMMED.

The *Hindus* say, that the son of a certain king of *India*, being disgusted with the world, turned pilgrim, and went to MÓCSHE'SWARAST'HA'NA, (or *Mecca*). In his way thither, and in Arabia, he stopped at the house of a *Bráhmen*, who received him kindly, and ordered his daughter to wait on him, as usual. Whilst asleep, the cloth, with which his loins were covered, was accidentally defiled. When he awoke, he took it off, and concealed it in a corner of the house, in some hole, and out of the sight of the damsel, as he thought. Being from home, to perform his ablutions, in consequence of this nocturnal defilement, the damsel came at the usual hour; and her courses suddenly making their appearance, she was much distressed, and looking every where for some cloth, she spied the bundle—in short, she conceived. He departed for *Mecca;* and some months after, the parents of the damsel, and herself, were thrown into the greatest confusion, as may be imagined.

The holy man was considered as the author of their disgrace, though the damsel exculpated him: yet she could not account for her present situation. She was like HAGAR, turned out of the house, into the wilderness, with her son: where they were miraculously preserved, both being innocent. Some years after, the holy man returned, unconscious of his having been the cause of so much uneasiness to the family of the hospitable *Bráhmen.*

After much abuse, the matter was explained; but the son of the damsel could not be admitted to share with his relatives, or even to remain in their communion. He was, however, honourably dismissed, with his mother, after they had given him a suitable education, and rich presents; and they advised him to shift for himself, and to set up a new religion, as he could not be considered as a member of the old one, on account of his strange birth, or rather conception. When advanced in years, he wished to see his paternal relations and *India;* and to persuade them to conform to his new doctrine; but he died in his way thither, at *Medina*, near *Candáhár*. This *Mediná* is *Ghazni*, called emphatically the second *Mediná*, from the great number of holy men entombed there: and it is obvious, that the *Hindus* have confounded MUHAMMED with SULTAN-MAHMOOD, whose sumptuous Mausoleum is close to that city. Thus we see, that the account they give of MUHAMMED is a mere rhapsody, retaining some of the principal features of the history of ISHMA'EL, HA'GAR, MUHAMMED himself, and SULTAN MAHMOOD.

The *Samvat*, or *era*, of MAHA'BHAT, was early introduced into India, and the *Hindus* were obliged to use it, as they do now in all their civil transactions; and thus MUHAMMED became at least a *Sambatica* or *Santica*. According to the rules laid down by the learned in *India*, MOHAMMED is certainly a *Saca* and *Sacéswara*, and is entitled to the epithet of VICRAMA. He is a *Saca*, or mighty chief; and, like other *Sacas*, he killed his millions: he is *Sacéswara*, or the ruler of a sacred period, still in use in *India*. For these reasons, the *Pandits* who assisted ABUL-FAZIL, did not scruple to bestow the title of VICRAMA'DITYA upon him; and even to consider him as the real worthy of that name; and in order to make the *era*, or at least the time of VICRAMA'DITYA's appearance,

coincide with the *era* of MUHAMMED, they have most shamefully distorted the chronology of the appendix the to *Agni-purán'a.*

AGNIPURAN'A,	
Sáliváhana, Naraváhana	84
Váusá-váli, or Putra-rájas, that is to say the royal offspring,	100
	184
A'ditya,	55
Brahmá-raja,	87
Ati-Brahmá,	31
Sadás'va, Harsha Mégha,	80
1st. of Vicramáditya,	437

AYIN ACBERI,			
'Sáliváhana,	1	or 0	
Naraváhana,	100		
Putra-rájas,	100		
	200		
A'ditya,	86	7	3
Birmáhraj,	30		
At-Birmáh,	90		
Sudhrowsheneh, for Sadásva-sena,	80		
Heymert,	100		
Gundrup,	35		
1st. of Vicramáditya,	621	7	3

In the MSS. copy of the *Ayin Acberi* used by TIEFFENTHALER, the days and months were omitted. In several we find seven months, and three days once only; and the repetition in other MSS. is owing probably to the carelessness of transcribers. Here one year only is allotted to SA'LIVA'HANA, and 100 to NARA-VA'HANA, who is the same with 'SA'LIVA'HANA, to whom one only is allowed, in order, probably, to keep up his rank and place in the list. It is also to be observed, that where we put 0 at the beginning of a chronological list, the Hindus put 1, as we used to do formerly; and that year should be rejected in calculations; but this precaution is often neglected, even in Europe.

The first year of 'SA'LIVA'HANA, but not of his *era*, was the 3101 of

the *Cali-yuga*, answering to the first of the *Christian era*, according to the *Cumáricá-c'handa;* and consequently, this VICRAMA'DITYA's accession, to the throne, happened 621 years after the birth of CHRIST, according to the MSS. perused by TIEFFENTHALER; and 621 years 7 months and 3 days, according to others: and the *Hejra* began, when 621 years 6 months and 15 days, of the *Christian era*, were elapsed; the difference is surely trifling. That the *Pandits*, who assisted ABUL-FAZIL, pointed to MUHAMMED, under the name of VICRAMA'DITYA, is confirmed also from two dates in the *Ayin Acberi*, in which the years, said to belong to VICRAMA'DITYA's *era*, are really to be reckoned from the beginning of the *Hejrá*. Probably it was meant as a compliment to the benevolent ACBAR, whose tolerant spirit could not fail to endear him to the Hindus. Even in the time of AURENG-ZEBE, the most intolerant of all princes, when RAGHUN'ATHA wrote the *Vansáváli*, at his command, he introduced MUHAMMED by name, with the title of 'SRI'MA'N-MAHA'RA'JA. In this attempt, the *Pandits*, who assisted ABUL-FAZIL, most shamefully disfigured the chronology of the supplement to the *Agni-purán'a*. Of S'A'LIVA'HANA and NARA-VA'HANA, they made two distinct persons; as well as of BAHRAM, with the title of GÛR, in *Persian*, and HAIMAR, or the wild ass, in *Arabic*. Thus they introduced HAIMAR or HAYMERT, and GÛR or GANDARUP: to the former they allotted 100, and to the latter 35 years; and they had the assurance to tell ABUL-FAZIL, that it was declared, in their sacred books, that HAIMAR having been killed in battle, his soul passed into the body of GANDA-RUP *. They were also forced to lengthen the reigns of the intermediate princes: thus one abyss calls to another, and a single lie requires often fifty to support it.

* Ayin Acberi, Vol. 2. p. 54.

The accession of VICRAMA'DITYA, the son of BAHRAM-GÛR, to the throne, is placed, in the supplement to the *Agni-purán'a*, A. D. 437; and the same date is given, in the *Satrujaya-mahátmya*, as we have seen before *. This event is placed, however, in the year 441, or 442, by chronologers in the west; and in the appendix to the *Agni-purán'a*, the accession of 'ADITYA is placed in the year of CHRIST 185; but, in the *Cumáricá-c'han'da*, it is declared to have taken place in the year 191: the difference is six years, which added to 437, or rather to 436, will place the same event in the year 442.

The name of the emperors, called MUHAMMED, or MAHMOOD, is generally written, and pronounced, by Hindus, MA'HABHA'T, which implies a great warrior: hence he is called also MAHA' BA'HU, VÍRA-BA'HU, and MAHA'-VÍRA-BA'HU. It is written also MAHA'-BHAT'T'A'RACA, MAHA'BHAT'T'A'RICA, and MOHA-BHAT'T'A'R. In the *Vansávali*, he is styled 'SRÍMA'N-MAHA'-RAJA, the prosperous (or on whom blessing and happiness) the great commander. In the list of kings, the titles are generally placed after the proper name: thus BHO'JA is dignified with the title of SRÍ-CARN'A-RA'JA-VICRAMA, in the appendix to the *Agni-purán'a*. In the *Vansávali*, as new modelled by the *Jainas*, the epithet of PARAS'U is prefixed to his name, and not improperly; because, like another PARAS'U, he and his successors destroyed the kings of the earth. PARAS'U signifies a sword, or scimiter; and here, perhaps, alludes to the epithets of *Seisullah*, (the sword of GOD,) and of *Zulfecar*, so famous among his followers.

It is said, in the *Vrihat-cat'ha*, that he was from *Ananga-désa*, or the

* See before, p. 157.

country of ANANGA, another name for CA'MADE'VA, and supposed, by *Pandits*, to be to the westward of *India*. In the *Vansáváli*, instead of *Ananga*, it is written *Benga*, or *Bengal*. The HA'MIR, or HOMAR', introduced as his successor, in this list, is probably meant for OMAR, who, as early as the year 636, began to form regular plans, for the invasion of *India*; and actually sent a large detachment, by sea, to invade the *Delta* of the *Indus*: or rather, this HA'MIR is the famous HA'MÍR, general of MOAVYEH *, who waged a long and bloody war, with the Hindus, in the countries bordering upon the *Delta*. MOAVYEH began his reign in the year 661, and died in 679; and the wars of HAMIR, with the Hindus, took place about the latter end of his reign. In the *Vansáváli*, he is called HA'MÍR-SINHA, and HA'MÍR-SE'NA: but, in many copies, the first syllable of his name is dropped, and we read MÍR-S'E'NA, DÍRS'E'NA, and even DÍSENA; and, in some copies, he is said to have been a native of *Ananga*.

The title SRÍMAN-MA'HA'-RA'JA was probably bestowed upon MAHA'-BHAT', in compliment to AURENG-ZEBE, by whose order the *Vansáváli* was written. The *Hindus*, in general, never speak ill of MUHAMMED; and they think that he was a good man; but they by no means entertain the same idea of his disciples.

During the time of MUHAMMED, neither he, nor his followers, ever troubled themselves about *India*: but soon after his death, and in the year 636, OMA'R began to devise means for the invasion of that country; and the first step he took, was to build *Basrah*, or *Bussorah*. He then

* Ayin Acberi, Subah Tatah.

sent MAGAIREH-ABUL AAS, according to the *Ayin-Acberi**, who, setting off from *Baharein* by sea, invaded the western parts of the *Delta* of the *Indus*: but meeting with unexpected resistance, he was defeated, and lost his life; and as OMAR died in 641, this expedition must have taken place between these two years, and probably in 639 or 640. OTHMAN, his successor, attempted an invasion by land; but having sent people to survey the roads, he was deterred by their report. ALI, after him, sent a general, who effected some trifling conquests, on the borders of *Sind*. MOAVIYEH sent twice his general AMIR, or HA'MIR; but, after long and bloody conflicts, he was forced to desist. Under the Caliph WA'LID the conquest of *Sind* was at last effected by MUHAMMED-CASIM, A. H. 99, or of CHRIST 717†.

The rapid conquests of OMAR, and his successors, through *Iran* and *Turan*, and their constant and unrelenting attempts upon *India*, though not always successful, particularly at the beginning, could not but alarm very much the princes of that country; who thus soon became acquainted with the *Mahábhát'ádicas*, MUHAMMED their chief, and the intolerant spirit of their new religion.

Let us now pass to the second part, from the first year of VICRAMA'DITYA, to the death of PRITHWÍ-RA'JA. and of JAYA-CHANDRA. In this part, the appendix to the *Agni*, and also to the *Bhavishya-puran'as*, agree pretty well with the *Ayin-Acberi*, in regard to the number of kings, and the order of succession. There is, however, in the *Ayin-Acberi*, a material difference; for three kings, who are placed after BHO'JA, in the

* Vol. 2d. Account of Sircar Tatah, p. 147. † Ibid.

two first lists, are transposed in the *Ayin-Acberi*, and put before BHO'JA, and in an inverted order of succession. These are RA'MA-CHANDRA, (called there erroneously KURRUMCUND) CHANDRA-PA'LA, and MEHE'NDRA-PA'LA. The reason of this transposition is, that the *Pandits*, who assisted ABUL-FAZIL, having placed the accession of BHO'JA 110 years before the death of JAYA-CHANDRA, in 1194, that is to say, in the year of CHRIST 1084, there was no longer room for these three kings; and they concluded, that they must have reigned before BHO'JA, particularly as they found there a king, called also MAH'ENDRA-PA'LA, the grand-father of BHO'JA. Another mistake, in the *Ayin-Acberi*, is the introduction, not only of a collateral dynasty, but the metamorphosing the place of their residence into a king.

The succession of kings, from VICRAMA the son of GARDABHA, to JAYA-CHANDRA, stands thus in the appendix to the *Agni-purán'a*.

VICRAMA'DITYA - - - - - - - - - -	100 years
CHANDRA-SE'NA, - - - - - - - - - -	50
SU'RYA-SE'NA, - - - - - - - - - -	85

CHANDRA-S'ENA is omitted in the *Ayin-Acberi*,

'SACTI-SINHA, - - - - - - - - - -	85

In his time the *era* of 'SA'LIVA'HANA prevailed over that of VICRAMA'-DITYA.

C'HA'DGA-SE'NA, - - - - - - - - -	85

he resided at *Ujjayiní*,

At that time A'TACA, called *VA'TACA* in the *Purán'as*, reigned at *Dhárá-nagara*, for the space of 190 years, or rather his dynasty. SUC'HA-S'EN'A or SUMUC'H-SE'NA, and after him C'HADGA-SENA reigned at *Chittracuta*

(in *Bundelcund*). The first reigned 88, and the second 86 years; and these appear to be collateral dynasties.

Then came MAHE'NDRA-PA'LA, called VIJAYA-NANDA in the *Ayin-Acberi*, and these two epithets imply a great conqueror. It is said, that he reigned 100 years at *Yógini-pura*, or *Dilli*; but it is a mistake, for the MAHE'NDRA-PA'LA, who reigned in that city, lived after BHÓJA. After his death, MUNJA *was appointed regent, during the minority of his son* BHÓJA. He resided at a place called *Sonitpura*, and reigned 86 years. After him, BHÓJA reigned in the *Dekhin*, 91 years. He was succeeded by JAYA-NANDA, sometimes, but erroneously, called JAYA-CHANDRA, and he reigned 89 years. Thus, the compiler of this list seemingly places the death of JAYA-NANDA 1095 years after the accession of VICRAMA'DITYA, the son of GARDDABHA, to the throne; or in the year of CHRIST 1480; thus confounding together this VICRAMA'DITYA, with the one after whom the *era* is supposed to be denominated. In this manner, he has carried back the first year of 'SA'LIVA'HANA, 441 years before CHRIST; and the expiation of CHA'NACYA and CHANDRAGUPTA, 753 before the same *era*. His idea, however, was, that JAYA-NANDA died in the year 1095 of VICRAMA'DITYA's *era*, answering to the year of CHRIST 1039: and as BHÓJA reigned only 50 years, instead of 91, a further correction will place the death of JAYA-NANDA in the year of CHRIST 998, which is pretty near the truth. These inconsistencies and contradictions, so frequent among *Hindu* chronologers, are disgustful in the last degree, and must greatly retard the progress of historical research.

He was succeeded by CHAITRA-PA'LA, the son of RA'MA-CHANDRA, a powerful zemindar, in the country of *Gauda*, *in Málava*, and of the

Tomára tribe. In the *Ayin-Acberi** we read, that, when JAYA the son of BHÓJA died, there was not found any one of the *Pomára* or *Powár* tribe, worthy to wear the crown; on which account, CHYTEPA'L, an eminent zemindar, was chosen king; and he founded the *Tomára* dynasty.

In these three lists, we find two dynasties introduced, the *Tomára* and the *Chauhán:* but these were collateral, at least for some time; as obvious from the context of the appendix to the *Agni-purán'a,* in which it is declared, that JIDAHA'NA, called PRĬTHWÍ-RA'JA in the *Ayin-Acberi*†, was defeated and killed in battle, in the country of *Sambhala,* by the *Chauháns,* who thus became kings of *Yóginí-pura,* or *Dílli.* This happened, says ABUL-FAZIL, in the year of VICRAMA'DITYA 848 (it should be 488); and as the first year of VICRAMA'DITYA is made, in that section, to correspond with the first of the *Hejra,* the death of JIDAHA'NA happened in the year of CHRIST 1110. This is further confirmed, by another passage from the same author‡, in which he says, that the dynasty of BALA-DEO, or BILDEO, the *Chauhán,* lasted 83 years, and seven months, that is to say, from the death of PRĬTHWÍ-RA'JA, who was slain by BALDEO, to the death of PITHAURA', in the year 1192, or of the *Hejra* 588: and from the beginning of the *Hejra,* to the year 1110 of CHRIST, there had elapsed exactly 488 *Hindu* or *Lunisolar* years§. Accordingly, these two dynasties will stand thus:

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* Vol. 2d. p. 56. † Vol. 2d. p. 118. ‡ Vol. 2d. p. 115. § Vol. 2d. p. 118.

The* TOMA'RA *Family.

Ràma-Chandra, *Zemindàr of Gaud'a, did not reign.*

Chaitra-pála, *his son, emperor of India, had two sons;*

Maháendra-pála, *emperor.*	Raya-séna, *called also Ananga-pàla, and 'Ecapàla, builds Dilli, A. D.* 1050.	CHAUHA'NA *Family.*
	Rána Bádi	Bahusáli
	Jidahàna, *killed in battle by Bala-deva A. D.* 1110. *had two sons.*	Vis'àlàcsha
		Sóma-deva
		Bala-déva
		Naga-déva
		Cirtti pála
Vigahána, *withdraws to Gaudá his native country.*	Sanca pàla, Cirtti-pàla, Anangapàla	PRIT'HWI-RA'JA, *died A. D.* 1192.

In the account of Subah *Dilli*, by ABUL-FAZIL*, the list of the *Chauhán* princes, who reigned after the year 1109, is erroneous; but in the account of Subah *Málwa* †, it agrees with the appendix to the *Agni-purán'a*.

Musulman writers inform us, that after the death of GEBAL, or CHAITPA'LA, the *Balhara* kings in *Gujjarát*, became lords paramount, or emperors of *India:* and, in the *Agni-purán'a*, we find that CHAITRA-PA'LA had two sons, MAHA'-CHANDRA-PA'LA, or MAHE'NDRA-PAL'A, who proved at last a weak and foolish prince, and his brother RAYA-S'E'NA carried away his wife, and built *Dilli*. He was called ANANGA-PA'LA, or befriended by

* Vol. 2d. p. 115. † Vol. 2d. p. 62.

love, and RATÍPA'LA, or fostered by RATÍ, the goddess of love, and the consort of CA'MA-DAVA; perhaps in allusion to the above transaction: hence the founder of *Dilli* is called by some, ANANGA-PA'LA, and by others RAYA-SENA. He is noticed by TIEFFENTHALER, who calls him RASENA, and says that he built *Dilli**. ABUL-FAZIL, in his account of Subah *Dilli*, places this event in the year of VICRAMA'DITYA 429: and in a former section, he makes the first year of that *era* to correspond with the first of the *Hejra* †. It happened then in the year of CHRIST 1050; and this is confirmed by another passage from the same author ‡, in which he places the building of *Dilli*, or the beginning of the *Tomára* dynasty, in that city, 142 years before the death of PITHAURA', in 1192; and this gives the same result.

After the defeat and death of PRÍTHWÍ-PA'LA, or JIDA'HANA, in the year 1110, his son VIGAHA'NA returned to *Gaud'a*, his native country, according to the *Agni-purán'a;* but we find still three of his descendants, reigning at *Dilli*, SANCA-PA'LA, CIRTTI-PA'LA and ANANGA-PA'LA. In the *Agni-purán'a* it is said, that RAY-SENA conquered the *Antar-vedi*, or country between the *Jumná* and the *Ganges;* and also the country about *Dilli*, and settled there. The *Chauhánas* possessed at the same time, *Sambhala-des'a*, or the country of *Sambhala*, to the north of *Canouge*.

ANANGA-PA'LA, the last king of *Dilli* of the *Tomára* dynasty, being without male issue, adopted PRÍTHWÍ-RA'JA, or PITHAURA', the last of

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* Beschreibung von Hindustan, p. 111.

† Soobah Malwa, vol. 2d. p. 61. See above, p. 161, 162.

‡ Vol. 2d. p. 115, 118.

the *Chauhán* dynasty. This account is to be found in the history of the wars of PIRTHÍ-RA'JA, or PITHAURA', in the spoken dialects, part of which is in my possession. There it is declared, that ANANGA-PA'LA had no male issue; and that he gave his only daughter in marriage to the CHAUHA'N king of *Sambhala-desa;* who had by her a son, called PITHAURA'. ANANGA-PA'LA adopted him for his own son, and appointed him his successor to the throne of *Dilli;* recommending him, at the same time, to JAYA-CHANDRA, emperor of *India*, and residing at *Canouge*. This happened, says the author of the above treatise, in the 120th year of king ANANGA-PALA'; but more probably of his dynasty, which lasted 142 years; and accordingly, this adoption took place in the year 1170 of the *Christian era.*

It is acknowledged, that the imperial throne belonged of right, to the *Chohán* family, and that they were deprived of it by JAYA-CHANDRA, of the *Rattore* tribe; but we are not told the ground of their claims and pretensions. Be this as it may, such was the cause of the last great war in *India;* for, when JAYA-CHANDRA attempted to perform a grand sacrifice, at which the presence of all the kings of *India* was required, he was told, that he was not qualified to preside at such a sacrifice, as the empire belonged to the *Chohán* family; and of course, that it was the province of PITHAURA', who had absented himself, because he thought that the usurper would not allow him to preside at the sacrifice. A love affair contributed also to exasperate both parties; for, when JAYA-CHANDRA led an army to *Sinhála-dwipa*, or *Ceylon*, the king of that country submitted, and made him a present of a most beautiful and accomplished damsel: but JAYA-CHANDRA, being advanced in years, adopted her for his own daughter; and she was soon to have been married to a powerful

king: but she, having heard of PITHAURA's valour and achievements, fell in love with him, and refused her consent. JAYA-CHANDRA, enraged at her behaviour, caused her to be confined; and this was the cause of a most bloody war, in which the heroes of *India* fell, by mutual wounds. PITHAURA' proved successful, set the young damsel at liberty, and carried her in triumph to *Dilli*, and recovered also the imperial throne. But he did not enjoy it long; for SAHEBUDDIN made his appearance with an army, and JAYA-CHANDRA, entered into a league with the invader, which soon brought ruin and destruction on both parties. PITHAURA' fell in the plains of *S'hán'u-sar* or *Thán'u-sar;* and it is said, near a village, called *Naráyana pura.* The league, between JAYA-CHANDRA and SAHEBUDDIN, did not last long; and in an engagement, in the year 1194, between *Chandwár* and *Etáwáh*, JAYA-CHANDRA was completely routed, and obliged to fly; and, in attempting to cross the *Ganges*, in a small boat, he was drowned*.

After the famous expiation of CHANACYA, which I mentioned before, in my essay on the *Gangetic* provinces, the author of the appendix to the *Agni-purán'a* proceeds in the following manner. "AMBU-RA'JA, (or the king of the waters surrounding *India*), MAHA'-PATI (the great sovereign lord), BHUMI'-PA'LA, (the fosterer of the world), reigned a hundred years. After him came RA'MA-CHANDRA, who reigned twelve years; and was succeeded by BHAVRAJA, who reigned in *Ujjayiní*, 200 years.

AMBU-RA'JA is obviously CHANDRA-GUPTA, whose reign here is made to begin, and not improperly, immediately after the expiation of CHA'N'ACYA;

* Ayin-Acberi, Vol. 2d. p. 102.

when every thing was settled, and CHANDRA-GUPTA acknowledged paramount of *India*.

Thus, from that famous expiation, to the end of BHA'RATA's dynasty, there are 312 years, ending the year preceding the first of the *Christian era*: but according to the *Cumárícá-c'han'da*, this expiation took place 310 years B. C. and the difference is trifling.

"Then," says the compiler of the appendix to the *Agní-puráńa*, "at *Pratisht'ána* in the *Deccan*, through the mercy of SIVA, will appear SA'LIVA'HANA, *Mahá-bali*, great and mighty; *D'harmátmá*, the soul and spirit of righteousness and justice; *Satyavácа*, his word truth itself; *Anasúyaca*, free from spite and envy; *Rajyam-uttamam-critaván*, whose empire will extend all over the world; *Nara-váhana* the conveyer of souls (to places of eternal bliss): and he will reign 84 years."

Nara-váhana signifies literally the conveyer of men, which is here the same thing: for the idiom of the Sanscrit language will hardly admit of our saying conveyer of souls. Thus CHRIST is represented by the *Manichæans*, when they call him *animarum vector in majore nave*, the conveyer of souls in the larger boat.

"Then will come NARA-VA'HANA (in the *Bhavishya puráńa* NRI-SINHA) who will reign 100 years." NARA-VAHANA and NRI-SINHA are two well known epithets of SA'LIVA'HANA, and they have been probably introduced here in order to enable the compiler to bring in 100 years to answer his purpose. What induces me to think so, is the passage immediately following. "Then will appear NARA-VA'HANA and VANSA'VALI." In the

*Ayin-Acberi**, in the room of VA'NSAVALI, we read in one copy VANS'A-RA'JA, and in another PUTRA-RA'JA, and the former is retained by TIEFFENTHALER. VANS'A-RA'JA, signifies the royal offspring, PUTRA-RA'JA the royal children, and VAN'SA'VALI, offspring or descendants, and also an account of them. The two former are generally pronounced RAJA-PUTRAS, and RA'JA-VANSA'S; and they are introduced here, because there are some families of RA'JA-PUTS, and RA'JA-VANSAS, who really pretend to be 'SA'LAVANSAS, or the offspring of HA'LA or 'SA'LA-VAHANA. To these, very properly, no years are allotted in my copy of the *Agni-purán'a;* but, in that used by ABUL-FAZIL, 100 years are given to them; and none to 'SA'LIVAHA'NA, or if you will, one year only.

Thus in my copy we read,

'SA'LIVA'HANA, - - - - - - - - -	84
NARAVAHA'NA and the *Vansa-halis* or *Vansávális* - - - - - - - - -	100
	184

But in the *Ayin-Acberi* we have,

'SA'LIVA'HANA - - - - - - - - -	1—or—0
NARA-VA'HANA - - - - - - - - -	100
Vansa-rájas or *Putra ràjas* - - - -	100
	200

Hence it appears, that originally 'SAI'IVA'HANA and NARA-VA'HANA, in this place, were considered but as one individual.

* Subah Malwa.

"Then will come 'ADITYA, who will reign 55 years." His reign began the 185th year of 'SA'LIVA'HANA, and of the *Christian era*, according to my copy; but in the year 201, according to the *Ayin-Acberi*. This is the VICRAMA-'ADITYA, who was contemporary with SAPOR king of *Persia*, according to FERISHTA, and reckoned among the several kings called VICRAMA'DITYA, in the *Sinhásana dwátrinshati*. He is mentioned under the name of 'SUDRACA, or 'SURACA in the *Vrihat-cathá*, and under that of VICRAMACESARI in the *Vetalapanchavinsati*, as we have seen before*; and according to the *Cumáricá-c'han'da*, began his reign in the year 191 of the *Christian era*. After him came BRAHMA'-RA'JA, who reigned 87 years in *Vidharbha-nagari*. His successor was ATI-BRAHMA, who reigned at *Ujjayinì*: he went with an army to countries toward the north, but was defeated and killed after a reign of 31 years."

"He was succeeded by SADA'S'WA," called VASUDHA in the *Bhavishya*, and BASDEO by FERISHTA: "he reigned 84 years."

In his time appeared HARSHA-ME'GHA or RASHABHA, called GANDHARUPA in the *Ayin-Acberi*, and BAHRAM-GÓR in the history of *Persia*.

His son was VICRAMA'DITYA, (in the *Bhavishya* two persons are mentioned, BHARTRI'HARI and SRÍ-VICRAMA'DITYA;) who began his reign accordingly in the year 441, reckoning from the first of 'SA'LI-VA'HANA, and answering of course to the same year, (441,) of the *Christian era*: and the son of BAHRAM-GÓR ascended the throne in that very year. 'SRÍ-VICRAMA'DITYA is supposed to have reigned 100 years, and of course he died in the year 541. It is here said that he went and subdued the *Paitánas*; that is to say, the inhabitants of *Pátána* in the *Deccan*, but not

* Page 107, 146.

the *Patans*, as BERNOULLI says. His successor was CHANDRA-S'E'NA, who reigned 50 years: then came SU'RYA-S'E'NA, who reigned 85, and died of course 135 years after VICRAM'ADITYA. S'URYA'-S'ENA seems to be a corruption for SU'RYA'NSA, or 'SRI'-SU'RYA'NSA, another name for 'SRI'-'SA'LIVA'HANA, as I shall shew in the next essay: and like 'SA'LIVA'HANA's death, he is placed exactly in the 135th year of VICRAMA'DITYA's *era*, and the same number of years after his death, and in the year 676 of the *Christian era*. But it does by no means follow, that there existed at that time a prince called either 'SA'LIVA'HANA or SU'RYA'NSA; but what we can reasonably conclude is, that his *era* was introduced at that time, and finally prevailed. "Then," says our author, (under the reign of his successor 'SACTI'-SINHA, and in the room of VICRAMA'RCA, the *Saca-bandhi*,) "'SA'LAVA'HANA will be chief of the *'Saca*, or sacred period;" or, in other words, his *era* will prevail over that of VICRA'MARCA.

VCRAMARCA'T *param chaiva* 'SACA *carttá bhavishyati.*
'SA'LAVA'HANA *námnaiva prasidd'ham punar asya tu.*

Then, after VICRAMA'RCA, SA'LAVAHA'NA will be the maker *(ruler)* of the *S'aca.*

The famous BHÓJA was the son of RA'JA-SINDULA, and born unto him in his old age. When he died his son being a minor, and only eight years old, his uncle MUNJA, whose name is often written PUNJA, was therefore intrusted with the regency.

MUNJA wrote a geographical description, either of the world, or of *India*; which still exists, under the name of *Munja-prati-desá-vyavasthá*, or state of various countries. This voluminous work was afterwards

corrected and improved, by RA'JA-BHÓJA; and this new edition is called *Bhója-pratides'a-vyavástha*, and still exists in *Gujjarát*.

When BHÓJA ascended the throne, he found the famous *Sinhásana*, or lion-seat, which had been buried since the days of VICRAMA'DITYA, and thereby became entitled to that epithet, which was confirmed to him by BALI, when he visited the infernal regions. He is also called S'RÍ-CARN'A-RA'JA-VICRAMA, with the title of ADITYA, which last is used often separately, and was also a title bestowed upon S'RÍ-CARNA-DE'VA, whom he alluded to in the stanzas he sent to MUNJA *, and which afterward, from that circumstance, was bestowed on him. When he died, the goddess SARASVATÍ, presiding over the sciences, wept bitterly, saying "where shall I find now a place to dwell in." BHÓJA ascended the throne, as we have seen before, in the year of CHRIST 913; and he resided at *Dhárá-nagar*, commonly called *Dhár*, in the province of *Málava*. He had an only daughter, called BANUMATI, whom he gave in marriage to JAYA-NANDA, who conquered all *India*, and is reckoned as the last of the worthies dignified with the title of VICRAMA'DITYA, though some reckon JAYA-CHANDRA as the last; and indeed JAYA-NANDA and JAYA-CHANDRA are often mistaken the one for the other.

In the appendix to the *Agni-purána*, the author concludes with declaring that some hundred years ago, "the gods and men in *India*, groaning under the tyranny of foreign tribes, went in a body, with BRAHMA' at their head, to *S'weta-dwìpa*, or the White Island in the west, to implore VISHNU's protection, in their own name, and also in the behalf of

* Page 146.

men. VISHNU comforted them, as usual, and promised that he would appear in the character of CALCI-AVATA'RA, when he would exterminate all their enemies." If so, the Hindus must wait no less than 429, 917 years for relief. Every VICRAMA'-DITYA had a certain number of learned men at his court; the chief of whom is, in general, called CA'LÍDASA. According to the supposed appendix to the *Bhavishya-puráṅa*, VICRAMA'-DITYA the son of GARDABHA had sixteen of them. RA'JA-BHÓJA had nine, among whom DHANWANTARI and BARA-RUCHI were the most famous. These two learned men are called DHUNPA'L and BERUJE in the *Ayin-Acberi*. Another VICRAMA'DITYA had only five; and these learned men were dignified with the title of *Ratna*, or jewels, with which the courts of those emperors were adorned. It is the general opinion, in the west, that the real CA'LIDASA lived at the court of king BHÓJA. This is confirmed by the extracts communicated to the society, by MAJOR MACKENZIE, and also in the 8th vol. of the Asiatic Researches*; and 'SA'LIVA'HANA is even supposed to have had a poet of that name at his court.

The next list, coming under examination, is from *Gujjarát*, and was given to me by a *Pandit*, a native of that country. It is entirely confined to the ancient rulers of that, and of the adjacent countries; and comes down no lower than the year 1309; and I was happy to find, that it was the same list which was used by the *Pandits* who assisted ABUL-FAZIL. This shews that it existed above two hundred years ago; and such as it is, that they had no better documents at that time. They borrowed from it only the last dynasty of the king of *Gujjarát'*, which began A. D. 746.

* Page 243.

This list, called also *Vansávali*, contains the names of the rulers of these countries, under the title, either of *Bala-rájás*, or *Ráyas*, or *Mahá-Rájás*, sprung from various tribes, or belonging to different dynasties. Many of them were only petty kings, and vassals to the more fortunate kings of another tribe, sitting then upon the imperial throne. For these various tribes were always struggling for supreme power; and the imperial dignity was constantly shifting from the one to the other. Unfortunately, the compiler has not pointed out those who were *Rájéndras*; and there were, of course, many of these inferior sovereigns, in a collateral succession with the emperors. The whole is compiled with the usual negligence and carelessness of the Hindus, and the author carries the beginning of this list as far back as the beginning of the *Cali-yuga*, and yet he mentions only thirty-six kings, or rather nine and twenty, in the list, from that period to the year of CHRIST 746. It is customary with Hindu genealogists to re-ascend to the beginning of the *Cali-yuga*, whenever they fancy they can do it with propriety; otherwise, these families would be looked upon as a new race, and their princes as men of yesterday. But these nine and twenty reigns cannot carry the origin of the *Bala-Ráyás* beyond the beginning of the *Christian era*. This idea, however, is by no means novel; for, among Musulman writers, some make DABSHELIM the first *Bala-Ráyá*, contemporary with HUSHENK, the second king of the *Pishdadian* dynasty in *Persia;* but, according to MASOUDI, he must have lived a little after the beginning of the *Christian era*.

The title of *Bala-Rája*, *Bala-Ráyá*, or *Bala-Rau* in the spoken dialects, signifies the great king, and is unknown in *India*, as belonging to the ancient sovereigns of *Gujjaráť*. According to our compiler, there were two sorts of these sovereigns, some were *Rájá-Culas*, or of royal extraction,

such as VICRAMA'DITYA and BHÓJA; others were descended from powerful *Zemíndars* of different tribes, the names of which were the *Cha-uhána* or *Chauhána, Chaùdá* and *Gohelá*, to which we may add, from the context of the list, the *'Solanci*, and the *Bághelá* tribes. According to Musulman writers, the first *Bala-Ráyá* was DAB-'SELIM, DAB-'SLIM, DI-'SALEM and DI-'SLAM. These are strange appellations, and unknown in *India*, at least in that shape; and are hardly reducible to any standard, either *Sanscrit* or *Hindí*. My inquiries, concerning this ancient and famous king, have proved unsuccessful, unless his real name were 'SAILA-DE'VA, according to learned men from *Gujjarát*. This 'SAILA-DEVA, 'SAILA-DEO, DEB-'SAILA or DE-'SAILA, was, according to tradition, a most holy man, of royal extraction; and I find him, or one of the same family, mentioned in the *Ayin-Acberi*, under the name of SYEL-DEO*. The word DEVA is pronounced DEB in the eastern parts of *India*, DEO, DE' and DÍ in the western parts of *India;* and, in the present list, such proper names as end in DE'VA, or DEO, in the *Ayin-Acberi*, have constantly DE' in the room of it. This word is seldom prefixed to proper names, yet there are several instances of it, as in DEB-PA'L-DEB, a famous emperor, mentioned in the imperial grant found at *Monghír*, and in DE'VA-NAUSHA, pronounced DI-NISSI in the *Deccan*. In our list, the first *Bala-Ráyá* is called DI-'SACA, or DE'VA-'SACA, which I suppose to be meant for DI-'SA'LA, DI-'SAILA or SAIL DEO.

His descendants are known to Musulman writers under the appellation of *Deb-Sálimát*, according to D'HERBELOT†; and their sire is represented

* Ayin-Acberi, Vol. 2d. subah Gujjerát, p. 89.

† See D'Herbelot, Dabschelim and Dabschalimat.

as a most virtuous and powerful prince, and king of the country of *Sómanátha*, or *Gujarát*. PILPAI was his prime minister, and at his command, wrote the famous testament of HUSHENK, still existing in *Persian*. In the present list, DI-SACA or DE'VA-SACA is declared to have been a *Yadu* by birth, and of this tribe was CRÍSHNA. MASOUDI, who wrote about the year 947, and had been in *India*, throws some light, in his golden meadows, upon the time in which DE'VA-SAILA lived.

"The dynasty of PHOUR, who was overcome by ALEXANDER, lasted 140 years: then came that of DABSCHELIM, which lasted 120 years. That of YALITH was next, and lasted 80 years; some say 130." (YALITH is a strange name, and the nearest proper name to it in *Hindí*, is JA'LÍYA', or YA'LÍYA', the name of a descendant, or successor, of DE'VA-S'AILA.) "The next dynasty was that of COUROS," (a corruption, from either CARN'A, CURAN or CURU:) "it lasted 120 years."

"Then the Indians divided, and formed several kingdoms; there was a king in the country of *Sind*; one at *Canoge*; another in *Cashmir*; and a fourth in the city of *Mankir*, called also the Great *Houza*; and the prince, who reigned there, had the title of *Balhara**."

Now, it is acknowledged, that DEB-SALIM was the first *Balhara* emperor, and the founder of that dynasty; and if so, that emperor and his dynasty, have been transposed by MASOUDI, and erroneously placed before COUROS, whoever he was. The other dynasties of PURU, YA'LÍYA and

* See accounts and extracts of the MSS. in the library of the king of France, vol. 1st, p. 124.

CURU, lasted, according to him, either 390 or 350 years. We cannot fix, with precision, the begining of the dynasty of PURU; but at all events, the division of *India* into four empires, happened in the first century after CHRIST; and according to ARRIAN, in his *Periplus*, the city of *Minnagara* or *Mankir*, was the metropolis of that part of the country. The city is placed, by PTOLEMY, upon the banks of the *Narmadá*, and is now called *Manhawer*. I have not yet been able to procure much information about this famous place, as very few people from that part of *India* ever come to *Benares:* but it is mentioned in the *Ayin-Acberi*, as a town of some note in the district of *Mandow*, in the province of *Malwah*.

The dynasty of DE'VA-SAHIM, in *Manhawer*, according to MASOUDI, lasted 120 years; that is to say, his descendants were, during that period, lords paramount of *India*, or at least of that part of it; and in the time of PTOLEMY, the metropolis of that country was no longer *Manhawer*, but the seat of empire had been transferred to *Ujjayiní* or *Ozene;* and he wrote in the beginning of the third century. In his time, the *Bala-Rayás* were no longer lords paramount of *India;* but were either vassal, or independent kings, residing in some fastnesses among the mountains, at a place called by him *Hippocura;* and now *Pay-gurra* or *Pawá-gurra*. This was, says he, the place of abode of the *Baler-curos;* or rather the *gur*, *curos*, fort or abode, of the *Balher* kings. According to the appendix to the *Agni-puráńa*, the supposed dynasty of 'SA'LIVA'HANA lasted 184; but according to the *Ayin-Acberi*, 200 years. After it, came A'DITYA, of the *Pomára* tribe, called also VICRAMA'DITYA, 'SUDRACA and 'SURACA: he was *Visvapati*, that is lord paramount of the world, or rather of that part of *India*. According to the *Cumáricá-c'hand'a*, he ascended the im-

perial throne in the year of the *Cali-yuga* 3191, and of CHRIST 191. The appendix to the *Agni-purán'a* places his accession in the year 185, and the *Ayin-Acberi* in the year 201 of our *era*, and he reigned at *Ujjayiní*. By PTOLEMY, the king of that famous city, is called TIASTAN; a strange name, and not reconcileable tothe idiom, either of the Sanscrit, or Hindi languages. I strongly suspect however, that it is a corruption of *'Aditya-sthán*, which may have been misunderstood, by travellers, who knew very little of the country languages. I suppose that either these travellers, or PTOLEMY, who conversed with many Hindus at *Alexandria*, asked what were the names of the metropolis of that country, and of its king. The answer was *Ujjayiní-Rája-Aditya sthán; 'Ujjayiní* is the *residence* of king ADITYA:' which was erroneously rendered '*Ojené* is the metropolis of king TYASTHA'N,' or TIASTHAN. In the same manner he has disfigured the name of the *Balher* kings, saying that *Hippocuros* was the place of residence of king BALER-CUROS, which is obviously a corruption for *Balher-ghur*, the fort or place of abode of king BALHER. Thus STRABO, in speaking of the country of *Tej*, in *Cach'ha* calls it the kingdom of TESSARIOSTUS, thereby implying, that this was the name of the king; whilst *Téssariostus* is a corruption from *Tejaráshtr*, or *Teja-rasht*, which signifies the kingdom of TEJA, an ancient king, who built the town of *Teja*, to the eastward of the *Indus*. As king DE'B-'SAILA, or DE'-'SAILA, is called, in our list, DI-'SACA, or DEVA-'SACA, which is also one of the titles of 'SA'LIVA'HANA; this would induce an opinion, that DAB-SHELIM, or DI-SALIM, is the same with 'SALIVA'HANA. But such is the confusion and uncertainty of Hindu records, that one is really afraid of forming any opinion whatever.

As it is said, that it was by his order, that the famous treatise, called

Javidan-khird, or eternal wisdom, called also the will or testament of HUSHENK, had been written; he has been probably, from that circumstance, made contemporary with that ancient prince, who began his reign 700 years after the accession of CAI-UMURSH, to the throne of *Persia*. CAI-UMURSH, according to MASOUDI, was the son of ARAM, the son of SHEM, who died 502 years after the flood.

MASOUDI says, that *Manhawer* was also called the great *Houza*, which, translated into Hindí, is *Burra-Houza*, or *Burra-Gouza*, and has such affinity with *Bary-Gaza*, or in Sanscrit *Bhrigu-Cach'há* or *Bhrigu'-Cula*, *Bhrigu's* shore or beach, that I strongly suspect, that MASOUDI mistook *Baroach* for *Manhawer*; and that the blunder originated from a want of knowledge of the Hindì language: *Manhawer* is also called *Mahoura*, by other Musulman writers.

Our compiler says, that there were, in all, 36 kings, from DE'VA-'SACA, to the year 802 of VICRAMA'DITYA, answering to A. D. 746; but we can make out only 29 from the list; for the five *Pramàras* must be rejected, as they do not belong to *India*. They are called in this list, *Ch'hárui-vi-hahá*, which is an expression partly Sanscrit and partly Hindi, as usual in these lists. It signifies the four great destroyers, and is an allusion to the famous *Chár-yári* of the Musulmans; and which, as I observed before, is made with a little straining, to signify, in Sanscrit and Hindi, the four destroyers, instead of the four friends and associates. Several of their names imply the abhorrence, in which the Hindus hold them; for one is called 'SAVALA', CERBERUS or the infernal dog: another, PRAMA'RA or PARIMA'RA, is here meant for MUHAMMED, and signifies YAMA or PLUTO, the infernal and universal des-

stroyer. CU'TAPAL'A, he who was fostered by MA'YA', or worldly illusion, otherwise the impostor, and perhaps intended for MOAVYEH. MUHAMMED was originally introduced into this and other lists, because it was to the Hindus an ever memorable, though most unfortunate epoch, and from which their conquerors dated their sacred *era*. It is not to be supposed, that he was thus introduced into those lists, from an idea that he ever was emperor of *India*. This was well understood at first; but the case is very different now. Such is the opinion of those who reject the legendary tales about SA'LIVA'HANA and VICRAMA'DITYA; and this is by no means a new idea, for it is noticed in the *Rája-Taranginí*, which is a work highly esteemed in *India*, and of some antiquity: for it was presented to the emperor ACBAR, in his first visit to *Cashmír*, by learned *Pandits*, who considered it as containing the most authentic documents of the history of their country.

About the time of MUHAMMED, the descendants of DE'VA-SAILIM, who for a long time had lost their rank of *Visva-páti*, lords of the world, *Rájendra*, lords of kings, *Rájá-rájás*, kings of kings; began to lose also their influence and power, even as vassal kings, and they even finally lost their patrimonial territories and kingdom, which was usurped by the *Solanci* tribe. It seems that they retired into the province of *Málwa*, in the vicinity of *Ujjayiní*, where they lived in retirement, and entirely given up to devout contemplation, still very much esteemed and respected. There, at *Ujjayiní*, we find one of them called SAILA-DE'VA; who found, in the wilderness, young VANA-RA'JA, and sent him to *Rádhanpur* to be brought up; and this happened in the year 696; for VANA-RA'JA, when fifty years of age, built the town of *Narwálch* A. D.

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About the time of MUHAMMED, the descendants of DE'VA-SAILIM, who for a long time had lost their rank of *Visva-páti*, lords of the world, *Rájendra*, lords of kings, *Rájá-rájás*, kings of kings; began to lose also their influence and power, even as vassal kings, and they even finally lost their patrimonial territories and kingdom, which was usurped by the *Solanci* tribe. It seems that they retired into the province of *Málwa*, in the vicinity of *Ujjayiní*, where they lived in retirement, and entirely given up to devout contemplation, still very much esteemed and respected. There, at *Ujjayiní*, we find one of them called SAILA-DE'VA; who found, in the wilderness, young VANA-RA'JA, and sent him to *Rádhanpur* to be brought up; and this happened in the year 696; for VANA-RA'JA, when fifty years of age, built the town of *Narwálch* A. D.

746*. In the year 1025, we find another of them, living also in obscurity, and equally called DE'VA-SAILA, or DABSHELIM; and who was raised to the throne of his ancestors, by SULTAN MAHMUD. The list of the *Bála-Ráyás*, from VANA-RA'JA to RA'JA CARNA', was originally the same with that to be found in the *Ayin-Acberi*, excepting some variations; for it is hardly possible to find two lists in *India* exactly alike. The number of kings, in both, is twenty-three; and the aggregate sum of their reigns agree within two years. But the arrangement is somewhat different, and the years of each respective reign by no means correspond. Some kings are transposed, and the names of a few quite disagree; and each list supplies also deficiencies, which occur in others. Owing to the uncertainty of Persian orthography, several names are strangely disfigured, both in the English and German translations; which last is by no means to be neglected, as there are particulars in it, not to be found, either in the manuscript list, or in the English translation of the *Ayin-Acberi*. Thus, for instance, RA'JA'-A'DITYA is called RESHA'-DUT in the English translation, and RA-SCHADAT by TIEFFENTHALER. VANA-RA'JA is called BANSRA'JE by the former, and BIRJ by the latter. The summary history of the Hindu princes of *Gujarát'*, in the *Ayin-Acberi*, contains many interesting particulars, not to be found in our list. VANA-RA'JA, according to our list, was of the *Chaud'á* tribe, still extant in *Gujrát'*. ABUL-FAZIL says, that his father was called SAMANTA-SINHA; and the word *Samanta* implies, that he was a petty king, probably in *Gujrát'*; but being of a base and turbulent disposition, he was put to death, by order of SRÍ-BHUADA'-DE'VA, emperor of *Canoge*; and his

* *Ayin-Acberi*, Vol. 2d. p. 89. 90.

family was plundered, as usual. His wife fled into the forests, or *Vana*, where she was delivered of a son, called, from that circumstance, VANA-RA'JA. A holy man, called 'SAILA-DEVA, DEVA-'SAILA or DEB-SAILIM, happening to pass by, on his return, from *Ujjayiní*, to *Rádhana-pura*, in the northern parts of *Gujrát'*, took compassion on the woman, and gave the child in charge of one of his disciples, who carried him to *Rádhana-pura*, where he was brought up. He afterwards associated with a band of robbers; and at last seized the royal treasure, which was going to *Canoge*. He then made himself independent, and built the city of *Narwáreh* or *Narwáleh;* and his friend CHAMPA, a market man, says ABUL-FAZIL, and of the *Bhil* cast, (a very low tribe, according to learned *Pandits* from *Gujrát',)* built the town of *Champa-nagara* or *Champa-nere*.

The next king, noticed by ABUL-FAZIL, is another SAMANT-SINHA; but this could not be his name, for *Samant*, as before observed, implies a petty king in Sanscrit, and vassal princes are thus denominated. Thus we read, that PRÍTHWÍ-RA'YA' had with him one hundred *Samantas** or petty princes, commanding their own quota of troops. His name was probably BHÚAD'A-DEVA, the immediate predecessor of MULA-RA'JA in our list, but the fourth only in the *Ayin-Acberi*. He gave his daughter to 'SRÍ-DHUNDHACA of the *Solancí* tribe, after whom the town of *Dhundhaca*, in *Gujrát'*, is denominated.

King JAMUND, in the *Ayin-Acberi*, is omitted in our list, probably because it is a corruption from *Samanta*, and a title belonging to MULA-RA'JA. In his time, SULTAN MAHMUD GHAZNEVI conquered *Gujrát';*

* Ayin-Acberi, Vol. 2d, p. 118.

and, in the year 1025, replaced, upon the throne of his ancestors, DEBSAILIM, a descendant of the famous king of that name, who led a retired life, entirely given up to devout contemplation. He is called VALLABHA in our list, BEYSER and BIPLA in various copies of the *Ayin-Acberi**. Being a weak man, and blind, he reigned only six months, and was succeeded by the two sons of his brother, DURLABHA and BHÍMA'RA'JA'.

Then appeared the famous VISALA-DE'VA, with the title of CARN'A-RAJE'NDRA, that is to say, powerful and magnificent like CARN'A, and lord paramount over many kings. He is said, in our list, to be a *Chait'urá*, that is, of the *Chit'ura* tribe, still extant in *Gujrát'* †; and after which the famous place of *Chait'ur* or *Chait'or* is denominated. He was therefore a native of *Mewár*, now called the Sircar or province of *Chaitór*. This induces me to believe, that he is the same with VÍSALA-DEVA, mentioned in the inscription upon the pillar of FIROZE, at the hunting seat of the emperors near *Dílli*, and called *Stambhacamandíra* in the appendix to the *Agni-puráńa*; that is to say, the palace with the pillar. There he is said to be king of *Sacambharí*, which is probably the town of *Cambher* or *Cambher-nere*, in the province of *Mewár*. At all events, it was certainly in that country, as I shall shew hereafter. His father VE'LLA-DE'VA was originally a petty king of that country, and his son VISALADEVA caused that pillar to be erected, in the year 1164, and thus the times coincide. VISALA probably availed himself of the indolence and supineness of the princes of *Ghazni*, and drove the *Mlech'has*, or Musulmans, out of *Aryávarta*, or the land of virtue, thus making it, once more, what

* *Ayin-Acberi*, Vol. 2d. p. 91, 95.

† See *Ayin-Acberi*, Vol 2d. p. 84. The true name is, I am told, *Chittrore*.

it signifies according to the inscription. *Aryávarta* includes all the north of *India*, from the snowy mountains, down to the *Vindhyan* hills. He destroyed all the princes who refused to submit, and kindly treated all those who did; and having visited all the places of worship, through his extensive domains, he retired to *Sácambhari*, to end his days in peace and rest, exhorting all the kings of *India* not to slumber, but to go on with his plans, and follow his measures. He is mentioned also in the *Sárngad'hara-paddhati*, written by SA'RNGAD'HARA, grandson of RAGHUDE'VA, spiritual guide of HA'MMÍRA, king of *Mewár*, or *Sácambhari-désa*, nearly in the same words with the inscription, which was written in the year of VICRAMA'DITYA 1220, answering either to 1164 or 1154 of CHRIST; for in that country they reckoned the *era* of VICRAMA'DITYA ten years earlier than in the eastern parts of *India*. He was succeeded by JAYA-SINHA, called also SIDDHA-RA'JA, SIDDHA-RA'JE'S'A, and in the dialect of *Gujarát*, SIDDHA-RA'JE'S'AGA-DE' for DE'VA. It seems that VIS'ALA-DE'VA left no male issue; for no children of his are recorded in the above inscription, which would not probably have been the case had he left any. Who this JAYA-SINHA was, is unknown; but it seems that CUNHWAR-PA'LA, a near relation of his, was the lawful heir; at least ABUL-FAZIL says, that the latter, from the dread of losing his life, lived in obscurity, during JAYA-SINHA's reign; after whose death he ascended the throne, but was poisoned by AJA-PA'LA, the son of JAYA-SINHA.

The next is LUC-MULA-RA'YA, mentioned in the *Ayin-Acberi*, but omitted in our list, unless he be the same with BA'LU-MULA, or BA'LUCA-MULA, called BIRDMOOL in the English, and HARDOHN in the German translation. They are probably the same individual; for what is as-

serted of LUCKMUL in the *Ayin-Acberi*, is affirmed of his supposed successor in our list; namely, that after his death the nobles elected a prince of the *Bhágéla* tribe, called BIRDMOOL in the *Ayin-Acberi* *, and BHALA-BHÍMA-DEVA in our list: the latter's name is split into two, and two princes made of them in the *Ayin-Acberi*, under the names of BEIL-DEO and BHIM-DEO †. Be this as it may, LACMUL-RAYA, whose real name was LAC'HAN'-MULA-RA'YA, or simply LAC'HAN'-RAYA, from the Sanscrit LACSHAN'A-RA'YA, is well known to Eastern writers, under the name of LAGHAM-RA'YA' ‡. He was born of obscure parents, and raised himself by his own merit, and ultimately became emperor, or *Bala-ráyá*. He governed with justice and equity: but after a long and prosperous reign, and when he was above eighty years of age, he was disturbed in his possessions by MAHMU'D-BACTYAR GHILJI general of SULTAN-MAHMUD, who began his reign in the year 1205, and died in 1209. In the years 1207 and 1208, that general was in *Bengal;* and, therefore, he must have invaded *Gujrát* in the year 1209; but the death of the emperor probably prevented his completing the conquest of that country. For though the authors cited by D'HERBELOT say that he effected the reduction of the country, yet ABUL-FAZIL says, that it was a mere incursion §.

The reigns of SIDDHA-RAJES'A, of his cousin CUNHWAR-PA'LA, and of AJA-PA'LA, son of the former, are obviously too long; for they amount to 73 years in the *Ayin-Acberi*, and to 113 in my list, which is

* Vol. 2, p. 91, 95. † *Ayin-Acberi*, Vol. 2d. p. 95.
‡ See D'HERBELOT v. LAGHAM-RA'YA'.
§ *Ayin Acberi*, Vol. 2d. p. 92.

hardly possible; and it is not unlikely that LAC'HAN'-RA'YA was the prince, minister of VIS'ALA-DE'VA, mentioned in the inscription; for he was above 80 years old at the time of the invasion of *Gujrát'*, by MAHMU'D BACTYAR. There is such a disagreement in the lengths of the respective reigns of each king, in the various copies, that no certain inference can be drawn from them; and I noticed before a few transpositions: we must therefore remain satisfied with the grand outlines. VIS'ALA-DE'VA was not a native of *Gujrát'*; and though a *Bala-ráyá*, or lord paramount, he was not king of that country, but of the *Méwar*, or *Sácambhari*; and, of course, his supremacy did not in the least interfere with the order of succession of the kings of *Gujrát'*. He belonged to no dynasty, and reigned, as well as his prime minister, collaterally with SIDDHA-RA'JA and his relatives; and after the extinction of that family, LAC'HAN'-RA'YA was not only *Bala-ráyá*, but became also king of *Gujrát'*, and resided in the metropolis of that country, both as an emperor and as a king, during a space of twenty, or according to some, only eight years.

The last *Bala-ráyá* was CARN'A the *Gohilá*, who fled into the *Deccan*, when SULTAN-ALLA'-UDDÍN conquered *Gujrát'*. This happened, according to our list, in the year of VICRAMA'DITYA 1365, or A. D. 1309.

At that time, the famous RATNA-SINHA was king of the mountainous country of *Méwar*, and resided at *Chaitór*. He was descended from KHOSRU-PERVIZ, called also NUSHIRVA'N; and his amours with the beautiful PADMA'VATÍ or PEDMA'NÍ, are the subject of a poem, both in *Hindí* and *Persian*. Her beauty was the innocent cause of a bloody war, between the *Rája* and SULTAN-ALLA'-UDDÍN, which ended in the de-

struction of her lord, and his son-in-law RAWUL-ARSI, a *Chauhán*. HA'MMÍRA, the son of the latter, fled from *Chaitor*, sheltered himself among the more mountainous parts of *Mewár*, and maintained his independence as king of that country, and made *Sácambharí* the metropolis of his little kingdom. *Mewár* is divided into three parts, *Chaitór**, *Cambher* (or *Cambher-nere* for *Cambher-nagara)* and *Mand'ala* (or *Mand'alica)* built by king MANDA'LICA of the *Bhíl* tribe, and who lived about the year 796 †. *Cambher* is probably the same with *Sacambhari*, which was certainly situated in *Mewár*.

SULTAN MUHAMMED K'HUNI, or the murderer, gave the government of *Chaitor*, and *Mewár*, to MA'LA-DE'VA, a *Chauhán*, and king of *Jalór*: but the latter was unable to reduce HAMMÍRA, though he had defeated him, in a bloody engagement, near the sea shore, according to the appendix to the *Agni-purán'a*. He then made peace with him, and gave him his daughter in marriage ‡; but, after his death, HAMMÍRA murdered all his sons, and usurped the kingdom. This happened, according to the appendix to the *Agni-purán'a*, in the year of VICRAMA'DITYA 1490, which is impossible; and we must read 1390, or A. D. 1334; for SULTAN MUHAMMED began his reign in 1325, and died in 1351. In that appendix it is declared, that the base murderer was at last defeated and slain, by the joint forces of SECUNDER, governor of *Gáyá*, JALA'LA, governor of *Dilli*, and a body of *Yavanas* (Turcomans or Mogols) commanded by ULUC'HA'GA', perhaps for ULUGHKHA'N, a title of honor sometimes

* Ayin-Acberi, Vol. 2. p. 97. † Ibid. p. 98. ‡ Ibid. p. 101.

bestowed upon noblemen, by the emperors of *India*. In the English translation of the *Ayin-Acberi*, HA'MMÍRA is erroneously called JEMEER. The dynasty of the princes of *Málwah* was a collateral one with those of the *Bala Ráyás*, though it be placed between NRĬPATI and VANA-RA'JA in our list. Such mistakes are not unfrequent among Hindu Chronologers: but as VANA-RA'JA's dynasty began in the year 746, and that of *Malwah* began in the year 191, and ended about the year 977, it is obvious that they were collateral, and I have arranged them accordingly. In the dynasty of the princes of *Málava*, GARDABHA and his son VICRAMA'DITYA reappear; and, in the room of SÚRYA-SE'NA, or SE'RÍ-SÚRYA'N'SA, we have SA'LIVA'HANA; which confirms my former conjecture, that they were but one and the same individual.

My Pandit observes, that many of the names of the princes, who reigned before VANA-RA'JA, are not proper names of individuals; but belong, either to tribes, or ancient families, from which they sprang, or to small districts, or towns, their patrimonial estates, and with which he is well acquainted; and many of these names are in the plural form. Thus, JA'LÍYA', the name of a king, implies only that he was a JA'LÍYA', or of the *Jalim* tribe, which is settled on the banks of the *Mahí*.

Musulman writers say, that the metropolis of those *Baler* kings was equally called *Balhar*, as well as the mountains among which it is situated*. It was in a country belonging to the *Chauhán* tribe, the chief of which generally resides at *Alimohan*†: and it became the me-

* See D'HERBELOT's Bibl. Orient. v. BALHAR.

† This is also confirmed by ABUL-FAZIL. See *Ayin-Acberi*, Vol. 2d. p. 87.

tropolis, when that tribe usurped the rank and power of *Bala-Ráyás*. It is declared in our list, that the *Chauháns* were, at some period, rulers of the whole country, as *Bala-Ráyás;* but our author has forgot to point out, in the list, the princes of that famous and ancient tribe.

In the fifth century, *Tamra-nagara*, or *Cambát*, was the metropolis of the *Bala-ráyás;* and perhaps of the emperors of the west also, when these two dignities happened to be united in the same person; and it was the place of residence of the father-in-law of GARDABHA, or BAHRAM-GÚR, called SADA'S'VA, SADAS'VA-PA'LA, VESUDHA and TA'MRA-SEN'A, from his metropolis, *Tamra-nagara*, or *Tamra-pura*, signifying the Copper city, which is supposed, accordingly, to have been intirely built of that metal. It was near *Cambát;* but tradition says that it was swallowed up by the sea; and *Cambát* was a famous place of worship, called, in the *Puránas*, *Stambhast'ha-T'irt'ha** from a *Stambha* or column, close to the sacred pool. Now, a column is called *Camba* in the spoken dialects; and from *Cambasta*, is derived its present name of *Cámbát*. *Stambhast'ha* and *Tamrapura* are called *Asta* and *Traperá*, by the author of the *Periplus;* but PTOLEMY, considering these two places as one only, for they were close to each other, calls it *Astacampra* or *Astacapra;* and instead of *Támra*, which signifies copper, he writes *Campra* or *Capra*. The reason why he has carried this place so far inland, on the banks of the *Mahí*, is, that either he, or some other writer, misunderstood the natives, who have no word for a bay or gulf, and use generally the word river instead of it, particularly when there is one at the bottom of the gulf, as in the present case†. OSORIO, a Portugueze writer, says, that when FRAN-

* Cumáricá C'handa. † *Cola* signifies only a Creek.

cis D'ALMEIDA landed, near *Cambát*, in the year 1519, he saw the ruins of sumptuous buildings and temples, the remains of an ancient city, the history of which was connected with that of a foreign prince. My Pandit informs me, that such ruins exist to this day, not close to *Cambát*, but at a place called *Cavi* or *Cavi-gauw*, to the south of *Cambát*, on the *Baroach* side, and a little to the southward of a place called *Cáná*, and in the maps *Canwa*. There are temples and other buildings, with statues half buried in the sands, with which this place was overwhelmed. Its Sanscrit name is *Capila-gram*, from which is derived its present one.

The promontory of *Asta-Campron*, mentioned in the *Periplus*, at the enrance of the gulf, appears to me to be *Groapnaught point*. It was thus called, because it was on the side of *Stambha*, and *Támra*, or *Cambát*. Another name for it was *Pápicá*, from a place of that name in its vicinity. As it is the same place called *Pakidaré* by PTOLEMY, the true reading will stand thus, *Bhaucá-derá*, *Bhauki-derá*, *Bhaui*, or *Bhávicá-derá*, that is to say, the house or dwelling place of BHAU or BHAUI, an ancient hero of that country, who built the town of *Bhau-nagara*, or *Bhavi-gauw*, and probably the same with *Bhau-ki dera*. Beyond this cape, according to the *Periplus*, there is another place, toward the north, much exposed to the waves; and at the entrance of it, *that is to say, of the channel leading to it*, is an island called *Baiones*. This island is that of *Berum*, at the entrance of the channel, leading among shoals to the dwelling place of *Bhaui*, or *Bhau-nagara*, on the river *Bhaui*, and near the point of the same name. There is also a sand thus called; and the island of *Baiones* probably claims the same etymological origin; and perhaps, instead of *Baiones* in the original, we should read *Baio-nésos*, or the island of *Bhau* or *Bhaui*.

This place, says our author, is difficult of access, on account of the rapid tides, and because the cables are liable to be cut, by sharp rocks at the bottom of the sea. This island was once the seat of government, according to ABUL-FAZIL, who calls it *Birum**. Opposite to *Bhávigauw*, says the author of the *Periplus*, and on the right side of the gulf, in the narrowest part of it, there is a reach, where the land near the sea appears much broken, and consists entirely of clay. It is called *Heroné*, and there is a place called *Cammoni* or *Camané*. This reach is the sea coast between the *Narmadá* and the *Jambusser* river. My Pandit observes, that the country between these two rivers, and along the sea coast, is called to this day *Canum*; but he does not know of any particular place so called. There is not a single stone to be seen; and the country is flat, the sea shore much indented, and there are very few trees: but it is probable that it was otherwise formerly; and *Heroné* is perhaps from the Sanscrit *Aran'ya*, which signifies a thick, but not impervious forest.

PTOLEMY has confounded the points of *Swalley*, *Diu* and *Jiggat* into one, which he calls *Balaion*, probably meant for *Diu-head*, a name given to it by Europeans, but unknown to the natives; and the nearest place of note to it is *Weylanoo* in MAJOR RENNELL's map, from which *Balaion* or *Valaion* seems to be a corruption. The island called by him *Baraké* is *Dwáracá*, as obvious from its relative position; and *Baraké* may be only a mistake for *Dwáracá*. Besides, these two denominations are synonymous, or nearly so, and imply a door or gate-way. *Dwára* is properly the opening, and *Bhár* is the *bar*, or *barriere*, or the leaves of the door, with which the opening is kept barred or shut; and it is used, though improperly,

* Ayin-Acberi. Vol. 2d. p. 83.

for the door itself. It is used in that sense only in the west of *India;* yet the verb derived from it, *barna*, in the infinitive, and *bar* in the imperative mood, is used all over *India*, except in the peninsula. TWASHT'A', the chief engineer of the gods, having built a palace there, for RAN'ACHURJÍ or CRÍSHNA, (that is he who fled from the field of battle,) and TRICUMJÍ his brother, placed many of the doors the wrong way; and those that were properly situated were barred or shut up. When finished, every body crowded to see it; but were astonished to find the doors either placed wrong or barred; and great was the confusion and the uproar, some calling out *Dwára-c'hánh?* where is the door? and others bawling out *Bhárco-col*, open the door; hence the place was ever since denominated *Dwáracá;* and this ridiculous etymology is countenanced in the *Purán'as.*

The geography of PTOLEMY, in this part of *India*, is distorted to an astonishing degree; for besides a few mistakes, which I have mentioned, he supposes the river *Mahí* to form an elbow, and to run close to the *Narmadá*, with which it is made to communicate, through a short canal; and then afterwards to fall into the gulf of *Cántha*, or *Cach'ha.* We were guilty of as gross an error, two centuries ago; for we made the *Indus* to fall into the gulf of *Cambát.* The *Mahí* is a celebrated river, and the daughter of the earth *(Mahi,)* and of the sweat *(ushna,)* that ran copiously from the body of INDRADYUMNA, king of *Ujjayiní*, and famous in the legends relating to the white island in the west. The place where this happened, in consequence of a most fervent *tapasya*, was called *Ushnmahí* and *Ushmahí*, and is probably the *Axuamis* or *Auxomas* mentioned by PTOLEMY. The author of the *Periplus* * says, that at the mouth

* P. 25 and 34.

of the *Narmadá*, they used boats, which they called *Trappaga* and *Cotymba;* and we read in the *Ayin-Acberi*, that in *Gujarát'* the cargoes of ships are put into small vessels, called *Tahwery*, and thus carried ashore *. My Pandit informs me, that the true pronunciation is *Táberi*, and in a derivative form *Tabericá*, from which the European sailors made *Trappaga*. *Cotymba* is no longer in use in that country; but, from derivation, it implies a boat made of the trunk of a tree, and seems to answer to the cathimarans on the Coromandel coast. 'When,' says our author, 'several of these canoes are put together, they are then called *Sangará*,' (from the Sanscrit *Sangraha* an assemblage;) but in *Gujarát'* they are called *Jurá*, from their being coupled together. The king of the country about *Calyán* and *Bombay* was called SARAGANES; but the true Hindu name was SARANGA, or SARANGE'SA. He was very friendly to the *Greeks:* but, his kingdom having been conquered by SANDANES, they were no longer allowed to trade there †. He was king of *Ariaké*, the country of the *Aryyás;* who were foreigners, according to the *Brahmánda-puráńa* ‡, and were denominated SADINOI, according to PTOLEMY, from the Sanscrit *Sádhana*, lords and masters. Thus, the Portugueze were, and are even to this day, styled, in *Bengal*, *Thácurs*. The English, in the spoken dialects, are called *Sáheb-lógs;* but, by learned men, *Sádhana Engriz;* and all these denominations signify the lords and masters. Thus, the famous BHÓJA is generally styled, in the west, SA'DHANA, or SA'DHANA BHÓJA. Such probably is the origin of the name of SANDANES, king of the *Sadinoi*, or *Sádha-nésa*. I shall speak more fully, in the next essay, of these *Aryyás*, in whose country was a famous city, called by PTOLEMY

* Vol. 2d. p. 78. † Arriani Peripl. p. 30. ‡ Section of the earth.

Banawási. It still exists, and great was its fame in ancient times; but my inquiries concerning it have hitherto proved fruitless.

In the eighth century, VANA-RA'JA built *Narwalch;* and his friend CHAMPA built also the famous town of *Champá-nere*. In the tenth century, according to MASOUDI, *Manhawer* became again the metropolis of the *Bala-ráyás;* but in the latter end of the eleventh, and in the beginning of the twelfth centuries, they returned to *Narwálch* or *Narwáreh;* and in the year 1022, SULTAN MAHMUD passed through it, and was much delighted with its situation. The princes of *Málwa* resided at first at *Ujjayiní*, but MUNJA transferred the seat of Empire to *Soṅitpura* in the *Dekhin*, according to the appendix to the *Agni-puráṅa*, and now called, after him, *Munja-pattana*. It is situated on the banks of the *Gódávérí;* but whether it be the same with *Pattana*, or *Pratishtáṅa*, where SA'LIVA'HANA is supposed to have resided, is unknown to me; though I suspect that the latter is a little higher up the river, and is called *Baithana* by PTOLEMY, who says, that in his time it was the metropolis of king SIRI-POLEMAIOS, the nearest denomination to which, in Hindi, is 'SRÍ-PULOMA', or 'SRÍ-PULIMA'NA. *Soṅitpura* implies the city of blood, and was thus called, according to tradition, because MUNJA's army was defeated there, with immense slaughter, and himself lost his life. His being killed in the *Deccan* is mentioned in the *Ayin-Acberi* *. The old city of *Benares*, north of the river *Burúá*, and now in ruins, is sometimes thus called, and tradition variously accounts for it. MUNJA's successor resided afterward at *Dhárá-nagara*, now *Dhár*, and called also, according to lexicons, *'Aśúra-pura*, *'Aśúra-gríha* or *'Aśúra-gur;* which is probably the town called *Zerogere* or *Xerogeri* by PTOLEMY. *Bammogara*, mentioned by the same

* Vol. 2d. p. 55.

author, is probably *Bamun-gauw*, or *Bamun-gur*, on the northern bank of the *Narmadá*, about thirty miles S. W. of *Mandow*, and noticed in a route from *Sultanpoor*, on the *Tapti*, to *Ujjayiní*.

The immediate predecessor of VANA-RÁJA, at least in the corrected list, is styled NRÍ-PATI, the lord of men, or the emperor; but there was an interregnum; for there were, at that time, neither *Bála-Ráyás* nor emperors in *Gujarát'*; and the whole country was subject to the emperors of *Canoge*; for VANA-RAJA' seized upon the royal treasure, on its way from *Gujarát'* to that metropolis.

In these lists, and also in those from the *Puránas*, the names of many kings, posterior to the *Christian era*, are hardly reducible to the Sanscrit standard; and most of them seem to be epithets, and nicknames, borrowed from the vulgar dialects; or else names of persons of low tribes.

In our list we read first, " then will appear princes of the *Chauhána*, *Chawd'a* and *Gohíla* tribes." DI-S'ACA, the first emperor was a *Yádava*, or from the *Yadu* tribe. After the eleventh king, called DA'-HIMA', " then will appear the following tribes, the *Cshálás*, *Macwán'as*, *Hun'as*, *Bhoanas*;" all names in a plural form: and these tribes, except the *Hunás*, belong to *Gujarát*, and are still extant. What the author meant, by introducing them here, is not easily conjectured: but I suppose that there was an interregnum, during which, these tribes became independent in their own districts. " Then will come NICUMBHA, the *Jáliá*," or of the *Jálim* tribe. " His successor was THA'CA; when the *Ch'hárui-vi-hahá* appeared:" in some copies we read *Ch'háruada,-vi-hahá*, and the first part is to be pronounced nearly *Ch'háruara*, answering to the Persian *Chár-é-aur*, or the four associates.

The third table contains RAGHU-NA'T'HA's list, as current in the eastern parts of *India*. It begins with the *Cali-yuga*, or rather with the *Mahá-Bhárata*, or great war: but I have omitted the first part, prior to the times of MAHA'-BALI, as it has not the least affinity with the lists from the *Puráńa's*, and throws no light on that part of the ancient history of *India*. MAHA'-BALI, according to the present list, reigned forty years and eight months; which is conformable to the *Puráńa's*, in which he is said to have reigned 40 years, including the 12 years, during which his sons, the *Sumályádicas*, reigned together, and which are generally ascribed to him. From the first of his accession, to the first year of VICRAMA'DITYA's *era*, the present list allows 298 years, 6 months and 9 days; to which 56 years being added, it will place his accession to the imperial throne 355 B. C. which is very correct, as I have shewn in my essay on *Anu-Gangam*. Unfortunately, it is the only correct part in the whole list. The successor of MAHA'-BALI was CHANDRA-GUPTA, or CHANDRA-PA'LA, fostered or concealed by LUNUS; and who lies here concealed under the name of AMRIT-PA'LA, for LUNUS is but a mess of *Amrit*, which CHANDRA-GUPTA is supposed to have been fed with, during the time of his concealment; and a reign of 28 years is here assigned to him, as in the *Puráńas*.

From the first of 'ADITYA's *era*, to the first of 'SUDRACA, there are 347 years, answering to A. D. 291: but in the *Cumárica-c'handa*, it is declared that he began his reign in the year of the *Cali-yuga* 3291, or A. D. 191; and other circumstances prove, that this date is true, or very nearly so. There are, to fill up that space, only nine kings, whose reigns are of an excessive length; and 100 years exactly must be struck off. 'SUDRACA is also styled VICRAMA'DITYA; and here is the most material difference,

between the various copies of the *Vansávali:* for in those current in the west, instead of ŚUDRACA, we read VICRAMA'DITYA, whose predecessor was BHARTṚ-HARI, or ŚACWANT and SAMUDRAPA'LA his successor.

From the first year of ŚUDRACA, to the first of VICRAMA'DITYA the son of BAHRAM-GUR, there are 343 years, and only fifteen kings to fill up that space. He began his reign, A. D. 441, or 442, and of course we must strike off 100 years more from that period.

From the first year of this VICRAMA'DITYA, to MAHA'BHAT' and the first of the *Hejra*, there elapsed 196 years; which is about 16 years too many. From this period, to DE'VA-DHA'RA'-SINHA or BHÓJA, 148 years; which is too little by about 200 years; but by introducing here the 200 years we have struck off before, it will place either the accession or death of BHÓJA, in the year 970. From BHÓJA to TRAI-LÓCYA-PA'LA, or JAYACHANDRA, 192 years. ŚUDRACA, ŚURACA, called also ĀDITYA, ŚRÍ-CARN'A-DE'VA and ŚRÍ-CARN'A-RAJA-VICRAMA, was a famous conqueror and most powerful emperor. He is introduced, in the list of the kings of *Bengal*, as one of the successors of the famous BH'AGA-DATTA, the son of NARACA, king of *Pragyotisha*, in *Assam;* and to whom CA'NEYA' the black, or CRṚSHNA, restored the kingdom, after he had killed his father.

In that list, he is supposed to have lived 1367 years after the *Mahá-Bhárata;* which will place him about the beginning of the *Christian era;* but, according to the *Jainas*, who place the beginning of the *Calí-Yuga* about 1000 years B. C. this will make his reign coincide nearly with the period assigned to it by the *Puráńics.*

The last king of *Bengal* was LACSHMAN'YAH, who was deprived of his kingdom by MUHAMMED BAKTHYAR, the general of COTUB-UDDIN, about the year 1207; for, in 1209 the same general was in *Gujarát*, and the emperor died also in that year. From the first of SRÍ-CARN'A-DE'VA, or SUDRACA, to 1207, there elapsed 1017 years, during which reigned 49 kings, at the rate of about 20. 7 years to each reign. The last dynasty in this list, consists of seven princes, who reigned 106 years in all.

The dynasty next to this is remarkable for the epithet of *Pála*, which every one of them added to his own name or title. The first of that dynasty was BHU'-PALA, who was still alive in the year of VICRAMA'-DITYA 1083, answering to the year of CHRIST, either 1017, or 1027. BHU'-PA'LA had two sons, SIHÍRA-PALA and VASANTA-PA'LA, who erected a singular, and at the same time sumptuous monument, in honor of BUDD'HA, at a place called *Sarnáth*, near *Benares*. This was in the year of VICRAMA'-DITYA 1083, as recorded in an inscription found there some years ago, and inserted in the fifth volume of the Asiatic Researches. Tradition says, that before it was completed, it was destroyed by the Musulmans; and there is every reason to believe, that this was really the case. For the arches and vaults of the greatest part of the buildings which are now buried under ground, still retain the supports of sundried bricks, over which the arches were turned. In the year 1017 SULTAN MAHMUD took *Benares*, and the town of *Casam*, or *Cusuma*, now *Patna*, and went even as far as the country of *Ouganam*, or *Unga*, to the west of the *Cossim-bazar* river. The next year, he overrun again these countries, and penetrated as far as *Kisraje*, or *Cachha-Raja*, in the northern parts of *Bengal*, called *Koge* by FERISHTA, and *Couche* by European travellers of the 15th and 16th centuries, (such as R. FITCH:) and *Cug* or *Coos-Behar* made part of it.

In a manuscript account of *Benares*, compiled for me by learned men, about sixteen years ago, it is said, that according to tradition, this monument was built by a powerful prince, called BUDDHA-SE'NA, an epithet which implies that this king, whosoever he was, was a zealous follower of BUDDHA. He abhorred the Musulman name, and during the very first invasions, he was summoned to submit, and pay an yearly tribute, but refused.

The Musulman army advanced, put every body to the sword, and destroyed the fort and the place; and it is obvious from the remains, that neither was completed. With regard to the date 1083, it was suggested to me that it may answer either to the year of CHRIST 1027, or 1017; because formerly the *era* of VICRAMA'DITYA was reckoned ten years earlier than now; and this mode of reckoning is still in use in the south of *India*. It was in use in *Cashmir*, at least some hundred years ago, as appears from the *Rája-Taranginí*. When this alteration took place, and when it was received in the northern parts of *India*, is not known. On my asking the reason of this correction, my learned friends did not appear to understand the subject well: but, from what I could gather from their conversation, it appears to me, that their ideas on this subject were, that the years of the *era* of SA'LIVA'HANA being Sydereal, are not subject to any variation. That the years of the *era* of VICRAMA'DITYA, which are now Luni-Solar, were not so formerly, and that the lunar years of it, instead of being regulated by the course of the Sun, and adapted to it, were formerly regulated by the revolution of Jupiter, the years of which were believed, at that early period, to be equal to as many solar years*:

* Asiatic Researches, Vol. III. p. 216, &c.

for this planet, as seen from the earth, comes back to the same point in heaven, after a period of twelve years and five days; and in the *Deccan*, they reckon the cycle of Jupiter ten years earlier than in the northern parts. When the error was discovered, the years of VICRAMA'DITYA were made Luni-Solar, and they retained no further connection with the revolution of Jupiter. They added, that several corrections, more or less perfect, obtained at different times, and particularly one of fourteen years ascribed to BHAR-TRÍHARI, or rather referred to his time; and which was said to have been the length of his reign.

In that case, the demolition of the monument, which we are speaking of, took place in the year 1017, during the invasion of MAHMUD; for from that period, the Hindus, in this part of *India*, remained for a long time unmolested by the Musulmans. MODUD's invasion, in 1043, was directed toward the south; and in that direction only, he penetrated further than MAHMUD, as recorded in history.

King BHU'-PA'LA is called also MAHÍ-PA'LA, in this inscription; but these two epithets are synonymous, and signify he who fosters the earth, or world. STHÍRA-PA LA, called DHÍR-PA'LA in the *Ayin-Acberi*, had a son called DEB-PA'LA, or DE'VA-PA LA; who, in my opinion, is the same who is mentioned in the grant found at *Monghir*, and in the inscription upon a pillar at *Buddál*. His father was DHARMA-PA'LA, which probably was the title given to him, when he succeeded his father BHU-PA LA, called GÓ-PA'LA in the grant. The Hindus always have two names, one of them answering to our Christian names, and used in the performance of religious rites. Besides, kings have at least one title given to them, besides nick-

names occasionally; and it is allowed to make use of synonymous terms; and thus Gó-PA'LA, on ascending the throne, was indifferently styled BHU'-PA'LA and and MAHI-PA'LA. The son of SRI-DE'VA-PA'LA was RA'JA-PA'LA, perfectly synonymous with BHU'PATI-PA'LA, as he is called in the *Ayin-Acberi;* for all *Rájas* are equally denominated *Bhú-pati.*

As the *Hunás* or *Huns*, are mentioned in the inscription at *Buddál*, SRI-DE'VA-PA'LA must have lived at a period comparatively modern; for the *Huns* made their first appearance on the borders of *Persia*, in the time of BAHRAM-GUR, who began his reign in the year 421. In the year 458, *Balkh* was their metropolis; and, in the beginning of the seventh century, they were settled in the *Panjáb*, according to COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES, who calls them White Huns; and they are the same, of course, with the *Abtelis*, *Abtelites* or *Enthalites*. It is the opinion of several well informed men, from *Cabul* and the adjacent countries, that the *Abdális* existed, as a nation or tribe, long before MUHAMMED; and that the denomination of *Abdáli* is not derived from the Persian word *Abdál*, the servant of God. In that case, they may be a remnant of the *Abtalis*, or *Abtelites*. It was about that time, that the dynasty of the *Hunás* in *India* began, and which is recorded by the *Puráńics*. There were thirteen kings of them, and eleven more under the name of *Mauńas*, as it is supposed; but whether in due succession, or in a collateral line, or only partially so, is unknown. We find that their power extended even into *Gujarát'*, as I observed before, about the *era* of MUHAMMED; and some think that *Mauńa* is a contraction from *Mac'hwáńa* or *Mahá-Hunas;* for, in the west of *India*, they say *Maga*, and write *Mac'ha*, for *Mahá;* and instead of MUHAMMED, they say, MAC'HOMAT and MAC'-

HOBHAT, as we used to do formerly in the west*. The *Macwán'ás* are noticed in the *Gujarát'* list, and also in the lists from the *Purán'as*, in the chapters on futurity. In the Facsimile of the grant of *Monghir*, in the first volume of the Asiatic Researches, the date is plainly 132, instead of 32; but, had it been as obvious in the original, MR. WILKINS, and the Pandits, who read it with him could not have been mistaken. To decide this, recourse must be had to the original, which is, I believe, deposited with the Royal Society. The two Musulman travellers of RENAUDOT, in the ninth century, remark, that the *Hindus* did not, like the *Arabs*, use a general *era*, but reckoned the years from the accession of the reigning prince. This is acknowledged by the learned in *India*, and that it was the constant practice, till a period comparatively modern, and the limits of which it is not easy to ascertain. Several princes have attempted to set up *eras* of their own, and these princes, instead of *'Saca-bandhis*, or *'Sac-wan'as*, were styled simply *Samwaticas* or *Santicas*. Thus, VICRAMA'DITYA'S *era* was considered as *Saca* for the space of 135 years, and himself was then a *'Sac-wanta;* but his *era* is now *Samwatsara*, or *Samwat*, and himself only a *Samwatica;* and the present *'Sacwanta*, or *'Saca*, is SA'LIVA'HANA. The Pandits, who assisted ABUL-FAZIL, took particular notice of that circumstance, and carefully pointed it out to him†. As the date in the *Monghir* grant is within the 135 years, during which the *era* of VICRA'MADITYA was *S'aca*, it should have been styled thus, and not *Samwat:* and hence it may be concluded, that the date has no connexion with that *era*.

The reason, why the famous 'SRÍ-DE'VA-PA'LA is not mentioned in

* See Tamuli dictionary. † Ayin-Acberi Vol. I. p. 331.

the lists from the *Puráńas*, is, that he lived in too modern times, for they do not come so low. After the invasion of SULTAN-MAHMUD, in the years 1017 and 1018, the *Hindus* enjoyed some respite, till the last *Mahábhárat*, or great war, in 1192, when all the heroes of *India* fell in the plains of *Thán'u-Sar*. During that period, ŚRÍ-DE'VA-PA'LA might humble those of *Dravíra* and *Gurjarát'* (that is to say the *Bala-ráyás*), and the *Hunas* in the *Panjab;* for he by no means conquered them; and he probably humbled them only, by refusing to pay some yearly tribute, and putting on a bold countenance, at the head of a powerful army. It seems, however, that he marched through the *Vindhyan* hills, to the west of the *Jumna*, and then went into the *Panjab*, as far as the borders of the kingdom of *Cámboja* or *Ghazni*. The time in which this expedition took place, cannot be ascertained, but within certain limits. After MODUD's invasion, in the year 1043, the *Hindus* recovered some strength and courage, under the weak reigns of TOGRUL the usurper, and FURRUCK-ZA'D. The enterprising IBRAHIM succeeded him; but it was not till the year 1079 that he was enabled to lead an army into *India;* and probably the expedition of ŚRÍ-DEVA-PA'LA took place between the years 1052 and 1059, during the weak reign of FURRUCK-ZA'D, of whom nothing is recorded.

The list of the kings of *Bengal*, in the *Ayin-Acberi*, was formed by JAINAS, who place the beginning of the *Cali-yuga* only 1078 B. C. but it was afterwards altered by the followers of *Brahma*, and the beginning of it placed 3100 B. C. and the reigns of every king prodigiously lengthened, in order to make the whole coincide with the first year of the *Cali-yuga*. The *Rajás* of *Sirinagur* pretend to be descended from

BHAGA-DATTA, contemporary with CRĬSHNA; but in their pedigree, communicated by the present king, to Captain HARDWICKE, in the year 1796, it is acknowledged that for the space of 900 years after BHAGA-DATTA, nothing is recorded of his successors, not even their names *. If the same correction be introduced into the list of *Bengal* princes, it will place the reign of ANANGA-BHÍMA in the first century before the Christian *era*, and bring the whole list, at least, within the bounds of historical probability.

Through the uncertainty of *Persiàn* orthography, and the carelessness of transcribers, the names of these princes are most miserably disfigured; and I shall only observe here, that the real names of the three predecessors of SUDRACA, are SANCARA-SINHA, SATRUJITA, and BHÚPATI-PA'LA, or RA'JA-PA'LA. His successor's name is JAYADRACA, called CRĬSHNA in the *Purán'as*, and said there to have been his brother.

I shall now produce another list, which was brought from *Assam* by the late DR. WADE; and given by him to MR. HARINGTON. It was originally the same with the *Vansá-vali*, but it was new modelled, according to the ideas of the *Jainas;* though, I must confess, that it is difficult to say which is the original one. Be this as it may, it is certainly a most curious list, and in some instances it affords useful hints.

	yrs.	*ms.*	*days.*
To YUDHISHT'HIRA, - - - - - - - - - - -	1880	8	10
To MITRA SINHA, - - - - - - - - - - -	296	6	9
To NRĬ-SINHA, - - - - - - - - - - - -	497	0	10

* Asiatic Researches, Vol. 6. p. 338.

	yrs.	ms.	days.
To VRĬJA-PA'LA, - - - - - - - - - - - -	334	6	19
To SADA'S'VA-PA'LA, - - - - - - - - - - -	327	11	9
To HA'MÍR, - - - - - - - - - - - - -	152	0	1
To MA'DHAVA-SE'NA, - - - - - - - - - - -	107	1	22
To SAILADHA'RA' or BHÓJA, - - - - - - -	354	7	22
To RATI-PA'LA, - - - - - - - - - - - -	85	7	7

In this list, MITRA-SINHA is meant for JINA, and NRĬ-SINHA for GAUTAMA; and YUDHISHT'HIR is placed here, by the followers of JINA in the 1881st year of the *Cali-yuga* of the followers of BRAHMA', but in the beginning of their own, for which they have two different reckonings. According to one, the *Cali-yuga* began 1078, but according to the other, 1219 B. C. and this last computation has been adopted here. According to it, JINA or 'SACA was born 1207 years* B. C. or 12 years after the *Cali-yuga* and CRĬSHNA †. He lived 257 years, and died accordingly 950 years B. C. Those who place the beginning of the *Cali-yuga* 1078 B. C. say, that JINA was born in the year 1108, and died in 1036. Others, admitting the same *era*, say, that he was born in the year 1036, and died A. D. 950; and thus, whether he lived 257 or 77 years, his death equally happened in the same year before CHRIST.

The next is NRĬ-SINHA or GAUTAMA: NRĬ-SINHA is a well known title of 'SA'LIVA'HANA, and in the *Gujarát'* list I mentioned before, 'SA'LIVA'HANA is introduced in the solar line, in the room of SUGATA or GAUTAMA. This explains a passage from the *Varáha-sanhita*, in which it is said,

* See Kempfer. † Asiatic Researches, Vol. 2d. p. 122 and 15.

that SA'LIVA'HANA, or SACA, the ruler of the period denominated after him, appeared when 2526 years of the *era* of YUDHISHT'HIRA had elapsed; that is to say, he was born 574 years B. C. and the year 544 is considered as that, either of his manifestation to the world as a legislator, or of his ascension into heaven. The *Jainas*, as well as the followers of BRAHMA', claim SA'LIVA'HANA as their own, and suppose that he manifested himself several times to the world; and as there are several VICRAMA'DITYAS, there are, of course, several worthies of the name of SA'LIVA'HANA.

VRĬJA-PA'LA, or BRĬJA-WA'LA, is the famous MAHA'-BALI: for the kings of *Magadha* were thus called, as I observed in my essay on *Anu-Gangam;* and this title was distorted into BIRDWAL and BERDAUL by Musulman writers. He is placed, erroneously, a little before the *era* of VICRAMA'DITYA, by the compiler, for reasons which will appear immediately.

From this famous emperor, he passes to SADA'T-PA'LA, or SADA'S'VA-PA'LA, father-in-law of BAHRAM-GUR, and who gave him his daughter in marriage, about the year 426; thus passing over the dynasties of SUDRACA and SA'LIVA'HANA. The last dynasty, which he supposes to have lasted 500 years, our compiler has transposed and brought down as low as the invasion of TIMUR, in the year 1398. This famous conqueror is generally called TIMUR-LENK, by Hindus, in their Chronological lists, and also in an inscription near *Bijigur*.

This account of SA'LIVA'HANA's dynasty at *Dilli*, and at so late a period, however strange, is not entirely groundless. TIEFFENTHALER, in his account of Subah *Dilli*, mentions two kings of that name, on the authority of

some Persian writers, whom he does not name. I saw the good old man, at *Lucknow*, in the year 1784. He was a man of austere manners, and incapable of deceit. His list of the kings, of the *Tomára* and *Chohan* tribes at *Dilli*, has certainly much affinity with those in the *Ayin-Acberi* *: and the *Kholassey-ul-Towáric* and FERISHTA's account of the Subahs of *India*, are most likely the sources, from which the good father drew his information; but as these tracts are not at present within my reach, I cannot ascertain this point.

The *Bhats*, or *Bhattics*, who live between *Dilli* and the *Panjáb*, insist that they are descended from a certain king, called SA'LIVA'HANA, who had three sons BHAT, MAYA, or MOYE, and THAIMA'Z, or THA'MA'Z. MOYE settled at *Pattyáleh*, and either was a *Thánovi* or *Thawoni*, or had a son thus called. When AMIR-TIMUR invaded *India*, he found, at *Toglocpoor*, to the N. W. of *Dilli*, a tribe called *Soloun* or *Salwan*, who were *Thanovis* or *Manicheans;* and these he ordered to be massacred, and their town to be burned †. SA'LIVA'HANA is generally pronounced SALWAN and SALBAN in the west, and NIEBUHR calls him SHAH-LEWAN.

The Manicheans were Christians; and when FATHER MONSERRAT was at *Dilli*, at the court of ACBAR, he was informed, that near that metropolis, and to the S. W. of it, and of course at *Toglockabad*, near the palace of PITHAURA', the usual residence of the ancient kings of that city, there were certain tombs, which were asserted to be those of some ancient princes of *Dilli*, who were Christians, and lived a little before the invasion of the Musulmans. If these tombs really existed, they did not belong to

* Vol. 2d. p. 62. † Deguignes Histy. of the Huns, Vol. 5. p. 50.

Hindus, who never erect any: they could hardly belong to Musulmans, for it is scarcely possible that they should be mistaken by Musulmans; since the tombs of those among them, who fell in battle, or otherwise died, in the beginning of their invasions, are looked upon as places of worship; and those entombed there are considered, either as martyrs, or saints. In speaking of the tombs, and other monuments or events in *India*, FATHER MONSERRAT says, with much candour, 'I was told so in that country,' or, 'I was assured of it by respectable persons; but whether it be so or not, I cannot further say.' He explains himself in these terms, with regard to thirteen figures, in basso relievo, upon the rocks of *Gwalior*, which he visited in his way from *Surat* to *Dilli*, and which were supposed, by Christians in *India*, to represent our Saviour and his twelve disciples; one figure in the middle being a little higher than the rest. MONSERRAT says, that they were so much defaced, that no inference could be drawn from them, except their being thirteen in number*. The foregoing particulars, concerning the *Bhats*, SA'LIVA'HANA and his three sons, I obtained from an intelligent native, whom I sent to survey the countries to the N. W. of *Dilli*. He was employed, on that service, from the year 1786 till 1796; and, in the year 1787, he was in the country of the *Bhats*. His instructions were to inquire particularly, into the geographical state of these countries; and, whenever he could find an opportunity, to make inquiries also into their history and antiquities. At that time I knew very little about SA'LIVA'HANA, and was still less interested in his history; and of course that ancient prince was not mentioned to him; and the knowledge which he obtained, concerning him, among the *Bhats*, was merely accidental, and by no means in consequence of any previous directions from me.

* P. 164.

The Heresy of the *Manichæans* spread all over the western parts of *India*, and into *Ceylon*, at a very early period, in consequence of violent persecutions in *Persia*, during which the followers of MANES fled in great numbers, and at different times, into *India*: and it is even highly probable, that MANES remained a long time concealed in that country in the fort of *Arabion*, on the eastern banks of the river *Strangha*, now called *Chitrangh* and *Caggar*. The *Mesopotamia* here mentioned by ARCHELAUS the Bishop, is the five *Antarvédis*, or *Mesopotamias* of the *Panjáb*, commonly called the five *Bhéds* or *Bhedies*; and STRABO, speaking of the *Bhéd* or *Antarvédi*, between the *Chináb* and the *Jellam*, says, "in this *Mesopotamia*," and here the pronoun *this* has an obvious reference to the several *Bheds* or *Mesopotamias* of the *Panjáb*. The river *Strangha* is called *Saranges* by ARRIAN; and the *Chitrangh*, flowing from the northern hills, passes to the westward of *Sthán'u-sar* or *Thán'u-sar*, at some distance from which the water is absorbed by the sands; yet the vestiges of its ancient bed may be traced as far as *Bacar* on the *Indus*. The report of my native surveyor concerning this river, is also confirmed by the report of GENERAL THOMAS in his Memoirs *. There were *Bhats* or *Bhattis* in that country, long before the arrival of MANES; for PTOLEMY, in the beginning of the third century, takes notice in that country of two considerable towns, obviously denominated after them. The first is *Bata-nagra* or *Bhat-nagara*, the town of the *Bhats*. *Bhatnere* is the vulgar pronunciation of it; but the present town of *Bhatnere* is not the same with the *Bhat-nagara* of PTOLEMY; which was to the westward of the river *Beyah*, and is probably the town called *Bhattyaleh*. The other place noticed by PTOLEMY is *Batan-cai-sara*, a compound name; and in the true idiom of the Hindi

* Page 164.

language, *Bhatton-ki-sara,* or *Bhatton-ca-sara,* the pool of the *Bhats. Bhatton* is the plural form from *Bhat,* and *ki* or *ca* the mark of the possessive case; and *sara* is a pool or lake. *Bhatton-ca-sara* is according to the idiom of the dialect about *Dilli;* but at *Lahore,* and in the *Panjàb,* they would say *Bhattyan-da-sara;* for as they say there *Bhatti* for *Bhat,* the plural form is then *Bhattyanh* with a nasal *n,* and *da* or *di* are the usual marks of the possessive case with them. *Bhattyan-da,* is also a derivative form, implying as much as belonging to the *Bhattis,* and is synonymous with *Bhattyaleh.* From the situation assigned to it by PTOLEMY, I suppose it to be the same place which is called *Bhattinda,* to the N. N. E. of *Bhat-nere.* The *Bhattis* are shepherds, and various tribes of them are found in the *Panjàb;* and they also inhabit the high grounds to the east of the *Indus,* from the sea to *Uch.* These tribes are called *Ashambhetty* in the *Ayin-Acberi;* but several well informed men, who had long resided in that country, say that the true pronunciation is *Acsham-Bhatti:* which implies the many troops or bands of the *Bhattis;* because they go by troops selected from various tribes or families.

MANES gave himself out as the CHRIST, and had also twelve disciples, and, in the character of CHRIST, he became SA'LIVAHANA in *India.* He had three disciples exalted above the rest, and their names were BUDDA or ADDAS, HERMAS or HERMIAS, and THOMAS; which I conceive to be the same with BHAT, MAYA or MOYE, and THAIMA'Z or THA'MAZ', the supposed sons, or rather disciples, of SA'LIVA'HANA. In the seventh century, there were Christians at *Serinda,* or *Ser-Hind,* with a monastery; and two monks from that place, at the command of the emperor JUSTINIAN, carried silk worms, or rather their eggs, to *Constantinople.*

The compiler of the list, brought from *Assam* by the late DR. WADE, was well informed, with regard to the last blow given to this dynasty of *Manicheans*, by AMIR-TIMUR, in the remains of a feeble tribe of them, at *Toglock-poor*. But it is much more reasonable, I think, to place the overthrow of that dynasty in the latter end of the twelfth century.

There was in *Egypt* a certain SCYTHIANUS, who had studied, it seems, at *Alexandria*, and visited the anchorets of *Thebais*. He went by sea to *India*, according to ST. EPIPHANIUS, and brought thence four books, containing the most extravagant notions: but he died, before he could preach his new doctrine, in the latter end of the second century. He was succeeded by his disciple, called TEREBINTHUS, who went into *Palestine*; but was obliged to fly to *Persia*, where he declared he was another BUDDA or BUDDHA, and, like him, born of a virgin, and brought up by angels, among certain mountains. Perhaps this new name was concealed in the old one TEREBINTHUS, from the *Arabic Daru-Botam*. *Botam* in *Arabic*, and *Butam*, or *Buthem*, in *Chaldaic*, signify a *Terebinth* in general; but the largest and best sort is called, in the former language, *Daru-botam*, which may possibly have some affinity with the *Buddhamgach'h*, or *Buddham-Teru* of the *Ceylanese* and BAUDDHAS in general, and which signifies the tree of BUDDHA, for *Gach'h* in the spoken dialects, and *Teru* or *Dru*, in Sanscrit, signify a tree. For he said, when he entered upon his mission, *Se non jam* TEREBINTHUM *sed alium* BUDDAM *vocari*, that he was no longer TEREBINTHUS, but another BUDDHA *. The TEREBINTH is unknown in *India*, except beyond the *Indus*, where I am told that there are forests, of that sort, which produce the *Pistachium*, or *Pistachio*, called *Pistá*, in that country, and all over *India*.

* SALMASIUS de Homonymis. and Alphab. Tib. P. 370.

This name was probably given to him, in his infancy, by SCYTHIANUS, who was conversant with the notions of the Hindus. Having met with a strong opposition, from the priesthood in *Persia*, he was obliged to conceal himself in the house of a widow; where, falling from his bed, he broke his neck, and died. His writings fell into the hands of an adopted son of the widow, who became a convert to his opinions. CEDRENUS and SUIDAS say, that he was by birth a *Bráhmen:* a good musician, and an excellent painter. He maintained that he was the PARACLETE, and CHRIST; and the ignorant among the Christians, with his disciples, insisted that he was BUDDA or BUDD'HA, himself, regenerated; and he was afterwards regenerated, in the same manner with the Lamas, in the person of his disciple BUDDAS-ADDAS, or ADA-MANES, who, after many narrow escapes, was put to a most cruel death, by the king of *Persia*. His followers, being alarmed, left the country; and many, according to D'HERBELOT, retired to *India*. This is confirmed by the testimony of one of RENAUDOT's Mohammedan travellers, who went to *Ceylon*, in the ninth century; and says, that in that island there were many *Jews*, and *Manicheans* or *Thanovians:* for thus they were called in *Persia*. PETER the *Sicilian*, who lived in the ninth century, says, that a little before his time, a certain SERGIUS asserted, that TYCHICUS, the disciple of PAUL the apostle, had been regenerated in him; that he was the PARACLETE, and a bright star descended from heaven. He boasted that he had preached the Gospel in various countries, and particularly to the inhabitants of *Laodikeia*, near the country of the *Cynachoritæ*, in the East. The *Gangetic* provinces were known, at that time, in *Persia*, under the name of the country of *Canacor*, its metropolis: and *Laodikeia* is probably *Lhahé-dac*, or *Lhah-dac*, as suspected by FATHER CASSIANO. This SERGIUS, a *Manichean*, appeared

in the character of CHRIST, and of the *Paraclete;* and was in *India*, and at *Lhá-dac*, in the ninth century, towards the latter end of which there appeared another SA'LIVA'HANA, in the country about *Dílli*, (according to the list brought from *Assam*, by the late DR. WADE). DEGUIGNES shows, that MANES propagated his doctrine in *Tartary*, where he was revered as a god. In the country of *C'hegil*, in *Tartary*, often mentioned in *Persian* Romances with *Khoten*, he erected several temples, which he adorned with pictures. His skill, as a painter, is greatly extolled, by Persian and Arabian writers, as well as his famous collection of drawings, in a book called *Erteng;* and every collection of pictures is still thus called to this day. Many authors, both ancient and modern, have laboured to find out the etymology of his name MANI; but it seems that it was his original Hindu name, which signifies a jewel in general, and is not uncommon, to this day, in compound names, as MA'NI-RA'MA, NÍLA-MA'NI, &c. It was the general opinion formerly, that MANES was a *Hindu*, and his father a *Bráhmen*. He was also called CUBRICUS. *Cubri* in Hindí signifies a hunchback; and *Cubrica*, in a derivative form, signifies, either a man who is crook-backed, or the son of such a man. His father's name was PATECIUS, and *Pát'haca*, to this day, is a very common surname in *India*. CAROSSA, the name of his mother, is more obscure and uncommon. The *Manicheans* said, that CHRIST was the primeval serpent, who enlightened the minds of ADAM and EVE; the creator, the preserver, and the destroyer; the original soul, the preserver of the soul, and the fabricator of the instrument, with which the salvation of the soul is effected. He was born of the earth, and, for the redemption of mankind, suspended on every tree: for they saw him crucified on every tree, among its branches.

The reader will easily perceive some deviations from what I had advanced in my essay on *Anu-Gangam*, which was already in the press, when I found, in perusing various tracts, several scattered passages, which have induced me to make the present corrections and additions. I shall conclude this essay with a few remarks on the various tribes which ruled over the countries bordering upon the *Indus*, and the *Vindhyan* mountains, according to the *Puráńicas*. The *Ikshwácavas*, or children of *Ikshwácu*, who ruled in the countries watered by the *Indus;* and this dynasty consisted of 24 generations. The *Abhíras*, or Shepherds, in the upper parts of the *Indus*, ten generations or reigns: then the *Sacas*, under ten kings, and probably kings of *Persia*. Then came eight *Yavana* kings, or Greeks of *Bactriana;* and fourteen *Tushárańas*, or from *Turán;* and these belonged probably to the *Parthian* dynasty. Then came seven *Garddabhínas*, thirteen *Moruńdas*, or *Buruńdas*, as many *Huńa* kings, and eleven *Mauńas*. Many suppose the *Moruńdas* and *Mauńas* to be dynasties of various branches of the *Hunas;* but they produce no authority, and it is of course a mere surmise. Be this as it may, they are acknowledged to be foreigners. The *Garddabhinas* are the descendants of GARDDABHA, or BAHRAM-GUR, who began his reign in the year 421. The *Hunas* are the white *Huns* of COSMAS-INDICOPLEUSTES, and consequently the same with the *Euthalites*, or white *Huns*, who were settled in the *Panjáb*, in the seventh century. The *Vindhya-Sacti* is a collateral dynasty, descended from KOSRU-PERVIZ, and which began between the years 820 and 830. Their metropolis was *Udaya-pura*, and the *Puráńicas* have recorded the names of seven of them, who reigned all together 90 years. The *Morundæ* of PTOLEMY are the same with the *Morunda; Burunda*, or *Buruńća* of the *Puráńas*. They are only mentioned once, in the prophetic chapters; and are supposed, by

some *Pandits*, to be a tribe of *Huns;* but this is a mere surmise, founded on their being mentioned with that tribe. They were foreigners, and according to PTOLEMY, in the beginning of the third century, they were in possession of the countries, lying between the *Ganges* and the river *Cosa*, or *Coosy*, including *North-Behar* and the province of *Oude*. It seems, that their possessions extended even to the south of the *Ganges:* for ORPIAN says, that this river flowed through the country of the *Maraunthes* *. The country which they possessed constituted afterwards what was called the country of *Canoge*, denominated also the kingdom of *Bourou*, by the earlier Musulman writers: and this appellation is perhaps only a corruption from *Burunda*. The *Burundas* were probably thus called, because they were originally from the country, called *Porout* by DEGUIGNES, and which seems to have been the ancient name of *Tibot*, or *Tibet*, called also *Barantal*, in a derivative form, as *Bengal* from *Beng*. Its metropolis is called *Lassa*, *Barantala* and *Putala*. *Putala*, *Bootán* and *Tibot* seem to be derived from BUDDHA, called, in that country, BUT, PUT, BOT and POT. The natives of that country understand, by *Bootan* the kingdom of *Lassa*, and by *Tibot* the regions to the westward, toward the source of the *Ganges;* and this was, it seems, the country of *Porout;* and the idea seems to be confirmed by DEGUIGNES †. The kingdom of *Tibot*, according to Chinese writers, extended as far as the country of the *Brahmens*, in the year 589 ‡; and in the year 649, the king of *Tibot* invaded the inland parts of *India*, that is to say, *Benares*, according to DEGUIGNES. This account of these western dynasties, which ruled over the countries bordering upon the *Indus*, I shall resume, in an essay, both geographical

* Oppiani Cynegetica, lib. 40, v. 164.

† Hist. des Huns, vol. 1, p. 59. ‡ Ditto, p. 164.

and historical, on such parts of *India* as were traversed by ALEXANDER. It is nearly finished, as well as the map intended to accompany it.

The doctrine of MANES could not fail of meeting with many admirers, in *India*, where he appeared in the character of BUDDHA, and of CHRIST, or 'SA'LIVA'HANA. Transmigration was one of his tenets; and the rule of life and manners, of his disciples, was very severe and rigorous. They abstained from flesh, fish, eggs, wine, &c. and the ruler of every district, and president of their assemblies, was considered as CHRIST; and, about the sixth century, they had gained considerable influence in the east. The *Bhattis*, in the west, are now Musulmans; but, as they are of a roving disposition, some tribes, at various periods, emigrated, and settled in the adjacent countries, particularly to the eastward of the *Ganges*. Such an emigration took place of late years, and they settled near *Chandowssey*, in *Rohilcund:* but, at a much more ancient and unknown period, they crossed the *Ganges*, and settled in the district of *Buddhaown*, and there built a fort, called, after their supposed grand-sire, *Cóte-'Sálivâhana*, or *'Sálbâhan*, the fort of 'SA'LIVA'HANA, and which is mentioned in the *Ayin-Acberi*;* and this happened, before they had embraced the religion of *Islam:* they emigrated probably on account of some religious persecution; as well as the other descendants or followers of 'SA'LIVA'HANA, in the *Purganah* of *Baisyawárá*, about three days journey from *Lucknow*, and in the district of *Khairabad.*

These call themselves *Vaisyas*, or *Baisyas*, and also the *Vaisyas* of

* Vol. 2d, Tucsim Jumma, p. 84

'SAL'IVA'HANA, *'Saca-Rája-vansas* and *'Saca-Rája-cumáras*, that is to say, the royal offspring of 'SACA or 'SA'LIVA'HANA. All the members of this tribe insist, that their chief is really an incarnation of VISHNU, in the character of 'SACA or 'SA'LIVA'HANA, regenerated like the presidents and chiefs of the *Manichcans*. This the chief, with affected modesty, seems rather unwilling to acknowledge; but in despite of his affected endeavours to conceal his divine origin, peculiar circumstances will betray him, and which are related, in numerous and fulsome legends, current through the whole tribe, and which I shall pass over. There are also, in the *Peninsula*, *'Saca-vansas* or *'Saca-Rája-vansas*, which signify, and are understood in that country, to signify, the offspring of 'SACA, or king 'SACA or 'SA'LIVA'HANA; and in the east, and also in the west, the followers of a deity, or some legislator and institutor, are often called his offspring *. It is but lately that I have been acquainted with this singular tribe of *Rája-Cumáras*, who do not differ from other Hindus of the same class, and have now lost every vestige of their ancient religion, except the name of their institutor.

* Asiatic Researches, Vol. 8. p. 507.

APPENDIX TO ESSAY IV.

I.

PTOLEMY places *Ujjayiní* about 255 geographical miles from the mouth of the river *Mahí*, but the real distance is not above 200. The different places, mentioned by that author, between *Ujjayiní* and the sea, stand thus. From the mouth of the *Mahí*, to its supposed communication with the *Narmadá*, 60 G. M. to *Tiágura* 50: to *Minnagara* 50: to *Zerogere*, now *Dhár* or *'Aśára-gur*, 55: and to *Ujjayiní* 40. The two last towns are erroneously placed by him, on the banks of the *Narmadá*, and I strongly suspect, that it is also the case with the two others. They are also placed on the left or southern bank of that river, which is not the case, unless perhaps with regard to *Tiágura*, which might have been situated to the south, either of the *Narmadá*, or some other river mistaken for the *Narmadá*. *Tiágur* is certainly a true *Hindí* denomination, and there are several places thus called, in the more southern parts of *India*; yet in this instance, I suspect that it is a mistake, for *Paya-gurra*, or *Paya-gur*, to the south of the river *D'hád'hara*, mistaken by PTOLEMY for the *Narmadá*; because these places were said to be in the *tiram* of the last river. *Tiram* implies only the country bordering upon the sea, or a river: but it was misunderstood by travellers, and supposed by them to imply the banks of the *Narmadá*. Thus *Payagurra* was said to be in the *tiram* of the *Narmadá*, which is very true; and to the eastward of a river that runs by it. The *D'hád'hara* river runs afterwards very near to the *Mahí*, in the vicinity of *Brodrá*; and there might have been formerly a communication,

either natural or artificial, between these two rivers; and the nature of the soil, with the distance, certainly countenances the possibility of such a communication. The town of *Nasica*, placed by PTOLEMY on the *Narmadá*, I strongly suspect to be out of its place, and to have been originally meant for *Nasica* or *Nassuck*, near the source of the *Godáverí*, and to the N. E. of *Bombay*. It is also my opinion, that the *Sardonyx* mountains are misplaced by PTOLEMY: and indeed such is the construction of his map in that part, that there is no room for them in their natural place; and I take them to be those situated to the east of *Baroche*, between the *Narmadá* and the river *Mahí*, where to this day they dig for precious stones. In consequence of this erroneous construction, the rivers *Paddar*, *Sábhra-máti*, and *Mahí* are confounded, and the whole peninsula of *Gujarát* disappears. The reason I conceive to be, that the shores were not frequented, on account of the vicious and untractable disposition of the natives. In the fourth century, mention is made of *Diu*, under the denomination of *Dibu* or *Divu**: its inhabitants were called *Divæi*, *Dibeni* and *Díveni;* and it appears that this denomination extended to the whole peninsula. In the same manner, the Musulmans gave formerly the name of *Soma-natha*, to *Gujarát*, from a famous place of worship of that name.

It seems, that the inhabitants of that country had, by their piracies, greatly offended the *Romans:* for we read that they were forced to send an embassy to *Constantinople*, and give hostages for their future good behaviour, and the famous THEOPHILUS was one of them. When

* Philostorgius, p. 487. Ammian. Marcellin. lib. 220. Diu is called Dib in the Ayin-Acberi, Vol. 2d. p. 94.

we read in STRABO, that MENANDER conquered not only *Patalene*, but also the country of *Sigertis*, and the kingdom of *Tessariostus*, there is a strong presumption, that these countries were contiguous to each other. *Patalene* is well known; and *Sigertis* is from the Hindi *Seher-deś*, the country of *Seher*, or *Sehr*, mentioned in the *Ayin-Acberi*, where it is called *Seeree*, and its *Rája* SEHRIS, and by others SIHAR*. ABUL-FAZIL says, that it was bounded to the east by *Cashmir* (read *Ajmir*); to the west by the river *Mehran* or *Indus*. It had the sea to the south, and to the north the mountains, that is to say, the black mountains of *Uch'h* †.

I have met lately with respectable and well informed men ‡, from that country, who declared to me, that the country to the west of the *Indus*, between the river and the mountains, is called by the natives *Lehr* and *Lehereh*, and its inhabitants *Leheráï* or *Lehráu*. In the same manner the country to the eastward of the *Indus*, is called *Sehr*, *Sehereh*; and its inhabitants *Sehráï* or *Seheráï*. These two denominations might be written *Lehráhi* and *Sehráhi*; but the letter H is not to be sounded, and serves only to separate the two vowels.

The country of *Lehreh* or *Lehereh*, is called *Nedheh* or *Nedeheh* by EBN-HAUCAL §, and *Nodha* by EL-EDRISSI. The town of *Lehrwun* near *Hydrabad*, (and both cities are to the west of the *Indus*,) derives its name from that same source; but it is generally called *Nehr-wun* or *Nehrun*,

* Ayin-Acberi, Vol. the 2d. p. 146 and 149.

† Do. p. 145.

‡ One of them was several years in the service of Gholam Mohammed Abassi, ruler of Sind. Abassi signifies a descendant of Abbas, not an Abyssinian.

§ See Major Ouseley's translation.

Nirun by El-Edrissi, and *Birun* by Persian authors, because in that language there is very little difference between the letters B and N. The whole country of *Nedheh*, or *Nehrwun*, from its capital in former times, is called *Nehrwun* or *Behrwun*, in the *Ayin-Acberi;* but it is omitted in the English translation, owing probably to some defect in the manuscripts in that part. Be this as it may, where we read *Pergunnahs separate* in the printed copy *, there is in the original *Nehrwun-na-Chand*, the districts of *Nehrwun*, and *Chand*. The latter is called *Chandu* of *Bacar* by Abul-Fazil in another place †, and *Sandur* by El-Edrissi. The famous port of *Lehri* or *Lehráhi-bunder* is thus called, because it is in the country of *Lehreh;* whilst another port, on the eastern branch, is denominated, from a similar circumstance, *Sehri*, or *Sehráhi-bunder*. It is called *Seuheri* by Otter, and is situated to the westward of an arm of the *Indus*, which forms there a spacious lake, in some places seven or eight miles broad, and is noticed by Alexander's historians. It is well known to modern travellers and pilgrims; and *Sehri-bunder* at present is always called *Bustah-bunder*. This salt water lake or bay, (for its entrance is pretty broad,) was by the *Greeks* called *Saronis* ‡, and *Eirinos*, probably for *Seirinos*, from *Sehrwun* or *Sehrun* in a derivative form, as *Lehrun* from *Lehr* or *Lehreh*. It is called *Eirinos* by Arrian in his Periplus of the *Erythrean Sea;* and he says that it is hardly discernable at sea; and this is the reason why it is not noticed by modern navigators; but it is well known to travellers, who in general are pilgrims, going to worship at *Hinglaz*, near Cape *Moran*, the Hindu name of which is *Mudán*, wherein the letter

* Ayin-Acberi, Vol. II. Tukseem Jumma, p. 97, 100, and 103. † Vol. II. p. 112.
‡ Plutarch de flum.

D has a mixt sound between D and R, and signifies a head land*. The entrance is said to be about two cos broad, or three miles and a half. From *Bustah-bunder*, to *A'bád*, in a N. W. direction, they reckon twelve cos. It is upon the western bank of the main branch of the *Indus*, and is called *Hábáth* in the history of MAHMOOD the son of *Sebcteghin*, and erroneously *Ebját* by ABUL-FEDA, who calls it also *Mow*, which in Hindi implies a mart, or place remarkable for some manufactures, or peculiar traffic. This lake or bay communicates with the main branch of the *Indus*, called *Rishád* and *Dishád*, through an arm of the river; and the point of separation is near a place called *Poc'hyári*, supposed to be either 16 or 20 miles from the sea.

This lake communicates with the sea, through two openings, or mouths: the largest of which is close to *Bustah-bunder*, and the other to the east is very small. East of it is a small place called *Lac-put-bunder* in *Cach'ha*, which owes its origin to king LAC-PATI, the grandfather of the present *Raja* of *Cach'ha*. These two openings answer to two inlets, noticed by MAJOR RENNELL, under the names of *Warrel* and *Puckár*, for *Pokyári*; thus called from the place of that name, situated where it branches out. The appellation of *Warrel* is unknown to the natives consulted by me, and they suppose that it might have been occasionally so called, from being resorted to by the pirates of the *Warrel* tribe.

Pilgrims, after having worshipped at *Dwárca*, between *Bate* and point

* A legendary tale has been adapted to it, as usual; which is, that the head of GANE'S'A fell there. Hence it is called *Ganes'áca-mudá*, the head or scull of GANE'SA'; and a few miles inland, is a place of worship, called *Muda-cátá* GANE'SA', where it is supposed to have fallen.

Jigat, cross the gulf of *Cach'ha*, land at a place called *Masca-Mu'dai*, in a small island, at the mouth of a river or creek. The mountains end at a considerable distance, and in the N. E. To the westward is a point of land, which I take to be that called *Massada* in old maps; and *Masca* seems to be the place called *Assarpoor* in modern maps. From thence, to that large branch of the *Indus*, called *Bányáni*, or *Aurunga-bunder*, they reckon three long days march, upon a high sandy beach; and the road, in general, is several miles from the sea. Two short days from *Masca-Mu'dai* is a small river, supposed by some to be an arm of the *Indus*, which branches out above *Sehwan*. They then proceed to *Lacput-bunder*, and cross a small arm of the sea; and then, in their way to *Bustah*, they cross in a boat the mouth of the salt water lake, and proceed to *Ghe'dá* or *Ghain'dá*, about a mile from the sea, and on the eastern bank of the *Bányáni*, which they consider as the main stream of the *Indus*, called *Meran* in the dialect of *Cach'ha*. *Ghe'dá* or *Ghain'dá*, may be pronounced *Gherá* and *Ghainrá*. It is a sacred spot, but there is no place of worship dedicated to Coris'wara-Mah'a-deva, or with ten millions of *Phalli*. The Musulmans worship there the tomb of a saint of their own; and from this place, the branch of the *Indus* is also called *Gherá* or *Ghorá*. Then they go to *Shah-bunder*, either by the way of *Abád*, or *Pokyári*: and as *Shah-bunder* is now the seat of government, Hindu pilgrims in general call it *Thathá*.

They all insist, that, between *Masca-Mudai* and *Ghain'dá*, there are only three creeks, inlets or rivers; but, as they travelled several miles from the sea, they acknowledge, that there may be a few more, but which do not go far inland. The road is upon a flat ridge, several miles broad in some places, and considerably higher than the country; and a pilgrim told me, that he had been informed, that there was an arm of the *Indus*

running parallel to it, but that he did not see it. The whole ridge was probably thrown up by the sea, and is covered with a shrub called *Luni* in that country, *Jhau* on the banks of the *Ganges*, and *Ghezz* in *Persian*, at least in that dialect of it, which is used about *Candahar* and *Ghazni*. Hence it is probable, that the eastern branch of the *Indus* is called by PTOLEMY *Loni-bare*, from that circumstance. It is three or four feet high, and delights in very sandy and low places. Its stalk is very crooked, but its branches and leaves are somewhat like those of the cypress *.

The various branches of the *Indus*, according to the best information I could procure, stand thus. First, the small river before mentioned, but which is not reckoned as a mouth of the *Indus:* it is called *Asá*, from a place of worship, or rather consecrated spot, of that name. The second, called *Lac-put*, or *Pokyári*, and *Puckar*, in a map by MAJOR RENNELL. The third, *Bustah-bunder*, answering to *Warrel*. The fourth, *Bányáni*, *Ghaindá* or *Goráh*. *Kaar* is the fifth: then follows the *Jumná*, which is the *Hijjámány* of MAJOR RENNELL. The seventh is *Rishád*, or *Dishád*, called also *Divel*. The eighth is the *Jowá*, written *Juhoo* in the maps, with a little village to the west, called *Nowa-bunder*. The information which I was able to procure does not go beyond the *Jowá*, except concerning a small branch in the track of the pilgrims, within a few miles of *Cranchi* or *Crách*, and which, they say, falls either into that harbour, or into the sea very near it. According to FATHER MONSERRAT, who wrote above 200 years ago, it falls into the harbour †. Through this branch, not

* It is the *Tamarix Indica Kœn.*

† The original MSS. of MONSERRAT'S travels is in my possession. He speaks here from report only, and he accompanied the Emperor ACBAR in his expedition to *Cabul*.

now navigable, NEARCHUS's fleet sailed. Its entrance was obstructed by a bar, on which the sea broke with violence. They cut through it, and entered the harbour of *Corestis*, which is a corruption from *Cárách*, *Crách* or *Cranchi*. It is more generally called *Rámbágh*. The town and fort are several miles inland, and the place is called the fort of RAM by FRAZER, in his history of NADIR-SHAH. This account of the mouths of the *Indus*, has a great agreement with the early maps by MAJOR RENNELL, but none with his last.

When the *Greeks* sailed within sight of the land, they coasted along the *Delta*, as far as the point of land before mentioned; and then crossed the gulf of *Cach'ha*, or *Cantha*, thus called from a famous town of that name, still existing. This head land is particularly noticed by the author of the Periplus *. The Musulmans, bolder, crossed from the western mouth of the *Indus*, to an island called *Avicama*, which is a corruption for *Auca-mandal*, a district near *Dwáraca* †.

The country of *Schreh* extends, toward the east, no further than *Lacput-bunder*, on the sea shore; and there begins the country, called formerly, in the *Puráńas*, *Su-ráshtra* or *Surásht*, but now *Gurjjara-Ráshtra*, or the kingdom of the *Gurjjaras*. This compound is pronounced *Gurjjar-Rásht'ra*, *Gurjja-Ráshtra*, *Gárja-rasht*, and more generally *Guj-rásht* and *Guj-rát'*. This is the kingdom of *Tessariostus*, conquered by MENANDER, according to STRABO. RENAUDOT's two Musulman travellers, in the ninth

* Arrian. Periplus, p. 23. † See the *Nubian Geographer*, p. 60.

century, take notice of the country of *Haraz*, or *Geraz*, called in the original MSS. *Giourz*, or *Gourz*; for they used to write, formerly, *Gieuzerat* for *Guzerat*. His country was situated upon a promontory, or in a *Peninsula*, and there were many camels, and other cattle. He was a great enemy to the Arabs, and no prince had a greater aversion to the religion of MUHAMMED, and he was, at that time, at war with the *Bala-Ráya*. The Hindi name of the *Peninsula* is *Gurjara*, and *Gurjar-Rásh'tra* signifies the kingdom of *Gurjara*. The whole country, from the *Indus* to *Dáman*, is called *Su-Rásh'tra*, its inhabitants *Su-Rásh'trán*, from which PTOLEMY has made *Syrastrene*, which is now pronounced *Soret* and *Surát*. Its metropolis, at a remote period, was the ancient city of *Téja*, in *Cach'h*, noticed in MAJOR RENNELL'S map. Tradition says, that it was founded by an ancient king, called TÉJA, or TÉJA-CARN'A. There were three brothers descended from ICSHWACU,—PURU, BUJ, or BOJ, and TEJA: the two first are noticed in the *Puránas*, in the prophetic chapters, where PURU is generally called PURU-CACH'HA, and the other BUJA-CACH'HA.

The *Rájás* of *Cach'ha* boast of their independence; and pretend, that since the beginning of the world, they have never been conquered; and, that once they ruled all over *Gujja-rásht*. They have forgot the conquest of their country by MENANDER, which is well attested; for unquestionable vestiges of it remained in the second century, such as temples, altars, fortified camps, and very large wells of masonry, with many coins of MINANDER and APOLLODOTUS; and these monuments were found as far south as *Baroach* *. PLUTARCH † says, that the *Hyphasis*, or *Beyah*,

* Peripl. Maris Erythræi, p. 24 and 27. † Plutarch, de flum. v. Hyphasis.

falls into this lake or bay, and thence into the sea. PHILOSTRATUS, in his life of APOLLONIUS, asserts, that this river falls into the sea, through a distinct mouth. This certainly could never be the case according to our ideas; for there is an uninterrupted range of mountains, reaching from *Dilli* and *Agra* to *Bacar* on the *Indus:* but it might be otherwise according to the fanciful notions of the Hindus. We have a similar instance in the *Gangetic* provinces, with regard to the *Jumná* and *Saresvatí;* which fall into the *Ganges*, at *Allahabad*, and the three rivers flow conjointly, but without mixing their waters, as far as *Triveni*, near *Nyaserah*, above *Hoogly;* where they divide again: and the *Jumná*, called in *Bengal*, *Jubuná*, goes to the left, and falls into the sea, in the bay or river of *Roymungul*. The waters of each river may easily be known; for those of the *Jumná* are of an azure colour; those of the *Saresvatí* white; whilst those of the *Gangá* have a muddy, or yellowish tinge. These appearances, which are owing to various circumstances, such as the depth of the river in some places, its shallowness in others, the reflection of the clouds, or of the sky, are thus accounted for by Hindus in their own way. *Pattalé*, *Pattalené*, called also *Pathalia*, seems to derive its name from a famous place of worship, dedicated to a form of the deity, with the title of *Pat'há*, which, in Hindi, signifies youthful: and from *Pathá* comes *Pathála*, as *Bengálá* from *Benga*. It is one day's march to the south of *That'há*, and two to the north of *Shahbunder;* and not far from the western bank of the *Indus*. The Musulmans took possession of it about five or six hundred years ago, according to tradition; and there lies entombed one of their saints, called *Peer-Pathá*, or the youthful saint. This place is, of course, resorted to both by Musulmans and Hindus; but the latter pay their vows only at a distance, to their own deity. It is on the site of *Brahminabad*,

called also *Mánhάwar* (and *Máhaurá*, by Persian authors). *Bacar* is also called *Mánhάwar:* but its true name is *Bánhawár*, the *Binnagara* of PTOLEMY, and the same, I believe, which is called *Panœoura*, by STEPHANUS, of *Byzantium*, and *Báhaurá*, or *Bahur*, by Persian authors*; situated in lat. 27° 47′, as the lower *Mansurá* is in lat. 24° 0′ North. It was afterward called *Mansura*, which is also the name of another city, lower down the *Indus*, one day's march from *Mánhawár*, and three from *Shah-bunder;* the real and original town of *Daibul*, or *Devel*, which last was three days from the sea. The lower *Mansoura* is now *Thathá.*

II.

IT is asserted in *India*, that the *Máhrátás* are foreigners; and this they themselves acknowledge. The *Ránas* of *Udaya-pura*, and their tribe, who are related to the *Máhrátás*, boast of it; and say, that they are descended from NUSHÍRVA'N. The *Parsis*, in *India*, fix the time of their emigration in the time of ABU-BECR, who reigned only two years, in 632 and 633. That several emigrations from *Persia* took place, at different periods, in consequence of the fanatic zeal of the Musulmans, and their persecuting spirit, cannot be doubted; but the emigration of the children of NUSHÍRVAN is the most ancient. Some of these emigrants retained their ancient religion, and are called *Parsis;* others turned Hindus, and are called *Ránas* and *Máhrátás.* Some afterwards adopted the religion of MUHAMMED, and are called in the Peninsula *Nevetehs*, new men or converts. Though they

* See ABUL FEDA, in the first vol. of Thevenot's collection, &c.

all agree that they came from *Persia*, and are the descendants of NUSHÍRVA'N, yet there are various accounts concerning the time of their emigration, the manner in which it was effected, and the number of the emigrants. There were probably several emigrations; the memory of which has been preserved only by tradition; and there have been two powerful princes of *Persia*, called NUSHÍRVA'N; but we are not told which of them is meant in these traditions. As they all agree that these emigrations are posterior to the time of MUHAMMED, we may infer that they are descendants of KHOSRU-PERVIZ, who was also sirnamed NUSHÍRVA'N. This last was the grandson of the great or first NUSHÍRVA'N; and, in either case, they are certainly the descendants of the latter also: but in my opinion, the first emigrants were the sons of KHOSRU-PERVIZ, and the great grandsons of the great NUSHÍRVAN. ABUL-FAZIL is the first *Persian* author who took notice of these emigrations, on the authority, it seems, of traditions, and perhaps written records, in the family of the princes of *Udaya-pur*. There are also, in the Peninsula, written accounts, none of which I have yet seen; but I have conversed with several well informed men, and of great respectability, who had perused them. They were also seen by the late Nawab ALI-IBRAHIM-KHA'N, first magistrate of *Benares;* and who about twenty-five years ago, wrote a short *Persian* account on that subject, which is now in the possession of his son, who lent it to me. This illustrious descent of the RA'NA of *Udaya-pur* is noticed by DR. HUNTER*, and the origin of the *Peshwás* from those princes, and, of course, from NUSHÍRVA'N, is amply detailed by BERNOULLI, in his third volume. The descent of the *Parsis*, in *India*, from the same source, is related by MANDELSLO, and other travellers.

* Asiatic Researches, Vol. VI. p. 8.

The origin of the *Máhrátás* is also noticed in the *Scanda-purána*, in the section of the *Sahyádri*, or mountains of *Sahya*, for thus the ghats are denominated in Sanscrit, and *Sáhyán* or *Sakyán*, on the *Malabar* coast. Unfortunately the second part of this section, in which the origin of the *Máhrátás* was inserted, is so very scarce, that it is supposed to have entirely disappeared, and to have been destroyed by them; as the account given of their origin, was by no means a very honourable one. With the destruction of this part only of the Hindu sacred books, they can fairly be taxed; and the Hindus are, on the contrary, under the greatest obligations to them for the preservation of the rest. Wherever the *Máhrátás* go, they buy all Sanscrit books indiscriminately, and give any price for them; so much so, as to render them very scarce in every country but their own. Be this as it may, it is affirmed that they have destroyed the second part of this section, the contents of which are yet by no means forgotten. There are still living many persons, both respectable and well informed, who well remember having read that unlucky paragraph. For this reason, they are branded with the appellation of *Mléch'has* or barbarians, by those who have suffered from their tyrannical and cruel behaviour; which, for a long time past, is at least equal to that of any foreign tribe, that ever invaded *India*, with regard to extortions, plunder, and other acts of cruelty.

Three different dates are given of this emigration; the first in the time of ABU-BECR, in the years 631 and 632; the second in the year 651, after the defeat and death of YEZDEJIRD; and the last, when the descendants of ABBAS, the uncle of MUHAMMED, began to prevail in *Persia*, about the year 749: and these are probably three different emigrations. The last has been adopted by the late Nawab ALI-IBRAHIM-KHA'N. According to some,

a prince of the royal family, in the province of *Lar* or *Laristan*, embarked with 18,000 of his subjects, and landed, at three different places, near *Surat*, and in the gulf of *Cambát*. This prince was a son of NUSHÍRVA'N; and the emigration took place in consequence of a violent persecution from ABU-BECR.

Another account states, that they were all secretly conveyed on board ships, and thus committed to the sea without pilots; and they all landed safely near *Surat*, where they were kindly received by the king of that country *. These various accounts are current in the western parts of *India;* and there is probably some truth in every one of them.

There are some inaccuracies in these accounts; first, ABU-BECR's conquests never reached beyond *Chaldea;* and of course, he could not, by any means, be the cause of this emigration, during a short reign of two years. Besides, 18,000 men are certainly too great a number to come by sea, especially as it is added, that they had only seven ships. The Hindu accounts mention only eighteen individuals, including a camel, from whom a tribe of *Máhrátás* is descended. These seventeen men were flung secretly into the sea, and were drowned. Their corpses were wafted to the shores of *India*, and there brought to life again, some by PARASU'-RA'MA, and others by a magician: for the Hindus could not handle this historical event, without new modelling it, as usual, after their own way. The first emigration is asserted, in general, to have happened in the beginning of the seventh century †. This induces me to think, that these seventeen persons were

* History of the East Indies, by CAPT. COPE, p. 244.

† See MANDELSLO and others.

the sons of KHOSRU-PERVIZ, called also NUSHÍRVA'N, who were conveyed away privately to *India*, by the order of their brother SHIROVYEH; and having disappeared, were said, as usual in the east, to have been put to death by him. SHIROVYEH has been already acquitted of the murder of his father, by the venerable and learned EBN-BATRICK, Melchite, or orthodox Patriarch of *Alexandria*, who was both a divine and a learned physician. It is acknowledged by the learned, that we cannot read too cautiously the accounts of the wars, between the emperors of *Constantinople* and the kings of *Persia*, either by *Persian* or *Greek* historians, but more particularly the latter. EBN-BATRICK says, that KHOSRU-PERVIZ died of the plague, in confinement; and was soon followed by SHIROVYEH, his son, who died also of the plague. That the latter was a good and just prince; and that, being a Christian, he put to death his brothers, who were heathens.

The history of KHOSRU-PERVIZ has been equally misrepresented: he was certainly a great man, but of ungovernable temper; and he has been also acquitted of the murder of his own father, by respectable authors. He was either the son-in-law, or the adopted son of the emperor MAURICE, and was much affected, when he heard, that the emperor had been basely murdered by the infamous PHOCAS. He resolved to revenge his death, and place MAURICE's son, the lawful heir and successor, upon the throne; and for this purpose, he waged a long and bloody war. HERACLIUS, who succeeded PHOCAS, tried every means to make peace with KHOSRU-PERVIZ; but the only answer he received, was, "renounce the throne in favour of the lawful heir." Instead of which he is made to say, "renounce thy crucified God." This I conceive to be impossible; as his only view, in waging war, was to replace upon the throne a Christian. Whether he was

sincere or not, is not now the question: this was at least his ostensible pretext. He never forced the Christians, in his own dominions, to renounce CHRIST; but he wanted them all to conform to the opinions of NESTORIUS, which he favoured greatly. In short, he has been supposed to have been a Christian: and certainly he had once an idea of becoming a convert: for he consulted the most respectable persons about him on that subject; but they disapproved of it, for this single reason it seems, that the Christians in general, were a perfidious and faithless race. When he took *Jerusalem*, instead of defiling and destroying the pale of the true cross, he sent it to his beloved queen, who was a Christian, under the care of the venerable ZACHARIAS, patriarch of *Jerusalem*. Neither can I believe, that he sold 90,000 Christians to the Jews; and that the latter bought them for no other purpose, but to put them to death next day in cold blood.

KHOSRU, having taken HERACLIUS prisoner, made peace with him, and agreed to release him, on his paying a certain sum of money. HERACLIUS feigned that he could not raise that sum, unless he was allowed to go and borrow it. KHOSRU set him at liberty, on his pledging his word that he would return: but HERACLIUS never did, and employed that money in raising another army. All those calumnies were invented by HERACLIUS and his adherents, in order to exasperate his own subjects, against KHOSRU and the *Persians*.

But let us return to the *Máhrátás:* According to the *Pauránics*, PARASU-RA'MA, having extirpated the *Cshettris*, and filled the earth with blood, wanted to perform a sacrifice; but could find no *Brahmen* to assist, on account of his being defiled with the effusion of so much human blood.

As he was standing on the summit of the mountains of *Cúcan*, he spied fourteen dead bodies, stranded on the adjacent shores below. These were the corpses of so many *Mléch'chas*, who had been flung into the sea, by their enemies, in distant countries in the west. They had been wafted by the winds, and were then in a high state of putrefaction. RA'MA recalled them to life, imparted knowledge to them, and conferred on them the *Bráhmenicál* ordination, and then bid them perform the sacrifice. From these fourteen dead men is descended the *Cucanastha* tribe of *Máhrátás;* thus called, because, since that time, they have always *staid* and remained in the *Cucán.*

There were three other individuals, whose corpses were similarly stranded, more to the northward, toward the gulf of *Cambay;* and these were brought to life again by a magician, and from them are descended three tribes, one of which is the *Chitpáwana;* and the *Ránás* of *U'daya-pur*, with the *Peshwah's* family, belong to it. The names of the two other tribes I do not recollect. These are probably the seventeen sons of NUSHÍRVA'N, supposed to have been put to death by their brother SHIROVYEH, and the times coincide within two or three years.

According to the *Pauránics*, there was also the dead body of a camel, belonging to the fourteen brothers: but of him PARAS'U-RA'MA took no notice. There was a magician, who wanted to perform certain magical rites, but could find no *Bráhmen*, that would assist at these nefarious ceremonies. He took some of the ribs of the camel, pronounced some powerful spells, and made men of them, and moreover conferred on them the sacerdotal cord. From them is descended the *Cárárá*, another *Máhrátá* tribe in the *Deccan.*

The *Peshwa's* family, of the *Chitpáwana*, wish very much to be considered as belonging to the *Cucanastha* tribe, since they reside also in *Cucan*. We read in the *Ayin-Acberi*, that the ancestor of the *Ráná* family, and a descendant of NUSHIRVAN, was styled a *Bráhmen*, not because he was really so, but because he had been brought up by a *Bráhmen**.

This ancestor of the *Ránas* meeting with no encouragement in the western parts of *India*, went into *Berar*, and at length became chief of *Parnálch*. In the year of CHRIST 793, according to ABUL-FAZIL, that city was plundered, and many of the inhabitants perished. During the confusion, PATTA, called by some BANNA and RANA, a descendant of our adventurer, and then an infant, was carried by his mother to the country of *Meywar*, and received protection from king MANDALICA of the *Bhíl* tribe. He was raised by degrees to the confidence of the king; and, after his death, he murdered the four sons of his benefactor, and usurped the throne†. He was the founder of the dynasty called in the *Puránas Vindhya-Sacti*, the glory and might of the *Vindhyan* hills. It consisted of nine kings, who reigned altogether ninety years, during the greatest part of the ninth, and in the beginning of the tenth centuries‡. There are still some of that family in *Berar*, who are also called *Ránás*, such as the Zemindars of *Màhaur* §.

It is the opinion of the Nawab ALI-IBRAHIM-KHA'N, and of the Musulmans in general in *India*, that the children of NUSHÍRVA'N were driven out of *Persia* by the *Abbasis*, whose dynasty began in the year 749; misled probably by some latter emigration of natives from *Persia*. To

* *Ayin-Acberi*, Vol. II. p. 99.

† *Ayin-Acberi*, Vol. II. p. 98.

‡ *Puranas*, prophetic chapters.

§ *Ayin-Acberi*, Vol. II. p. 72.

this account it is generally added, that the *Abbásis* sent them away privately in different ships; but none of the posterity of NUSHÍRVAN remained at that time. FIRUZ, the son of the last YEZDEGIRD, after the death of his father in 651, fled to *Khoten*, where he was kindly received; and in 662 was acknowledged king of *Persia*, by KAOTSONG, Emperor of *China*, who made him captain of his body guard. FIRUZ died soon after, and his son NANICHE was appointed to succeed him in the throne of *Persia*. In 683, NANICHE went toward the frontiers of that country, with an army, to try his fortune; but meeting with no success, he returned to *China*, between the years 710 and 712, and died at *Sigan-fu**.

The *Máhrátás* are called *Mahá-rásht'ras* in Sanscrit: *Mahá* is great and illustrious, and *Rásht'ra*, synonymous with *Raja-putra*, implies their royal descent; and their name also indicates, that they were acknowledged to belong to the second class on their arrival in *India*, and of course that they were not *Bráhmens*. When they came into *India*, there was a tribe of *Rásht'ras* or *Raja-putras*, called *Rators* in the vulgar dialects, and *Oraturæ* by PLINY: there was also another tribe, called *Su-Rásht'ra*, or the illustrious royal offspring. These are called *Syrastræ*, and their country *Syrastrene*, by PTOLEMY and others; and it is called, in the spoken dialects, *Surát'* and *Sorát*. When our new adventurers had obtained power and influence, they assumed the superior title of *Mahá-Rásht'ras;* and by striking out such letters as become useless, when brought to the standard of the spoken dialects, we have *Mahá-rátá*, *Máhráta* and sometimes *Máhrátor*, as *Rát'or* from *Rásht'ra*. Thus we have *Surát'* from *Surásht'ra*, and *Gujarát'* from *Gurjar-Rásht'ra*.

* Deguignes, Hist. des Huns, Vol. I. p. 57.

III.

BY SAMUEL DAVIS, ESQ.

ALBUMAZAR, an Arabian astronomer, who lived at *Balkh*, informs us, that "the Hindus reckoned from the flood to the *Hejra* 720, 634, 442, 715 days. or 3,725 years."

The astronomical rules of BRAHMAGUPTA, who lived in the 7th century, were in use in ALBUMAZAR's time (see Asiat. Researches, vol. 2. p. 239) and the term of BRAHMA's employment in the creation, 17,064,000 years, to be deducted from the years expired of the *Calpa*, is a correction, which has subsequently been introduced into the Hindu Astronomy.

To find, therefore, the number of days expired from the creation, or rather, of days expired of the *Calpa*, to the beginning of the last *yuga*, we must, instead of proceeding as in vol. 2. p. 273, Asiatic Researches, proceed as follows:

Years expired of the Calpa to the end of the *Satya yuga*	1,970,784,000
Treta yuga - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	1,296,000
Dwàpar - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	864,000
To the *Cali-yuga*	1,972,944,000

As the years of a *Calpa*, to the days of a *Calpa*, so the above number of years, to the corresponding days.

It appears from BRAHMAGUPTA's treatise, which is still extant, and likewise from the *Siddhánta Sirómani*, the work of a later author, that the number of *Savan*, or natural days, contained in a *Calpa*, was 1,577,916,450,000 instead of 1,577,917,828,000, as given in the *Súrya-Siddhánta*.

In other words, the solar sidereal year, instead of containing $^{D}365\ ^{D}15\ ^{P}31\ ^{V}31\ 24^{'''}$, was estimated to contain $^{D}365\ ^{D}15\ ^{P}30\ ^{V}19\ 30^{''}$; and, therefore, we must multiply 1,577,916,450,000, by 1,972,944,000, and divide by 432,000,000; the quotient will be found to agree exactly with the number of days mentioned by ALBUMAZAR; that is, it will be 720,634,442,715, without any fraction.

It is therefore probable, that the true reading of the passage quoted should be, "the Hindus reckon, from the creation to the *Cali-yuga* (or the flood) 720,634,442,715 days; and from the flood to the *Hejra*, 3725 years."

It may, farther, with confidence be inferred, that *M. Anquetil du Perron's* conclusion, with respect to the late introduction of the *yugas*, which are the component parts of the *Calpa*, into the Hindu astronomy, is unfounded; and that the invention of those periods, and the application of them to computations, by the Hindus, must be referred to an antiquity which has not yet been ascertained.

IV.

ACCOUNT OF THE JAINS,

COLLECTED FROM A PRIEST OF THIS SECT, AT MUDGERI:

Translated by CAVELLA BORIA, Bráhmen, for MAJOR C. MACKENZIE*.

IN former times, the *Jains* being without a *Guru*, or spiritual director, to guide them in a good course of life, VRÍSHABHANA'THA TÍRT'HACAR† was incarnate in this terrestrial world; and reformed or corrected their errors; and made laws, purposely designed for this sect: he took upon himself the office of *Guru* of the *Jains*. At this time there existed five sects, viz. 1 *Sanc'hya*, 2 *Saugata*, 3 *Chárváca*, 4 *Yóga*, 5 *Mímánsá*.

This *Guru* composed several books, on the laws, customs, ceremonies and regulations of the *Jain* religion, from his profound knowledge, for the use and benefit of mankind.

The son of this *Guru*, who was called BHARATA CHACRAVARTÍ, conquered the terrestrial world, with all its islands; and ruled, for a considerable time, as chief sovereign, above all other inferior princes.

Before the death of the *Guru*, as he had placed his son BHARATA-CHACRAVARTÍ in the government of the state, he appointed one of his disci-

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* The language of this translation has been corrected; and some of the passages transposed: but without altering the sense. The orthography of Indian words has been, in general, adapted to the system of SIR WILLIAM JONES: which is usually followed in the Asiatic Researches; but, in instances of modern names of places and persons, where the original term has not been known to me, I have left the translator's orthography untouched. H. T. C.

† In *Prácrit*, TITT'HAYAR; in *Canara*, TÍRT'HU'RU'.

ples, in his own room, to guide and instruct the people of this religion, in following his instructions and laws; he gave him the sacred name of AJITA *, and departed from this world.

Since that period, the following principal *Tírt'hacars*, or pontiffs, were incarnate in this world at different times.

1 VRISHABHANA'T'HA, 2 AJITA, 3 SAMBHAVA, 4 ABHINANDANA, 5 SUMATI, 6 PADMAPRADHA, 7 SUPA'RS'WA, 8 CHANDRAPRABHA, 9 PUSHPADANTA, 10 SÍTALA, 11 SRI'YA'NSA, 12 VA'SUPU'JYA, 13 VIMALA, 14 ANANTA, 15 D'HARMA, 16 SA'NTI, 17 CUNT'HU, 18 ARA, 19 MALLI, 20 MUNISUVRATA, 21 NAMI, 22 NE'MI, 23 PA'RS'WA, 24 VARD'HAMA'NA.

These were the first *Gurus*, or pontiffs of this religion, who, as twenty-four incarnations of their first *Guru*, appeared in the beginning of the present age, or *Cali-yuga*.

Up to the beginning of the *Cali-yuga*, the world was ruled, at twelve different times, by twelve *Nara Chacravartís*, or monarchs, among whom are, 1 BHARATA, 2 SA'GARA, 3 MAG'HAVAN, 4 SANATCUMA'RA, 5 SA'NTI, 6 CUNT'HU, 7 ARASUBHU'MA †, 8 JAYASENA, 9 HARISHE'NA, 10 BRAHMEDATTA. These sovereigns of the world are said to have been *Jains*.

Besides these, nine *Ard'hachacravartís* ruled at different times; their names are, 1 ASWAGRÍVA, 2 TA'RACA, 3 ME'RUCA, 4 NÍS'UNBHA, 5 CAITABHA,

* The *Jains* at *Sravana Bélligóla* say, that AJITA did not appear as *Guru*, until many years after the death of the first *Tírthárú*. C. M.

† Should be 7 ARA, 8 SUBHU'MA, 9 PADMA, 10 HARISHE'NA, 11 JAYA, 12 BRAHMEDATTA. H. T. C.

6 BALI, 7 PRAHARANA, 8 RA'VAN'A, 9 JARA'SA'ND'HA: these were renowned by the title of *Vasudévacula**.

The government of these kings was overthrown by a race distinguished by the honorable title of *Prati-vasudéva-cula*, viz. 1 TRIPRĬSHTA, 2 DWIPRĬSHTA, 3 SWAYAMBHU', 4 PURUSHÓTTAMA, 5 PURUSHAVARA, 6 PUNDARÍCA, 7 DATTA, 8 LACSHMÍD'HARA, 9 NA'RA'YANA.

The title of the other inferior kings was *Mandalád'hisa*. These *Narachacravartís* and *Ard'hachacravartís*, wresting the sovereignty from each other, ruled at different periods, up to the beginning of the present age.

Narachacravartí signifies entire sovereign, ruling, without interruption, the six parts or divisions of the terrestrial world †. *Ard'hachacravartí* signifies half sovereign; or who ruled three *C'handas* or divisions of the earth. The *Man'dalád'hís'as* were *Rájás* of particular divisions: these governed the world, at different periods, to the expiration of the last age.

In the beginning of this age, during the life of VARD'HAMANA SWA'MÍ, who was the twenty-fourth *Tírt'hacar*, or pontiff of the *Jain* religion, there was a *Man'dalád'hís'a*, called SRENICA MAHA'RA'J. In his reign, the religion and people of the *Jain* sect were protected; he reigned for a considerable time at *Rájagrĭhapúr*, and departed from this world. After his death, the kings CHAMUNDA'RA'YA, JANANTARAYA and other princes (nine *Chólarus* and nine *Ballóls*‡) governed the dominions of *Hindustan*, to the time of

* This designation belongs to those named in the subsequent list. H. T. C.

† The six *C'handas* of *Bharata varsha*.

‡ The Ballóls or Balharas, as Sovereigns or Emperors of India, are mentioned in the relation of two Mahommedan travellers translated by Renaudot. C. M.

BIJJALRA'YA, who ruled with renown in the city of *Calyána*. Afterward, the *Dacshin* of *Hiudustan* was conquered by the *Sábdapramáns* *, or those who receive and admit the authority of the *Védas*. Next, the kingdom was ruled by PRATA'P-RUDRA, *Rájá* of *Vórangall;* and, after his death, by the kings of *Bijaynagar*, called *Ráyúl;* till the time of CRĬSHN'A-RA'YA and RA'MA-RA'YA; from which period, the *Dacshin* fell under different Musulman governments.

The *Jains* are divided into four classes or casts, in like manner as the followers of the *Védas*, viz. *Bráhmens*, *Cshatris*, *Vaisyas*, and *Súdras;* the *Bráhmens* are the priests, or ministers of religion, for the other three casts; their duty is to study the *Purán'as* and *Sástras*, but they have no *Védas*. However, they have the *Agama Sástra*, treating of prayers and other religious duties. They worship the fire, in the ceremony of marriage, and in that of initiation *(Upanayana)* †. The *Jains* observe the time of mourning for their deceased relations, according to their casts as follows: an ascetic or *Yati* should mourn for the death of his relations one minute; *Bráhmens* are to mourn ten days; *Cshatris*, five; *Vaisyas*, twelve; *Súdras*, fifteen. Their lower or inferior cast consists of the Pariyas or *Chándálas*.

There are four orders of priests among the *Jains*, as among *Hindus* in general, 1 *Brahmachári* or student, 2 *Grĭhast'ha* or householder, 3 *Vanaparasta* or hermit, 4 *Bhicshuca* or mendicant.

There are sixteen ceremonies, which the *Jains*, as well as the followers of the *Védas*, observe. Among which are, 1 *(Garbád'hana)* the ceremony at

* So the *Jains* affect to call the followers of the *Védas*, as believing on hearsay, what they cannot know, or demonstrate to be true, from the evidence of their senses. C. M.

† This must arise from employing, at those ceremonies, *Bráhmens* of the orthodox sect. The *Jains*, themselves, do not appear to worship fire. H. T. C.

the consummation of a marriage, 2 *(Símant)* adorning a married woman's head with flowers, when she is six months gone with child, 3 *(Játacarma)* ceremony on the birth of a child, 4 *(Námacarma)* on naming a child, 5 *(Annaprasána)* when, at six months old, or within a year, the child is weaned, or first fed with other sustenance than his mother's milk, 6 boring the ear, shaving the head, and placing the sacred thread round his neck, 7 *(Viváha)* the first marriage, or rather betrothing, 8 *(Sástrábhasa)* the ceremony observed when the young lads begin to read the *Sástras*, at the age of five years, five months, and five days, 9 they also observe other ceremonies, together with those of funerals, &c. &c. &c.

They perform the ceremony of *Upanáyana*, or initiation, for a boy, between five and nine years of age; which is the period when children begin to study the books of the law. A student, till he is married, should tie only a thread round his loins, with a rag to cover his nakedness: he should carry constantly in his hand a small staff. This is practised till his wedding-day; when, as soon as he is married, he attains the second rank, or that of householder: then he may dress properly at his pleasure; and should now endeavour, by labour, service, or trade, to provide for, and subsist his family: he should act in all respects agreeably to the instructions of his preceptor. Besides these duties, there are six particularly assigned, to be performed in the station of householder, as follows: 1 Worshipping God; or the images of the ancient saints. 2 Venerating spiritual parents. 3 Studying or reading their holy books. 4 *(Tapasya)* internal or mental devotion, abstracted from all thoughts but that of the deity. 5 Making and fulfilling of vows for the attainment of wishes. 6 Giving to the poor.

There are three classes of *Yatis*, or ascetics, among the *Jains*, viz. *Anuvrata*, *Mahávrata*, *Nirvána*. To attain the rank of *Anuvrata*, one

must forsake his family, entirely cutting off his hair, throwing away the sacred thread, holding in his hand a bundle of peacock's feathers, and an earthen pot *(Caman'd'alu)*, and wearing only tawny coloured clothes: he must reside for some time in one of their temples. He next proceeds to the second rank *Mahávrata;* when, totally abandoning any degree of elegance in his dress, he uses only a rag to cover his nakedness, as a *Brahmachárí:* he still retains the fan and pot; he must not shave the head with razors, but employs his disciples to pull out the hair by the roots *. On the day, on which this operation is performed, he abstains from food; at other times he eats only once, daily, of rice put in the palm of his hand. Having, for a considerable time, remained in this state of probation, he attains the third degree of *Nirvána;* he then lays aside even rags, and, being quite naked, he eats, once every second day, of rice, put by others in the palm of his hand; carrying about with him the clay pot and a bundle of peacock's feathers: it is the business of his disciples to pull out his hairs; and he is not to walk, or move about, after the sun sets. He now is called by the dignified title of *Nirván;* and the *Jains* worship him as god of their tribe, in like manner as the images, which they worship in their temples, of their ancient *Nirváns* or *Gurus*. Yet they say, that these are not the likeness of God; " *because no one knows God,* or has seen his likeness, that he should be able to describe him." However, they adore these images of their *Nirvána-nát'hs* as gods.

Agreeably to their laws, the *Jains* ought to make three ablutions daily, in the morning, afternoon, and evening. In the change and vicissitudes of all things, that degree of strictness is omitted, and they now wash only once

* To the effects of this operation, they attribute the appearance on the heads of the images of their *Gurus*, which Europeans suppose to represent curly or woolly hair. C. M.

a day before they eat: generally they eat their food on leaves, and sometimes in brass vessels; but that is not practised in this country.

The *Cshatris*, *Vais'yas*, and *Súdras*, among the *Jains*, may eat victuals dressed by *Jain Bráhmens*; but *Bráhmens* never eat food prepared by any but their own tribe.

"To abstain from slaughter is the highest perfection; to kill any living creature is sin." Hence the *Jains* abstain from food after sun-set, lest sin be incurred by depriving any animal, even the minutest insect, of its life, in their food; for the same reason, they never drink water without straining it through cloth.

The principal tenets of their religion, translated from a stanza of their books, follows: "The *Jains* should abstain from the following things, viz. eating at night; slaying any animal; eating the fruit of those trees that give milk, pumpkins, young bambu plants; tasting honey, flesh; taking the wealth of others; taking by force a married woman; eating flowers, butter, cheese; and worshipping the gods of other religions. To abandon entirely the above-mentioned, is to be a proper *Jain*." The *Jains* (even the young lads) never taste honey, as it would occasion expulsion from their cast. They never taste intoxicating liquors, nor any other forbidden drink.

A man who neglects to observe due precautions, that no living creature be exposed to danger, from the following five domestic occupations*, will not be admitted to the sacred presence of God. 1 In splitting firewood,

* See Menu 3, v. 68. The same notion occurs there; but the orthodox have sacraments to expiate the involuntary sin. The *Jains*, not admitting the efficiency of religious acts, are content to use precautions to avoid the sin. H. T. C.

2 Forming the floor, and smearing it with cow-dung, 3 Cleaning the fire-place, 4 Straining water, 5 Sweeping the house. When about to perform these offices, he should first be careful that there be no insect, for it is a mortal sin to hurt any living being.

The women should marry before their monthly courses appear; though, owing to changes, and particularly their poverty and depression, they are now obliged to put off this ceremony till long after their proper age, for want of money to defray the expense. When a woman is unclean, she must stay at a distance from her relations, in unchanged clothes, for four days. On the morning of the fifth day she is permitted to mix with her family, after ablution.

A *Jain* woman never marries but once; and, if the husband dies when she is young, she must remain a widow as long as she lives, being forbidden to wear ornaments or delicate apparel, or to use nice food. In the western quarter, towards *Saondha, Caodyal,* &c. when the husband departs from the world, the widow's head is shaved in like manner as the *Bráhmen* widows of other countries; but this custom has gone out of use in this country for a considerable time: a widow never dresses elegantly; and is not allowed to wear glass rings, or the *Mangalasútra,* (an ornament on the wedding-day, tied round the neck of the bride by the husband,) nor to use the yellow and red colours, or paint, by which married women are particularly distinguished. While the husband lives, they may wear all ornaments allowed by the law. opulent people of this tribe are still permitted to dress like other *Hindus,* in all kind of costly apparel suited to their station.

When a man dies, they burn the corpse, and throw the ashes into water; the rich cast the ashes into rivers. They never perform other obsequies,

as their law says, "the spirit is separate or distinct from the body, which is composed of five elements; when, therefore, the corpse is burnt, the several parts which composed it, return to their former state: consequently, to the deceased, no ceremony is due." After death, as nothing of him remains, therefore they omit to perform the monthly and annual ceremonies, which other *Hindus* observe on this occasion; and they give these reasons in vindication, "A man should feed himself with the best food, while he lives in this world, as his body never returns after it is burnt."

They further say, that the foolish people of other tribes, being deficient in sacred knowledge, spend money in vain, on account of deceased relations: for how can a dead man feel satisfaction in ceremonies, and in the feeding of others? "even a lamp no longer gives light by pouring more oil into it, after its flame is once extinguished." Therefore it is vain to make feasts and ceremonies for the dead; and, if it be wished to please relations, it is best to do so while they are yet living, "what a man drinketh, giveth, and eateth in this world, is of advantage to him, but he carrieth nothing with him at his end."

"A man of sense should believe only what he seeth with his own eyes; and should never believe what he heareth from others." The *Jains* do not (like the followers of the *Védas)* believe, that this world exists by the supreme power of God; for they say, that the world is eternal, and that its changes are natural. They deny, that the world is wholly subject to destruction, for all things are born by the power of nature; God only is exempt from *Carma*, or the frailties and inconveniencies of nature.

As the *Jains* profess, not to put faith in oral testimony, and only believe in what is perceptible to their own organs of sense; therefore, they do

not believe that God is in the heavens above, "because *no one ever saw him*," and they deem it impossible for others to see him; but they believe in their *Tírt'hacars*, as their ancestors have seen and given a full description of the first prophet or *Guru*, who attained the station of *Nirvána* by his extraordinary perfections and actions, to the satisfaction of mankind down to the present age. Since his time, they have images of the several *Gurus*, who succeeded him, and were incarnate as protectors of their religion. These naked images they worship in their temples with all due ceremonies; they consider them as gods, or rather as representatives of God, whom they describe as follows:—"He has a likeness, and no likeness; he may be compared to an image of crystal: He has eight good qualities, and is exempt from eight evil qualities. He is all wise; all seeing; the father, or the origin, of all; enjoying eternal bliss; without name, without relation, or beginning; infinite; undescribable." The eight evil qualities, from which the nature of God is exempt, are ignorance, mental blindness, pain incident to nature, the distinction of name, of tribe, delusion, mortality, dependence. He who possesses these good qualities, and has overcome these evils, or is superior to them, is the God of the *Jains*, or *Jinéswara*, being incarnate in the shape or body of one of their *Gurus*, or *Tírt'hacars*. Therefore, the *Jains* worship the images of their *Gurus*, as the means of attaining the following stations:—1 *(Salóca)* a station whence God is beheld at a distance; 2 *(Samípa)* one in the presence of, or near, God; 3 *(Sarupa)* similarity to God; 4 *(Sayóga)* union with God. According to these several gradations, he belongs either to the order of, 1st, *(Grïhast'ha)* a householder; 2dly, *(Anuvrata)* the lowest rank of ascetics; 3dly, *(Mahávrata)* the second; or 4thly, *(Nirvána)* the highest.

But a bad man, who leads an evil course of life, in contradiction to their sacred laws, departs at his end to hell, or *Naraca*.

The *Jains* of this country never follow any other trade than merchandise. They wear a cloth round the loins, a turband on the head, and a jacket to cover the body; and put a mark with sandal powder on the middle of their foreheads: some have a small circlet with red powder, in the centre of the sandal mark, by way of further decoration.

The following is the formula used by the *Jains* of the *Carnát'ac*, on beginning to perform their ceremonies.

"Now in the holy religion of *'Adi-Brahman*, of the philosopher who was created by the supreme power of God; and in the centre of the three worlds, in the central world, and in the island of *Jambúdwípa*, (in which appears the renowned *Jambú* tree;) southward of the great mountain of *Mahá-Méru*, in the land of *Bharat*, on the good soil of the renowned division of *Carnát'aca-Désa*, in the village or town of ———, and in the ——— part or quarter of the present age of *Cali-yuga;* and it being now within the fifth division of time; according to the *Saca* of *Rájá Vicramárca*, (as accepted by many great and excellent people, who observe the gracious laws), and in the present year of 'Sa'liva'hana, and in the present year of the cycle ——— month of ——— fortnight of ——— and on this holy day, (including also weeks, stars, signs, hours, and minutes,) I now begin this," &c. &c. &c.

The preliminary form of addressing letters by the *Jains*, to one another is as follows, viz.

"To him, who possesses all good qualities, who performs all charities (or bestows alms), according to the laws, who observes the rules of the *Jains*, who has zeal to repair the *Jain* temples, who perseveres in observing the

ceremonies of *Ashtamí* and *Chaturdasí*, (8th and 14th of each half month;) he who purifies his head by the drops of the sandal water, in which the images of the *Jains* are bathed, to such I bow my head," &c. &c.

As the *Bráhmens*, who follow the *Védas*, fast on the day called *Ecádasí*, (11th of each fortnight;) in like manner the *Jains* fast on the 8th and 14th days. (*Ashtamí* and *Chaturdasí*), twice a fortnight: they also worship the serpent *Nága*, on the festival of *Anantachaturdasí*, in like manner as other *Hindus*, and tie over their shoulders a red thread.

At this time, the *Jains* have four *Mat'hádhipas*, or chief pontiffs, at the following places, 1 *Pénugonda* or *Pennaconda*, 2 *Canchí* or *Conjeveram*, 3 *Collapur*, 4 *Delhi*.

Their *Sannyásís*, for a long time back, have resided in these places, with power over all those professing their religion; these pontiffs teach their laws, duties and customs; and, if they observe any irregularities among their flocks, punish them according to the nature of the offence.

The *Jains* intermarry with women of other families, or *Gotrás*, and eat with the disciples of their several priests and casts. But, though the *Jains* of all countries are of the same religion, they should not employ the *Gurus* of one *Mat'ha*, or college, to attend funerals, and perform the ceremonies of another; but they are to behave with respect and civility to them, on account of their profession and rank.

Sravan'a-Bélligola is the principal residence of the *Jain Gurus:* even the *Jains*, below the *Ghats*, consider it as the chief place; but with the permission of the head pontiff, as it is too distant from them, his disciples esta-

blished three subordinate *Gurus*, in three different places, below the western *Ghâts*, at *Mooda*, *Beedeery*, *Caroocollom*, and *Soda*. *Jain Sannyásís* now reside in these places, to attend to the laws and ceremonies of their religion.

There is a famous image, of eighteen times the height of man, upon a rock near *Bélligóla*, named GÓMATE'S'WAR SWA'MÍ *.

In the books of the *Jains*, it is mentioned that there was formerly a golden image, of 500 times man's height, at *Padmanabh-pur*, which was inundated by the sea; and they believe that it can still be sometimes seen in the water.

They generally account modestly for all their tenets, and conduct themselves with propriety; and never assert that their bodies are eternal, and that there is *no God;* nor do they, like the Baudhists, say, "After death there is no pain in the flesh, or feeling: since it feels not pain, nor death, what harm is there in feeding upon it, when it is necessary to procure health and strength."

NOTICES OF THE JAINS,

RECEIVED FROM

CHA'RUCÍRTI A'CHA'RYA,

Their Chief Pontiff, at Bélligola, in Mysore.

"FOR the information of mankind, be it known, that the foundation of ages or times is countless; that the origin of *Carma*, or passion, is inconceivable; for the origin of the soul, or spirit, is too ancient to be

* This image is represented in the annexed drawing. At *Kurcul*, near *Mangalor*, there is also a gigantic image of *Gómatéswar*. C. M.

known: therefore, we ought to believe, that human kind is ignorant of the true knowledge of the origin of things, which is known only to the Almighty or ADÍS'WARA, whose state is without beginning or end; who has obtained eternal victory over all the frailties of nature and worldly affections.

There are two great divisions of time or ages, established in the universe by God; called *Avasarpiní*, and *Utsarpiní:* each of them are reckoned at ten *Crórs*, of *Crórs* of *Ságaróparnas**. *Utsarpiní* is divided into six portions, which are named, 1 *Atiduc'-hamá*, 2 *Duc'hamá*, 3 *Duc'hamá Suc'hamá*, 4 *Suc'hamá Duc'hamá*, 5 *Suc'hamá Suc'hama*, 6 *Suc'hamá*. The second age, *Avasarpiní*, is also divided into six parts, by name, 1 *Suc'hamá*, 2 *Suc'hamá Suc'hamá*, 3 *Suc'hamá Duc'hamá*, 4 *Duc'hamá Suc'hamá*, 5 *Duc'hamá*, 6 *Atiduc'hamá*. These two grand ages, eras, or periods, as well as their divisions, revolve for ever in the universe, like the course of the fortnights, and the increase and decrease of the moon, in the regions frequented by mankind. The number of these regions is a hundred and seventy; ten of which are distinguished by the names of five *Bharatas*, and five *Airávatas*. These divisions are particularly explained in the book called *Trilócasataca*.

Among the ages abovenamed, the revolution of four *Crórs* of *Crórs* of *Ságaróparnas* was assigned to the first, or *Suc'hamá*. During that age, men subsisted on the produce of ten different *Calpavrícshas*, or celestial trees, called *Bhójanánga*, *Vástranga*, *Bhúshanánga*, *Málánga*, *Grihánga*, *Racshanánga*, *Jyótiranga*, *Túryánga*, and *Bhájanánga*. Thus men used to subsist on the spontaneous produce of the trees; and kings ruled not the

* Oceans of years. This measure of time will be subsequently explained. H. T. C.

earth; all were abundantly happy; and the people of that age were distinguished by the name *Uttama-bhóga-bhúmi-pravartacas,* supremely happy inhabitants of the earth.

On the commencement of the second age, *Suc'hamá Suc'hamá,* which lasted for three *Crórs* of *Crórs* of *Ságarópamas,* the miraculous gifts of the heavenly trees were less than in the former age, though they still supplied the wants of mankind and their subsistence; but the men of that age were inferior incomplexion, stature, strength, and longevity: hence they were called *Madhyama-bhóga-bhúmi-pravartacas,* moderately happy inhabitants of the earth.

This was followed by the third age, *Suc'hamá Duc'hamá:* its measure is two *Crórs* of *Crórs* of *Ságarópamas.* During this period, the people were still more straitened in the produce of the *Calpavrïcshas,* as well as inferior in longevity, color, health and happiness: the people of this age were named *Jaghanya-bhóga-bhúmi-pravartacas,* or least happy inhabitants of the earth.

In these periods there were born, at different times, fourteen *Manus,* by name, 1 PRATIS'RUTI, 2 SANMATI, 3 CSHE'MANCARA, 4 CSHE'MANDHARA, 5 SRÍ-MANCARA, 6 SRÍMANDHARA*, 7 VIMALAVA'HANA, 8 CHACSHUSHMA'N, 9 YASASWÍ, 10 ABHICHANDRA, 11 CHANDRA'BHA, 12 MARUDE'VA, 13 PRASANNAJITA, and 14 NA'BHIRA'JA. The last *Manu,* having married MARUDE'VA', begot a son, named VRÍSHABHANA'T'HA TÍRT'HACAR.

The fourth age, called *Duc'hamá Suc'hamá,* is in measure 42000 years less than the amount of one *Crór* of *Crórs* of *Ságarópamas;* and no miraculous fruits were produced in this age.

* Or SIMAD'HARA.

Before the commencement of the fourth age of the *Avasarpiní*, when the time of destruction appeared to be nearly approaching to mortals or mankind, through the disappearance of the *Calpavríchshas* or celestial trees, VRISHABHANA'T'HA TÍRT'HACAR was incarnate, in this world, as son of the fourteenth *Menu*, NA'BHIRA'JA, at the city of *Ayód'hyá*. By his auspicious birth (at the prayer of mankind, who were distressed for food, and were dying;) and by his instructions, the knowledge of good and bad, of possible and impossible, and of the means of acquiring the advantages of earth and of heaven, was obtained. He also, arranged the various duties of mankind, and allotted to men the means of subsistence, viz. *Así* the sword, *Masí* letters (literally ink), *Crishi* agriculture, *Vánijya* commerce, *Pásupála* attendance on cattle. Upon this arrangement, he became king over all mankind, and composed the four sacred books, called *Prat'hamánuyóga*, *Caranánuyóga*, *Charanánuyóga*, and *Dravyánuyóga*. Thus VRÍSHABHANA'T'HA TÍRT'HACAR established the religion of the *Jains*, in its four classes, or casts, of *Bráhmens*, *Cshatris*, *Vaisyas* and *Súdras;* and delivered the charge of those sacred books to their care. These writings becoming obsolete, and the language not being understood by the common people since that time, the meaning of the originals has been explained, in various works, in the language of different countries. He also composed several books on the sciences, for the improvement of mankind.

After he had settled and arranged laws and regulations of all kinds, mankind, from that period, began to follow his institutions, looking on him, in every respect, as equal to God; and, upon his departure from this world, to *Mócsha*, or the state of the Almighty, his image was venerated as *Jainéswar*, or the Lord of *Jains:* as he had early subdued, by his wisdom, all worldly affections, and was relieved from restraints and carnal ties.

Before the departure of VRĬSHABHANA'T'HA TÍRT'HACAR, his wives were ASASVATÍ and SUNANDADEVÍ; by the former he had a son, named BHARATA CHACRAVARTÍ; and by the latter GÓMATE'S'WARA SWA'MÍ. The eldest, BHARATA CHACRAVARTÍ, ruled over the whole of the six divisions of the earth, and named it *Bharatacshétra;* from that period the earth bears his name. The metropolis of this king was *Ayód'hyá* (or Oude). After he had ruled for a considerable time, he appointed his younger brother, GÓMATE'S'WARA SWA'MÍ, to the government. Then abandoning the *(Carma)* actions or affections of mankind, he obtained the fruits of his sacred contemplation, and proceeded to *Mócsha,* or heavenly salvation.

GÓMATE'S'WARA SWA'MÍ, after he was charged with the government, ruled for a considerable time, in a town named *Padmanabh pur;* in the end, he attained *(Nirvána)* beatitude in heaven, and departed thither. Since his death, the people worship him, in all respects, as *Jinéswara,* or God. From that period, twenty-four TÍRT'HACARS have passed, during the age of *Avasarpini,* up to the end of the *Dwápara-yuga.*

According to the *Jains,* there were born other twenty-four *Tírt'hacars* in the world, during the first age, besides the twenty-four from the birth of VRĬSHABHANA'T'HA SWA'MÍ. The names of the *Tírt'hacars* of *Atitacála* or past times, are as follow, 1 NIRMA'NA*, 2 SA'GARA, 3 MAHA'NA'THA†, 4 VIMALAHPRABHA‡, 5 SRÍDHARA§, 6 SUDANTA‖, 7 AMALAPRABHA ¶, 8 UDARA **, 9 ANGIRA ††, 10 SUMATI, 11 SIND'HU ‡‡, 12 CU-

* NIRV'ANÍ, in HEMACHANDRA'S vocabulary. † MAHAYASAS, H ‡ VIMALA, H. § The 5th is SARVA'NUBHU'TÍ, and 6th SRÍDHARA, according to HE'MACHANDRA. ‖ DATTA, H. ¶ Unnoticed by HE'MACHANDRA. ** DA'MÓDARA, H. †† Unnoticed by HE'MACHANDRA, who states, 9th SUTE'JA, 10th SWA'MÍ, and 11th MUNISUVRATA. ‡‡ Unnoticed by HE'MACHANDRA.

MA'NJARÍ, 13 SIVAGANGA *, 14 UTSA'HA, 15 GANE'S'WARA, 16 PARAME'S'WARA, 17 VIMALE'S'WARA †, 18 YASÓD'HARA, 19 CRUSHTA ‡, 20 GANAMURTI §, 21 SIDD'HAMATI, 22 'SRÍBHADRA ‖, 23 ATRICONTA¶, 24 SA'NTI.

To the *Tírt'hacars*, who departed to *Mócsha* in the times of antiquity, the *Jains* pay a respectful adoration, even more assiduously, and with greater veneration, than to their *Tírt'hacars*, who were incarnate, according to their accounts, in the age, or period of time, called *Utsarpiní*.

In their prophecies it is said, that the following are the names of the *Tírt'hacars*, yet to be incarnate, in the future or next *Utsarpiní* period: 1 MAHA'PADMA ⸸, 2 'SURADE'VA, 3 SUPARS'WANA **, 4 SWAYAMPRABHA, 5 SADA'TMABHU'TI ††, 6 DE'VAPUTRA ‡‡, 7 CULAPUTRA §§, 8 UDANCA ‖‖, 9 CRUSTA ¶¶, 10 JAYACÍRTI ***, 11 MUNISUVRATA †††, 12 ARA, 13 NEPOMPA ‡‡‡, 14 NISHCASHA'YA, 15 VIPULA'CA, 16 NIRMALLA, 17 CHITRAGUPTA, 18 SAMA'DHIGUPTA §§§, 19 SWAYAMBHU' ‖‖‖, 20 ANUVARTACA ¶¶¶, 21 JAYA ****, 22 VIMALLA ††††, 23 DE'VAPALA ‡‡‡‡, 24 ANANTA VÍRYA §§§§.

Their ancient *Tírt'hacars*, being endowed with the gift of prophecy, predicted the future succession of these *Tírt'hacars*, for the information of the world.

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* 'SIVAGATI, H. † ANILA, H. ‡ CRTIA'RT'HA, H. § JÍNE'SWARA, H. ‖ 'SIVACARA, H. ¶ SVANDANA, H.

⸸ PADMANA'BHA, according to HE'MACHANDRA. ** SUPA'RS'WACA, H. †† SARVA'NUBHU'TI, H. ‡‡ DE'VAS'RUTA, H. §§ UDAYA, H. ‖‖ PE'T'HA'LA, H. ¶¶ PÓTTILA, H. *** 'SATACÍRTI, H. ††† SUVRATA, H. ‡‡‡ AMAMPA, H. §§§ SAMA DHI, H. ‖‖‖ SAMBARA, H. ¶¶¶ YA'SÓDHARA, H. **** VIJAYA, H. †††† MALLA, H. ‡‡‡‡ DE'VA, H. §§§§ HE'MACHANDRA, having omitted one of the preceding (ARA), adds BHADRACRIT as the 24th of these JINAS.

Thus it is truth, that time and age gradually revolve for ever; yet no decay or destruction arises hence to the universe, and its various worlds, to the earth, to spirits, and to souls; but the mortal bodies of mankind and *Dévatás* perish, while the *Vimánas** endure.

HISTORICAL AND LEGENDARY ACCOUNT

OF

BE'LLIGOLA,

COMMUNICATED BY THE HIGH PRIEST AT THAT STATION.

IN ancient times, an image was at this place, self formed from earth, under the shape of GÓMAT I'S'WARA SWA'MÍ, which RA'VANA, the monarch of the RACSHASES, worshipped to obtain happiness. After many ages were elapsed, and on the access of the present age, a king of the southern dominions reigned, named RACHAMALLA. His minister of finance was named CHAMUNDA-RA'YA, who was remarkably devout in the performance of the religious duties of the *Jains*. It was reported to him, by a travelling merchant, that there was, in the city of *Padmanábh-pura*, an image of GÓMAT I'S'WARA SWA'MÍ. On hearing this relation, he made a vow, before all the people, not to drink milk, until he saw the image of GÓMAT I'S'WARA. When he retired from the public

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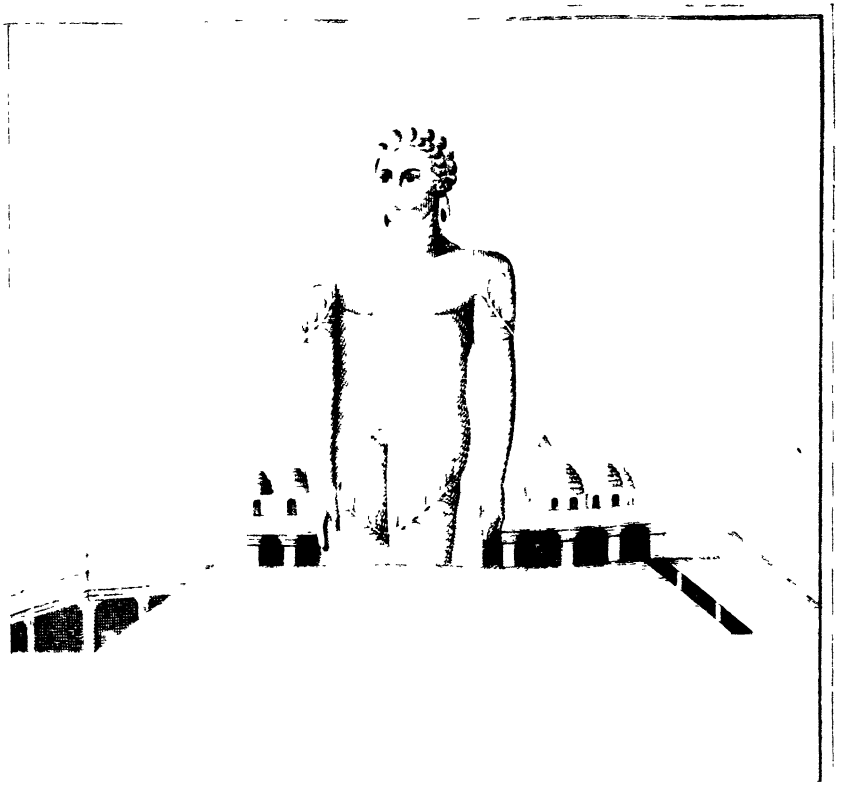
* The abodes of deities of various classes.

View taken in the Court below



View taken from the opposite Terrace above

[illegible] the Gigantic Statue of **GOMUT ISWAR**, *at Billacull or Bellagolla* Taken in Dec.r 1801

[illegible] common foot long hence the height of the Statue is estimated at 54 feet at least. The figure [illegible] a man's height of a man standing on the opposite terrace near the Statue

hall to his own apartments, he found his mother also disposed to follow the same resolution; and they both went immediately into the presence of SINVA'NANDA A'CHA'RYA, who was their sacred minister of religion, and acquainted him with the vow, and obtained his consent to the journey. Then setting off, with a moderate retinue of the four descriptions, (horse, foot, elephants and cars,) towards *Padmanábh-pura*, he halted at this village, during a few days, for refreshment; and being informed by the inhabitants, that there was a sacred temple of the *Jain* worship on the summit of *Chandragiri*, which was founded by CHANDRAGUPTA MAHA'RA'J, he there performed the customary ceremonies and worship. As he slept there on that night, the heavenly nymph CUSHMANDAMA appeared to him in a dream, and recommended to him to desist from his intended journey to *Padmanábh-pura*, as it was too distant; and to worship another image of GÓMAT I'S'WARA SWA'MÍ, eighteen times man's height, on the mountain of *Indragiri;* equal for miracles to the image that was in height fifty-two fathoms at *Padmanábh-pura*. To make the discovery, he was directed to shoot an arrow towards the south, and follow its flight; by this means he would discover the image, on the spot where that arrow should fall.

On the next morning, CHAMUNDARA'Y acted according to the advice given to him in his dream, and was extremely rejoiced at the discovery of that wonderful image. He afterwards fixed his residence on that spot for twenty years; and made the workmen cut it out into a regular shape, with the utmost accuracy of proportion in all its parts; the several proportions of the body resembling the original likeness of GÓMAT I'S'WARA SWA'MÍ, in profound contemplation, to obtain *Mócsha*. He also caused several buildings to be constructed, as temples and other

edifices, round the God. On their completion, he established the worship of the image, as God, with great ceremony and devotion, in the year of the cycle *Vibhava*, when 600 years were past of the *Cali-Yuga**. After he had placed the image, CHAMUNDARAY granted in gift, to the God, the lands situated on all sides of the place.; to the value of 19,000 pagodas, for the performance of the daily sacred ceremonies, as well as those which return periodically.

Afterwards this kingdom was ruled by several *Rájás*, from the time of BALA'LRAY down to VISHNU-VARDD'HAN. In their reigns, the *Jains* added several buildings to the former work, and were allowed the enjoyment of the lands assigned to the God.

The successors of SINVA'NANDA A'CHARYA, who was *Guru* to CHAMUNDARAY, resided here, to manage the religious affairs of this place, and of other places of the *Jain* tribes. The present *Guru* at *Bélligola* is the regular successor, according to the following list of *Gurus*, from the last of the ancient twenty-four *Tírt'hacaras* in the fourth age, who was named VARDHAMA'NASWA'MÍ, and who attained beatitude *(Mócsha)* 2464 years before the year of the cycle *Durmati* (or A. D. 1801)†;

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* MAJOR MACKENZIE remarks the inconsistency of this with the subsequent computation of 2464 years. The *Cali-yuga* is not a mode of reckoning in use among the *Jainas*, though repeatedly mentioned in these papers. Perhaps the present or fifth age, according to their computation, may be here meant: it begins the fourth year after VARD'HAMA'NA's demise. H. T. C.

† I have been informed by *Jainas* in *Bengal* that they reckon VARD'HAMA'NA to have lived 580 years before the Era of VICRAMA'DITYA. H. T. C.

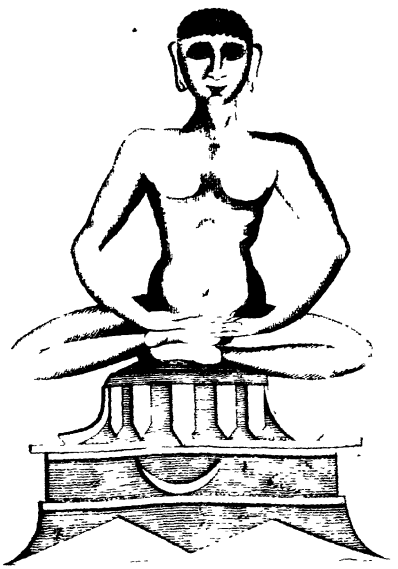

Image in the Jain Pagoda
at Toomcoor
May 1800

Statue dug up at Conjeveram
supposed to belong to the Jain Worship
18th August 1799

at the time when SRE'NICA-MAHA'RA'J, having ruled for the space of a hundred years, departed to heaven.

LIST OF THE NAMES OF THE GURUS,

From the last Tirt'hacara of Ancient Times, down to the present Guru.

VARD'HA'MANA SWA'MI',

The twenty-fourth Tirthacara of the last List.

1. GAUTAMA *, 2 SUDHARMA †, 3 JAMBÚNA'T'HA, 4 VÍRASE'N A'CHA'RYA ‡, 5 VRISHABHASE'N ACHA'RYA, 6 SIDD'HASE'N A'CHA'RYA, 7 VÍRASE'N A'CHA'RYA, 8 SIN'VA'NAND A'CHA'RYA, 9 CUNDA CUND A'CHA'RYA, 10 GRÍDHRAPE'NCH A'CHA'RYA, 11 MAYÚRAPE'NCH A'CHA'RYA, 12 DHARASE'N A'CHA'RYA, 13 BAHUSE'N A'CHA'RYA, 14 CA'LIPARAME'S'WAR SWA'MÍ, 15 JINASE'N A'CHA'RYA, 16 GUNABHADR A'CHA'RYA, 17 AKALONKA SWA'MÍ, 18 VFEKALONKA SWA'MÍ, 19 ALHAYACHANDRA SIDD'HA'NT, 20 SRUTAMUNIVATA'RCA, 21 PUJYAPA'DA, 22 VIDYA'NA'T'HA, 23 JAYASE'NA, 24 AVÍRASE'NA, 25 LACSHMÍSE'NABA'LA'RCA, 26 CHA'RUCÍRTIPANDIT A'CHA'RYA, the present priest at *Bélligola:* his age is 65; and he arrived at his present rank 30 years ago.

CHAMUNDARA'Y, after having established the worship of this image, became proud and elated, at placing this God, by his own authority, at

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* Meaning VARD'HAMA'NA's eldest disciple, named INDRA-BHÚTI, and surnamed GAUTAMA, because he was of that family or *Gótra*. H. T. C.

† SUD'HARMA was one of VARD'HAMA'NA's disciples, and the only one who has left successors. H. T. C.

‡ The disciple and successor of JAMBUSWAMÍ, was PRABHAVA. The person, who furnished this list, has skipped from SUD'HARMA's disciple to some priest, who may have been his remote successor, at an interval of several hundred degrees. H. T. C.

so vast an expense of money and labour. Soon after this, when he performed, in honour of the god, the ceremony of *Panchámrĭta Snána*, (or washing the image with five liquids, milk, curds, butter, honey, and sugar;) vast quantities of these things were expended, in many hundred pots: but, through the wonderful power of the god, the liquor descended not lower than the navel, to check the pride and vanity of the worshipper. CHAMUNDARA'Y, not knowing the cause, was filled with grief, that his intention was frustrated of cleaning the image completely with this ablution. While he was in this situation, the celestial nymph PAD-MA'VATÍ, by order of God, having transformed herself into the likeness of an aged poor woman, appeared, holding in her hand the five *Amrĭtas*, in a *Bélliyagola*, (or small silver pot,) for washing the statue: and signified her intention to CHAMUNDARA'Y, who laughed at the absurdity of this proposal for accomplishing what it had not been in his power to effect. Out of curiosity, however, he permitted her to attempt it: when, to the great surprize of the beholders, she washed the image with the liquor brought in the little silver vase. CHAMUNDARA'Y, repenting his sinful arrogance, performed a second time, with profound respect, his ablution, on which they had formerly wasted so much valuable liquids; and washed completely the body of the image.

From that time, this place is named after the silver vase (or *Bélliyagola*) which was held in PADMA'VATÍ's hand. *Sravana (Sramana)* is the title of a *Jain Sannyási*; and, as this place is the principal residence of these *Sannyásis*, the people call it *Sravan-Bélligola*.

Many years after this period, a king, named BHATTAVARD'HAN, reigned at *Dwaratípattan*; which the people now call generally by the name of

Doragul, or *Dorasamudram*. It is said, that he wanted a finger. One day, as he sat with his concubine (who was of the *Vaishnava* sect) upon the terrace of his palace, she observed, in the public street, a *Jain Sannyási* passing, who avoided conversing with any person, and was under a holy vow of abstaining from taking food in the house of any person who was lame, or deficient in any of the members of his body. Upon hearing of the vow which he had made, she asked the king, from motives of curiosity, "Behold your *Guru!* will he, at your request, eat food with you?" The *Rájá*, not recollecting the customs of the *Gurus*, replied "Why not? will he not come to the house of his own disciple? if he refuse at my request, I will abandon my sect, and bind myself to your command; but, if he comply, contrary to your expectation, you must conform to my sentiments." Then the *Rájá*, descending from the terrace, advanced to the *Guru*, and asked him to take food, walking, at the same time, round him, with closed hands, and pronouncing, three times successively, the following sacred form of words, according to the rules of their religion. "O Lord! reverence be to you! stay!—for BRAMARA'YAH'S sake—comply!"—After he had used this prayer, he took water into his hands, to give to him, with the following form. "Adoration! O Lord!—Adoration! do purify this water!" But the *Swámí*, without speaking, retired to the temple; where he resolved to fast that day, as an expiation for being invited to eat by a maimed man.

BHATTAVARD'HAN, following his *Guru* to the temple, upon inquiry was informed of its being forbidden by their law: he then explained to the *Guru*, what had passed between him and his beloved mistress, and earnestly intreated the priest to comply with his request; declaring, that if it were refused, he must join the other sect, whence great misfortunes

would befal their religion: the *Swámí* replied, that he would suffer death, or any other misfortune, rather than for the king's favor do what was contrary to the law.

Upon this refusal, BHATTAVARD'HAN, agreeably to the commands of his mistress, whom he loved, joined her sect, which was that of the *Vaishnavas;* and, from that time, his name was changed from BHATTAVARD'HAN, to VISHNUVARD'HAN. This country was ruled, for many years, by his descendants. On the downfal of that dynasty of princes, their dominions were conquered by the kings of *Bijayanagar.*

After the *Rájás* of *Mysore* had obtained possession of this country, under the *Anégóndi* kings, they granted lands, of the amount of 1000 pagodas annually, to the god; and of the amount of 120 pagodas to the college of *Sannyásís.* While their power lasted, they protected the *Jains* without permitting the intolerant spirit of other sects to disturb their religious ceremonies and duties. In the reign of CHICCA-DE'VARA'JA VADEYAR, a *Jain,* named ANNAYA CHETTY, constructed, at this place, the tank named *Calyáni.*

Formerly RA'MA'NUJA, the famous *Vaishnava* reformer, under the encouragement of the confusion which then prevailed in the government, came hither, with the vain desire of disputing with the *Jains,* about their laws and religion. After his conference with them, he had it proclaimed, that he had worsted the *Jains,* in their disputations on religion and law; and erected here a pillar, on which were inscribed the symbols of the *Sanc'ha* and *Chacra;* and, cutting off a small piece of the finger of the left hand of GÓMAT I'S'WAR SWA'MÍ, he departed.

Bélligola is the most revered place of the *Jain* worship above the *Ghâts*. Here are two mountains; one called *Indragiri*, and the other, *Chandragiri*: the former is situated on the north-west, adjoining to the village: on its summit stands their famous image of GÓMAT Í'S'WAR SWA'MÍ *, of the height of eighteen fathoms, inclosed within a strong wall, with many small temples and other buildings. Here were, in former times, seventy-two well shaped images; of which there now remain, in good condition, only forty-two, placed in a gallery, under a portico, supported by pillars, which is carried inside, along the wall. They say, that these are images of their *Tírt'hacars*, of the last, present, and future ages. The great image, being of too great height to be covered, is in the open air; appearing like a column on the hill, when viewed as far as eight *cós* on all sides.

On the other hill, called *Chandragiri*, close to the village, are several sacred temples; there are also many temples in the town. The *Sannyásí* resides in a *Mat'ha* within the town; where are some images of stone and metal, for his domestic worship: in other places, he employs people to perform worship to them regularly. In the government of the *Mysore Rájás*, and of HAIDER NAYAC, certain villages were granted, in *Jagir*, to the god and the college. There are not any families of any other principal casts, excepting *Jains*, in the village of *Bélligola*.

At this place they used to celebrate, once a year, a great festival to the god. Two months before its commencement, the head of the *Mat'ha* used to send a written notice over the country, to announce the festival to all *Srávacs* or *Jains*. On the receipt of this paper, great numbers of this sect, even from *Hindustan*, came to attend the ceremony, and worship the god. This festival

* Plate 2.

was neglected, for six or seven years, through the oppression of the late government; and has not yet been renewed; because their lands have been resumed, and included in the lands of government.

Translation of an Inscription, cut on a Stone, upon the Hill of Bélligola, in front of the Image.

'BE GOOD FOR ALL.'

BE success to the famous RA'MANU'JA *, who is lord above the lords of *Atit'his* or *Sannyásis*; who, like the mighty fire from the face of *Va'davánala*, disperses or dries up the water of the ocean of *Páshan'das*, or infidels; who is chief among the slaves of the Lily feet of *Srírangarája*; who allows a passage through *Vicunta*, ornamented with many edifices of precious stones.

In the year of the *Saca* 1290 †, in the *Cilaca* year of the cycle, on Thursday, the 10th of the month of *Bhádrapad*, be success and glory to the honourable monarch, the sovereign and destroyer of envious princes, lord of foreign kings, whose name is BUCCARA'YA. During his reign, on account of the disputes of the *Jains* and *Bhactas*, the principal citizens of the new city, or *Hasápattan*, of *Anégóndi*, of *Pénugóndá*, of *Caláhatti pattan*, and of other places, represented to the prince the injustice committed by the *Bhactas*: he assembled a court, composed of the following people: COVILA TIRAMALA, PE'RU COVILA TIRUMALA RAYANA, and other chief *A'chárya*s,

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* RA'MA'NUJA, the famous author of the *Sribhashya*, and reformer of the *Saiva* doctrine, was born A. D. 1008. The invocation to him shows, that the inscription was placed with the consent of government. C. M.

† A. D. 1367.

judges, inhabitants, and other followers of the *Tiruman* and *Térubadi* marks, and the head people or chief officers of districts, and the *Vaishnavas* of *Tirucul* and *Jambavacul;* in which it was determined, that there was no real cause of difference between the *Jains* and *Vaishnavas.* The *Mahárája,* putting the hands of the *Jains* into the hands of the *Vaishnavas,* ordered that the *Jains* be permitted to use their former and usual great drums, as well as the *Calahans-nada,* which had been taken away by the *Bhactas;* and, for the performance of this, he ordered it to be made public, by inscriptions carved upon stones, in the *Jain* temples, all over the empire, that no distinction, or contradiction, appeared between the religion of the *Jains* and *Vaishnavas:* therefore the *Vaishnavas* should agree to protect them, while the sun and moon endure. TE'RUMATIA, and the other chief people, then resolved, in token of their good will, that all the *Jains,* who are inhabitants of the different divisions of the world, should contribute annually, at the rate of one fanam for each family, to defray the ceremonies of their god at *Bélligola Tirt'h,* and to repair the buildings of the *Jinálayas,* or temples of JINA.

By continuing the above yearly gift for this purpose, while the sun and moon remain, will be obtained the advantage of great reputation and grace. If any person refuse its execution, he shall go to the hell of those who betray their kings and holy religion; and he, who prevents this charity, shall incur the sin of killing a cow, or a *Brahmen,* on the bank of the *Gangá* river.

"Whoever resumes gifts, in money or lands, granted by himself or others, shall be born as an insect in dung, for sixty thousand years."

EXTRACTS OF A JOURNAL,

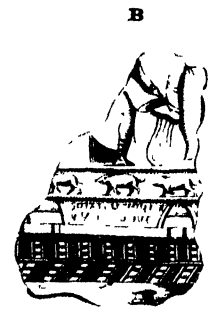
BY MAJOR C. MACKENZIE.

Feb. 24, 1797. NEAR *Calyani.* On arriving at *Mudgiri* several appearances, indicated a change in the country, viz. the style of building of the pagodas; as we here found them of the mosque kind, with domes and pillars in front; others in which the *Lingam* was worshipped of a large size: in the *Déwal* of *Ramalingam,* one of them was a group of five *Lingams* *, and a great number of stones were placed round the temple, covered with sculptures. At a temple of *Hanumán* (the only one seen since we came into the *Canara* country,) were several sculptures, also placed round the building; in one, a god or hero carried a cocoa tree; another was drawing a bow; a hand, in one place, covers a horseman; and an inscription, in two columns, was surmounted by the sun, moon, *Lingam,* &c.

But that which most attracted my attention, was, close to the mud wall, a round temple of blue stone, with a portico of four pillars, curiously carved and ornamented: in the portal within, facing the north, was a figure, sitting cross legged, naked, his head covered with curls, like the figure of BUDD'H; the nose was defaced, and a fracture run through the figure. The annexed sketch will give some idea of it †. A poor woman, near, said it was "the image of *Chindeo,* or *Jain-deo.*" Without was a greater figure of the same kind, also apparently defaced

* The five *Lingams,* signifying the powers of nature united in its five component elements, are sometimes seen in this form. C. M.

† Plate 4.



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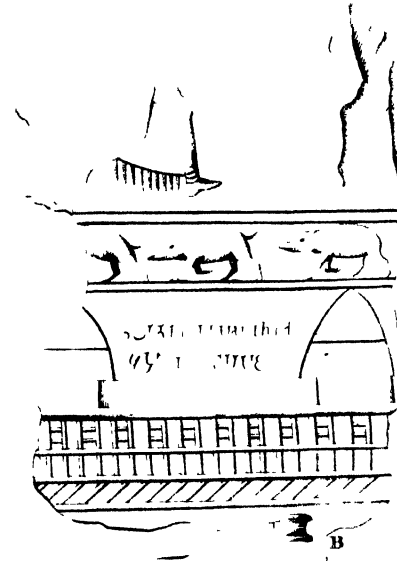
Inscription enlarged from B

B B enlarged

JAIN-DEO

at Mudgeery near Calliance

21th February 1797.



Fragments of

SCULPTURED STONES

dug up at Amarapoor *or*

Amrishwaram in Guntoor 1798

and neglected: and particularly, the several heads of snakes, which as a group shaded it, were mutilated. I could obtain no further information respecting it.

In consequence of notices received at *Ongole*, I determined to call at *Amrésvaram* to see the antiquities lately discovered there, as the place is near the banks of the *Crishna*, and we could reach the place whither our tents were to be sent early in the day. I therefore, dispatched my interpreter Boria, accompanied by some *Bráhmens* and two *Sepahis*, in the evening to *Amréswaram*, with directions to make some previous inquiries into the history of the place: and to conciliate the inhabitants; particularly the *Bráhmens*, who are apt to be alarmed on these occasions.

In the morning before day, we left *Ibrámpattan* by moon-light, and passed along the north bank of the *Crishna*. We observed, a few miles off, a dry but deep *válava*, or canal, leading off from the river, probably intended for the purpose of cultivation. At day-light, we were in the sandy bed of the river, which seems to be nearly two miles wide, including the islands; and contains no water at present. We ascended the shallow bank to *Amréswaram*. The temples appear to be new, and are said to have been recently built by the *Chintapelli Rájá*, who has fixed his chief residence here, since *Lacshmípuram* was occupied by our troops. A high mud square wall encloses the temples and his houses; and the rest of the place is laid in regular streets, at right angles, in the same manner with his other places of *Lacshmípuram*, &c. A street, going south from a gate of the temple, seems to be 200 feet wide; and an open *choultry* stands in the intersection of four principal streets. I found Boria ready to receive me, attended by some *Bráhmens*; who said, that the people here were rather sur-

prised and alarmed at the approach of Europeans and *Sepahis*, until he assured them that our object was merely to view the lately discovered ruins. We were then conducted to those remains of antiquity. We found a circular trench, about 10 feet wide, dug about 12 feet deep, into a mass of masonry, composed of bricks of 16 inches square, and 4 inches thick. It is probable, that this body of masonry did not extend to a greater depth. The central area was still untouched; and a mass of rubbish was thrown outside of the ditch, which prevented any observation of its original state; but I conjecture that the whole had, previous to its opening, formed a solid circular mound. In this ditch, a white slab lay broken, which still exhibited some figures in relievo, of which MR. SYDENHAM took a sketch. Against the outside of the trench, were placed three or four slabs, of the same colour, standing, but inclining inwards; on the inside, where these were uncovered, they had no figures, except where the top of one rose above the earth. Without, some sculptures appeared, which lead me to conclude that these sculptures were exposed on that side to view. From the inquiries of my *Brâhmens*, I could obtain no other account, than that this place was called *Dípál-dinna*, or the hill of lamps. The *Rájá*, about a year ago, had given orders to remove a large stone, to be carried to the new pagoda, which he was building, when they discovered the brick work, which induced them to dig up the rest for the buildings. The white stones were then brought to light, and unfortunately broken; at least we could perceive few of them; and though it was said that some were carried into the temple*, the *Brâhmen*, who was admitted, had perceived only some broken pieces. The sculptured stones observed, were as follows:

* Some of these have been discovered lately (1804) by MR. WILLIAM BROWN, containing sculptures, inscriptions, &c. of which it is probable, that copies may be procured. C. M.

A broken piece*, still lying in the ditch, or excavated foundation, on which appeared something like a *Lingam*, or a pillar, rising through what seemed shaped like a desk, but was probably designed for an altar; a male figure stood on the left, with its arms disposed as if pouring something on it; but as the upper part, and what he held, were broken off, this seems doubtful. Near him stood a female, holding a *Chambú*, or pot on her head, in the Hindu style. My *Bráhmen* naturally enough concluded, that this represented a female carrying water to assist in the offering to the *Lingam*. The feet of two figures remained on the right, which probably had appertained to two figures in the same attitude on that side. The stone was a white marble, called by the natives *Pál-ráyi*, or milk stone.

Near it stood three slabs, inclining inwards against the masonry, which had been dug out. On the side on which they were viewed, no figures were seen; and they were rough and unpolished: it is probable that they have sculptures on the side still covered with earth; and I have already mentioned, that some designs appeared at the top of one. If the whole of the circle was faced with these slabs, it is to be regretted, that this treasure of antiquity did not fall into better hands.

On the rubbish above, near these, and belonging to some unfortunately broken, were two pieces of the same white stone; one of these seemed divided into two compartments, by a border, on which three wild hogs running were sculptured: the outline is well designed. The leg of a figure sitting, and the hind leg of a horse appear above, remaining of the original design. Below the border, the plane was inclined to a lower border: and in the space of about 6 inches, two lines of characters were carved: on

* Plate 4, a.

cleaning off the dust, the first line appeared very legibly. I have to regret, that the approaching heat prevented my remaining, to copy this inscription in *fac-simile*. Some of the characters are, however, as I believe, faithfully given in the annexed attempt*; and I left a *Bráhmen* to transcribe the whole, but his copy was not satisfactory. In the place marked c c, some of the letters seem to resemble those of the *Ceylon* inscription. The other piece contained the head of a horse, and some defaced heads and prominent ornaments †.

Near the gate of the temple lay a slab, grey with the crust of ages; but of the same white marble. On it, five or six figures appeared, sitting in various attitudes, on what at first sight seemed to be *Lingams:* but upon close examination, their seats resembled our chairs.

The most curious and most complete piece of sculpture, we found as we returned along the high mud wall of the temple; laid as a roof, over a small temple of *Lingam*, of the same materials. It represented the attack and escalade of a fortified place. The principal figure, on an elephant (with the usual attendants, the driver and the fanner,) seemed issuing orders: before him, a pedestrian figure, with a round shield, seemed prostrating himself: a graceful figure at full length, stood close to the gate of a tower, fronting them. The tower, which was octangular, was surmounted by a rounded roof on pillars, of the shape of an *Ambari;* under which an archer was represented, in the act of drawing his bow, and shooting at an assailant, who covers himself with his shield, while mounting the rampart by a ladder: another figure, from behind the rampart, appeared peeping over, and covered by some defensive arms: several horsemen, and a man mounted

* Plate 4, b, cc, bbb. † Ibid, d.

on a bullock, seemed to support the attack. The town and rampart seem to be of stone, from the lines drawn obliquely to represent the perspective, which, however awkwardly done, was the first attempt of the kind I had observed in Indian sculpture. To whatever age this is to be attributed, we here find an escalade, defence by flanking towers, and their use, and the mode of attack and defence, illustrated by a Hindu sculpture.

When mention of these sculptures was first made to me at *Ongole*, it was hinted, that they contained marks of the worship of the *Jains**; but nothing of the kind appeared here. Without my mentioning the subject, I found that the same idea prevailed at this place, though my *Bráhmen* could give me no good reason for it; and the account which he received of the *Jains*, was very obscure: it was said that they were formerly a powerful people, who contested the sway with the *Bráhmens*.

On the lower part of the same slab, and divided by a border containing figures of animals, were sculptured four figures of men sitting on chairs, and reclining, in attitudes different from each other, but all significant of a graceful negligence, indicating careless ease. One of them had his hand disposed on his breast, or in the chain which hung from it; another seemed to incline to one side, leaning against his chair, with one leg and thigh thrown over the other; and wanted nothing but a *hooka* to be placed in his hand, to give a complete idea of that languid attitude, in which we sometimes see an Indian throw himself, when satiated with these fragrant steams that overpower and gratify the sense. The chairs were circular, of a cylindrical form, and the back forming half a circle. A number of small lines divided them longitudinally, and seemed to represent cane work. The thrones or

* A figure cross legged has been since discovered on some of the sculptures found there. C. M.

seats represented in other Hindu sculptures, I had never observed before with backs; so that these seem to have another origin. The figures were too small to admit of distinguishing ornaments: the head dress was round, and not raised so high as those commonly represented on stones.

On another stone, but uncertain whether belonging to these, was represented the remains of a god, or chief, sitting on a chair, and fanned by a female, holding a *choury*. It is well known, that Hindu princes, sitting in state, were generally thus attended. So CRISHNA RA'JA' is described, sitting on his royal throne, attended by two beautiful women, fanning him according to royal usage.

A horse on another stone, is preceded by a human figure in a flying attitude, remarkable for its graceful outline; but the upper part of both is destroyed.

The legs of all the figures are more slender and gracefully disposed, than I have observed in any other Hindu figures; nor have they that drapery, which usually marks with rigid observance their costume. Another remarkable trait is the vast number of rings about the feet, resembling those worn by the *lombá'di* or *benjarí* women. None are observed on the toes or arms.

After all, though this differ widely from the carvings observed on Hindu buildings, it would be rash to draw any conclusion, until an opportunity offers of observing more sculptures collected. A correct drawing of the complete slab, over the temple of *Mahadéo*, would be extremely desirable, and a complete section across the area of *Dípál-dínna* would perhaps exhibit more remains.

I was disappointed in not finding any thing like the figure of *Jaindeo*, which I had seen at *Calyani*.

ANCIENT

Sculpture and Inscription

at

SRAVANGOODY,

(characters unknown)

near Madagasee.

October 1801.

NB. As a Jain Pagoda was here formerly it is probable these Inscriptions there may have some connexion with the Jain Antiquities

PARTICULARS OF THE JAINS.

EXTRACTED FROM A JOURNAL

BY DOCTOR F. BUCHANAN,

During Travels in Canara.

HAVING invited PANDITA 'ACHA'RYA SWA'MÍ, the *Guru* of the *Jains*, to visit me, he came, attended by his most intelligent disciples, and gave me the following account of his sect.

The proper name of the sect is *Arhata;* and they acknowledge that they are one of the twenty-one sects, considered as heretical by 'SANCARA 'ACHA'RYA. Like other *Hindus*, they are divided into *Bráhmen, Cshatriya, Vaisya,* and *Súdra.* These casts cannot intermarry together; but a man of high cast is not disgraced by having connection with a woman of a lower one, provided she be of pure descent. A similar indulgence is not granted to the women of the higher casts. The men are allowed a plurality of wives, which they must marry before the age of puberty. The man and woman must not be of the same family in the male line. Widows ought not to burn themselves with the bodies of their husbands; but those of the *Súdra* only are permitted to take a second husband. The *Bráhmens* and *Vaisyas* in *Tulava,* and every cast above the *Ghâts,* consider their own children as their heirs; but the *Rájás* and *Súdras* of *Tulava,* being possessors of land, follow the custom of the country; and their heirs are their sister's children. Not even the *Súdras* are permitted to eat animal food, or to drink spirituous liquors: nor is it lawful for any one to kill an animal, except for the *Cshatriya* when engaged in war. They all burn the dead.

The *Arhatas* reject the *Védas* and eighteen *Puráńas* of the other *Bráhmens*, as heretical. They say, that these books were composed by a *Rïshi* named VYA'SA, whom the other *Bráhmens* consider as an incarnation of the deity. The chief book, of which the doctrine is followed by the *Arhatas*, is named *Yóga*. It is written in the *Sanscrit* language, and character of *Carnáta*; and is explained by twenty-four *Puráńas*, all written by its author, who was named VRĬSHABHA SAYANA, a *Rïshi*, who had obtained a knowledge of divine things, by long continued prayer. They admit, that all *Bráhmens* are by birth of equal rank; and are willing to show their books to the *Bráhmens* who heretically follow the doctrine of the *Védas*; but they will not allow any of the lower classes to look upon their sacred writings.

The gods of the *Arhatas* are the spirits of perfect men; who, owing to their great virtue, have become exempt from all change and misfortune; and are all of equal rank and power. They are called collectively by various titles, such as *Jinéswara*, *Arhat*, and *Siḍḍ'ha*; but each is called by a particular name, or names; for many of them have above a thousand appellations. These *Sidd'has* reside in a heaven, called *Mócsha*; and it is by their worship only, that future happiness can be obtained. The first person, who by his virtue arrived at this elevated station, was A'DIPARAME'SWARA; and by worshipping him, the favour of all the *Sidd'has* may be procured. He has a thousand and eight names, the most common of which, amongst his adorers, is *Jinéswara*, or God.

The servants of the *Sidd'has* are *Dévatás*, or the spirits of good and great men; who, although not so perfect as to obtain an exemption from all future change, yet live in an inferior heaven, called *Swarga*; where, for a certain length of time, they enjoy great power and happiness;

according to the merit of the good works, which they performed, when living as men. *Swarga* is situated higher in the regions of the air than the summit of Mount *Méru*, and its inhabitants ought to be worshipped by men, as they possess the power of bestowing temporal blessings. Concerning the great gods of the *Védas*, the *Arhatas* say, that VISHNU was a *Rájá*, who having performed certain good works, was again born a *Rájá*, of the name of *Ráma*. At first he was a great hero and conqueror; but afterwards he retired from the pleasures of the world, became a *Sannyási*, and lived a life of such purity, that he obtained *Sidd'hi* (beatitude,) under the name of *Jina*, which he had assumed, when he gave up his earthly kingdom*. MAHE'SWARA or 'SIVA, and BRAHMA', are at present *Dévatás;* but are inferior in rank and power to INDRA, who is the chief of all the happy beings, that reside in *Swarga*. In this heaven are sixteen stages, containing so many different kinds of *Dévatás*, who live in a degree of bliss in proportion to their elevation. An inferior kind of *Dévatás*, called *Vyantaras*, live on mount *Méru;* but their power and happiness are greatly inferior to those of the *Dévatás* of *Swarga*. The various *Sactis*, are *Vyantaras*, living on *Mahá-Méru*, but they are of a malevolent disposition.

Below *Mahá-Méru*, and the earth, is situated *Bhuvana*, or hell; the residence of the spirits of wicked men. These are called *Racshas* and *Asuras*, and are miserable, although endowed with great power. *Bhuvana* is divided into ten places of punishment, which are severe in proportion to the crimes of their respective inhabitants.

* I am informed, that the *Jains* have a legendary history of RA'MACHANDRA, which is termed *Padmapurána*, and is quite distinct from the *Purána* received under that title by the orthodox *Hindus*. H. T. C.

The heavens and earth in general, including *Mahá-Méru* and *Bhuvana*, are supposed never to have been created, and to be eternal; but this portion of the earth, *Árya* or *Bharata*, is liable to destruction and renovation. It is destroyed by a poisonous wind, that kills every thing; after which a shower of fire consumes the whole *Cánda*. It is again restored by a shower of butter, followed by one of milk, and that by one of the juice of sugar-cane. Men and animals then come from the other five *Cándas* of the earth, and inhabit the new *Árya* or *Bharatacánda*. The books of the *Árhatas* mention many *Dwípas*, surrounding *Mahá-Méru*, of which the one we inhabit is called *Jambú Dwípa*. People from this can go as far as *Manushóttara*, a mountain in the middle of *Pushcara-Dwípa*, between which and *Jambú-Dwípa* are two seas, and an island named *Dhatucí*. *Jambú-Dwípa* is divided into six *Cándas*, and not into nine, as is done by the *Bráhmens* who follow the *Védas*. The inhabitants of five of the *Cándas* are called *Mléch'has* or barbarians. *Árya* or *Bharatacánda* is divided into fifty-six *Désas* or provinces *, as is done by the other *Bráhmens*. As *Arabia* and *China* form two of these *Désas*, *Árya* would seem to include all the world, that was tolerably known to the *Arhatas*, who composed the books of this sect.

Every animal, from INDRA down to the meanest insect, or the most wicked *Racsha*, has existed from all eternity; and will continue to undergo changes, from a higher to a lower rank, or from a lower to a higher dignity, according to the nature of its actions, till at length it becomes perfect, and obtains a place among the *Sidd'has*. A *Súdra* must be born as one of the three higher casts, before he can hope for this exemption from evil; but, in order to be-

* Perhaps the 56 *Antara-dwipas* are meant. H. T. C.

come a *Bráhmen*, it is not necessary, that he should be purified by being born of a cow, as many of the followers of the *Védas* pretend. The *Arhatas*, however allow, that to kill an animal of the cow kind is equally sinful with the murder of one of the human species. The death of any other animal, although a crime, is not of so atrocious a nature. The *Arhatas*, of course, never offer sacrifice, but worship the gods and *Dévatás*, by prayer, and offerings of flowers, fruits, and incense.

The *Arhatas* are frequently confounded, by the *Bráhmens* who follow the *Védas*, with the *Saugatas*, or worshippers of BUDD'HA; but this arises from the pride of ignorance. So far are the *Arhatas* from acknowledging BUDD'HA as their teacher, that they do not think he is now even a *Dévatá*; but allege, that he is undergoing various low metamorphoses, as a punishment for his errors. Their doctrine, however, it must be observed, has in many points a strong resemblance to that taught by the followers of BUDD'HA.

The *Jain Bráhmens* are all *Vaidya*, and dress like the others, who follow the doctrine of the *Védas*. They have *Gurus*, who are all *Sannyásis*; that is to say, have relinquished the world, and all carnal pleasures. These *Gurus*, in general, acknowledge, as their superior, the one who lives at *Sravana Bélligola*, near *Seringapatam* *: but PANDITA A'CHARYA SWA'MÍ pretends to be at least his equal. In each *Mat'ha* there is only one *Sannyási*; who, when he is near death gives the proper instruction to one of his followers, who must relinquish the world and all its enjoyments, except perhaps an indulgence in the pride of devotion. The office is not confined to the

* Within four miles of *Chinráy-pattan*.

Bráhmens; none but the *Súdras* are excluded from this highest of dignities; for all the *Sannyásís*, after death, are supposed to become *Sidd'ha;* and of course do not worship the *Dévatás*, who are greatly their inferiors. The *Sannyásís* never shave, but pull out all their hair by the roots. They never wear a turban; and are allowed to eat and drink but once a day. In fact, they are very abstemious; and the old SWA'MÍ, who, from his infirmities, expected soon to become a god, mortified the flesh exceedingly. The *Gurus* have the power of fining all their followers, who cheat or lie, or who commit murder and adultery. The fines are given to the god; that is to his priest. These *Gurus* excommunicate all those who eat animal food, or fornicate with persons who are not *Jains;* which, of course, are looked upon as greater crimes than those that are only punished by fine. The married *Bráhmens* act as priests for the gods, and as *Puróhitas* for the inferior casts. The follower may choose any *Bráhmen* he pleases, for his *Puróhita.* The *Bráhmen* receives alms; and reads prayers on the occasion; as he does also at the marriages, funerals, and commemorations of the deceased ancestors of his followers.

The *Jains* are spread all over *India;* but at present are not numerous any where, except in *Tulava.* They alledge, that formerly they extended over the whole of *Árya* or *Bharatacanda;* and that all those, who had any just pretensions to be of *Cshatriya* descent, were of their sect. It no doubt appears clear, that, in the south of *India,* many powerful princes were their followers, till the time of RA'MA'NUJA A'CHA'RYA. They say, that, formerly they were very numerous in *Arabia;* but that, about 2500 years ago, a terrible persecution took place, at *Mecca,* by orders of a king named PA'RSWA BHAT'TA'RACA, which forced great numbers to come to this country. Their ideas of history and chronology, however, as usual with *Bráhmens,* are so very

confused, that they suppose PA'RSWA BHAT'T'ARACA to have been the founder of the Muhammedan faith. None of them have the smallest trace of the Arabian features; but are in every respect entirely *Hindus*.

There are two kinds of temples among the *Jains;* one covered with a roof, and called *Basti;* and the other an open area surrounded by a wall, and called *Bettu,* which signifies a hill. The temples of SIVA and VISHNU, the great gods of the followers of the *Védas,* are here called *Gadies.* In the *Bastis* are here worshipped the images of twenty-four persons, who have obtained *Sidd'hi,* or become gods. These images are all naked, and exactly of the same form; but they are called by different names, according to the person, whom they are meant to represent. These idols are in the form of a man sitting. In the temples called *Bettu,* the only image of a *Sidd'ha,* is that of a person called GÓMATA RA'JA, who, while on earth, was a powerful king. The images of GÓMATA RA'JA are naked, and always of a colossal size. That, which is at *Kurcul**, is made of one piece of granite, the extreme dimensions of which, above ground, are 38 feet in height, 10½ feet in breadth, and 10 feet in thickness. How much is below ground, I cannot say; but it is probably sunk at least three feet, as it has no lateral support. According to an inscription on the stone itself, it was made by VÍRA-PANDIA son of BHAIRAVE'NDRA, 369 years ago.

The *Jains* deny the creation of man, as well as of the world. They allow, that BRAHMA' was the son of a king, and that he is a *Dévatá;* and the favourite servant of GÓMATA RA'YA; but they altogether deny his creative power. BRAHMA', and the other *Dévatás,* are worshipped, as I have said, by

* *Cercal.* RENNEL's map, (U. I.)

the *Jains*, who have not become *Sannyásís;* but all the images of these supposed beings, that are to be found in the *Bastis*, or *Bettus*, are represented in a posture of adoration, worshipping the *Sidd'ha* to whom the temple is dedicated. These images, however, of the *Dévatás*, are not objects of worship, but merely ornamental; and the deity has not been induced to reside in the stone by the powerful invocations of a *Bráhmen*. When a *Jain* wishes to adore one of these inferior spirits, he goes to the temple dedicated to its peculiar worship. RA'MA is never represented by an idol in a *Basti*, although he is acknowledged to be a *Sidd'ha:* and, although GAN'ESA and HANUMA'N are acknowledged to be *Dévatás*, these favourites of the followers of the *Védas* have no images in the temples of the *A'rhatas*.

The *Jains* have no tradition of a great deluge, that destroyed a large proportion of the inhabitants of the earth; but they believe, that occasionally most of the people of *A'rya* are destroyed by a shower of fire. Some have always escaped to the other *Cándas*, and have returned to repeople their native country, after it has been renovated by showers of butter, milk, and the juice of the sugar-cane. The accounts of the world, and the various changes, which the *Jains* suppose it to have undergone, are contained in a book called *Lóca Swarupa*. An account of GÓMATA-RA'YA is given in a book called *Gómata Ráya Cheritra*. The *Camunda Ráya Purána* contains a history of the twenty-four *Sidd'has* worshipped in the *Bastis*.

V.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SECT OF JAINS,

BY H. T. COLEBROOKE, ESQ.

THE information collected by MAJOR MACKENZIE, concerning a religious sect hitherto so imperfectly known, as that of the *Jainas*, and which has been even confounded with one more numerous and more widely spread (the sect of BUDD'HA), may furnish the ground of further researches, from which an exact knowledge of the tenets and practice of a very remarkable order of people, may be ultimately expected. What MAJOR MACKENZIE has communicated to the society, comes from a most authentic source; the declarations of two principal priests of the *Jainas* themselves. It is supported by similar information, procured from a like source, by DR. F. BUCHANAN, during his journey in *Mysore*, in the year following the reduction of *Seringapatam*. Having the permission of DR. BUCHANAN, to use the extracts, which I had his leave to make from the journal kept by him during that journey; I have inserted, in the preceding article, the information received by him from priests of the *Jaina* sect.

I am enabled to corroborate both statements, from conversation with *Jaina* priests, and from books, in my possession, written by authors of the *Jaina* persuasion. Some of those volumes were procured for me at *Benares;* others were obtained from the present JAGAT-S'E'T, at *Morshedabad*, who, having changed his religion, to adopt the worship of VISHN'U, forwarded to me, at my request, such books of his former faith, as were yet within his reach.

It appears, from the concurrent result of all the inquiries which have been made, that the *Jainas* constitute a sect of *Hindus*, differing, indeed, from the rest, in some very important tenets; but following, in other respects, a similar practice, and maintaining like opinions and observances.

The essential character of the *Hindu* institutions is the distribution of the people into four great tribes. This is considered by themselves to be the marked point which separates them from *Mléch'has* or Barbarians. The *Jainas*, it is found, admit the same division into four tribes, and perform like religious ceremonies, termed *Sanscáras*, from the birth of a male to his marriage. They observe similar fasts, and practise, still more strictly, the received maxims for refraining from injury to any sentient being. They appear to recognise, as subordinate deities, some, if not all, of the gods of the prevailing sects; but do not worship, in particular, the five principal gods of those sects; or any one of them by preference; nor address prayers, or perform sacrifice, to the sun, or to fire: and they differ from the rest of the *Hindus*, in assigning the highest place to certain deified saints, who, according to their creed, have successively become superior gods. Another point, in which they materially disagree, is the rejection of the *Védas*, the divine authority of which they deny; condemning, at the same time, the practice of sacrifices, and the other ceremonies, which the followers of the *Védas* perform, to obtain specific promised consequences, in this world, or in the next.

In this respect, the *Jainas* resemble the *Baudd'has* or *Saugatas*, who equally deny the divine authority of the *Védas;* and who similarly worship certain pre-eminent saints, admitting likewise, as subordinate dei-

ties, nearly the whole pantheon of the orthodox *Hindus*. They differ, indeed, in regard to the history of the personages, whom they have deified; and it may be hence concluded, that they have had distinct founders; but the original notion seems to have been the same. In fact, this remarkable tenet, from which the *Jainas* and *Baudd'has* derive their most conspicuous peculiarities, is not entirely unknown to the orthodox *Hindus*. The followers of the *Védas*, according to the theology, which is explained in the *Védánta*, considering the human soul as a portion of the divine and universal mind, believe, that it is capable of perfect union with the divine essence: and the writers on the *Védánta* not only affirm, that this union and identity are attained through a knowledge of God, as by them taught; but have hinted, that by such means the particular soul becomes God, even to the actual attainment of supremacy *.

So far the followers of the *Védas* do not virtually disagree with the *Jainas* and *Baudd'has*. But they have not, like those sects, framed a mythology upon the supposed history of the persons, who have successively attained divinity; nor have they taken these for the objects of national worship. All three sects agree in their belief of transmigration. But the *Jainas* are distinguished from the rest by their admission of no opinions, as they themselves affirm, which are not founded on perception, or on proof drawn from that, or from testimony.

It does not, however, appear, that they really withhold belief from pretended revelations: and the doctrines, which characterise the sect, are not confined to a single tenet; but form an assemblage of mythological and meta-

* *Vrihad áran'yaca Upanishad.*

physical ideas found among other sects, joined to many visionary and fantastic notions of their own.

Their belief in the eternity of matter, and perpetuity of the world, is common to the *Sánc'hya* philosophy, from which it was perhaps immediately taken. Their description of the world has much analogy to that which is given in the *Puránas,* or Indian theogonies: but the scheme has been rendered still more extravagant. Their precaution to avoid injuring any being is a practice inculcated in the orthodox religion, but which has been carried by them to a ludicrous extreme *.

In their notions of the soul, and of its union with body, and of retribution for good and evil, some analogy is likewise observable. The *Jainas* conceive the soul *(Jíva)* to have been eternally united to a very subtil material body, or rather to two such bodies, one of which is invariable, and consists (if I rightly apprehend their metaphysical notions) of the powers of the mind; the other is variable, and is composed of its passions and affections: (this, at least, is what I understand them to mean by the *Taijasa* and *Cármana Saríras*). The soul, so embodied, becomes, in its successive transmigrations, united with a grosser body denominated *Audárica,* which retains a definite form, as man and other mundane beings; or it is joined with a purer essence, varying in its appearance at pleasure, as the gods and genii. This last is termed *Vaicárica.* They distinguish a fifth sort of body, under the name of *Áhárica,* which they explain as a minute form, issuing from the head of a meditative sage, to consult an omniscient saint; and returning with the desired information to the person whence that form issued, or rather from

* *Jaina* Priests usually bear a broom adapted to sweep insects out of their way; lest they should tread on the minutest being.

which it was elongated; for they suppose the communication not to have been interrupted.

The soul is never completely separated from matter, until it obtain a final release from corporeal sufferance, by deification, through a perfect disengagement from good and evil, in the person of a beatified saint. Intermediately it receives retribution for the benefits or injuries ascribable to it in its actual or precedent state, according to a strict principle of retaliation, receiving pleasure or pain from the same individual, who, in a present or former state, was either benefited or aggrieved.

MAJOR MACKENZIE'S information confirms that, which I had also received, concerning the distribution of these sectaries into clergy and laity. In *Hindustan* the *Jainas* are usually called *Syauras;* but distinguish themselves into *Srávacas* and *Yatis*. The laity (termed *Srávaca*) includes persons of various tribes, as indeed is the case with *Hindus* of other sects: but, on this side of India, the *Jainas* are mostly of the *Vaisya* class*. The orthodox *Hindus* have a secular, as well as a regular, clergy: a *Bráhman'a*, following the practice of officiating at the ceremonies of his religion, without quitting the order of a householder, may be considered as belonging to the secular clergy; one who follows a worldly profession, (that of husbandry for example,) appertains to the laity; and so do people of other tribes: but persons, who have passed into the several orders of devotion, may be reckoned to constitute the regular clergy. The *Jainas* have, in like manner, priests who have entered into an order of devotion; and also employ *Bráhmanas* at their ceremonies; and, for want of *Bráhmanas* of their own faith, they

* I understand that their *Vais'ya* class includes eighty-four tribes: of whom the most common are those denominated *O'swál*, *Agarwál*, *Pariwár*, and *C'handéwál*.

even have recourse to the secular clergy of the orthodox sect. This subject is sufficiently explained by MAJOR MACKENZIE and DR. BUCHANAN; I shall, however, add, for the sake of a subsequent remark, that the *Jainas* apply the terms *Yatí* and *Sramaña*, (in *Prácrit* and *Hindí* written *Samana*,) to a person who has devoted himself to religious contemplation and austerity; and the sect of BUDD'HA uses the word *Sramana* for the same meaning. It cannot be doubted, that the *Sommonacodom* of *Siam* is merely a corruption of the words *Sramaña Gautama*, the holy GAUTAMA or BUDD'HA *.

Having been here led to a comparison of the Indian sects which follow the precepts of the *Védas*, with those which reject their authority, I judge it necessary to notice an opinion, which has been advanced, on the relative antiquity of those religions; and especially the asserted priority of the *Baudd'has* before the *Bráhmanas*.

In the first place, it may be proper to remark, that the earliest accounts of India, by the Greeks who visited the country, describe its inhabitants as distributed into separate tribes †. Consequently a sect which, like the modern *Baudd'has*, has no distinction of cast, could not have been then the most prevalent in *India*.

It is indeed possible that the followers of BUDD'HA may, like the *Jainas*, have retained the distribution into four tribes, so long as they continued in *Hindustan*. But in that case, they must have been a sect of *Hindus;* and the question, which is most ancient, the *Bráhmana* or the *Baudd'ha*, becomes a solecism.

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* See As. Res. vol. 7, p. 415.

† Seven tribes are enumerated: but it is not difficult to reconcile the distinctions which are stated by ARRIAN and STRABO, with the present distribution into four classes.

If it be admitted that the *Baudd'has* are originally a sect of *Hindus*, it may be next questioned whether that, or any of the religious systems now established, be the most ancient. I have, on a former occasion*, indicated the notions which I entertain on this point. According to the hypothesis which I then hinted, the earliest Indian sect, of which we have any present distinct knowledge, is that of the followers of the practical *Védas*, who worshipped the sun, fire, and the elements; and who believed the efficacy of sacrifices, for the accomplishment of present and of future purposes. It may be supposed that the refined doctrine of the *Védántis*, or followers of the theological and argumentative part of the *Védas*, is of later date: and it does not seem improbable that the sects of *Jina* and of *Budd'ha* are still more modern. But I apprehend that the *Vaishnavas*, meaning particularly the worshippers of RA'MA and of CRISH'NA †, may be subsequent to those sects, and that the *Saivas* also, are of more recent date.

I state it as an hypothesis, because I am not at present able to support the whole of this position on grounds which may appear quite satisfactory

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* As. Res. vol. 8, p. 471.

† In explanation of a remark contained in a former essay (As. Res. vol. 8, p. 475), I take this occasion of adding, that the mere mention of RA'MA or of CRISHN'A, in a passage of the *Védas*, without any indication of peculiar reverence, would not authorize a presumption against the genuineness of that passage, on my hypothesis; nor, admitting its authenticity, furnish an argument against that system. I suppose both heroes to have been known characters in ancient fabulous history; but conjecture, that, on the same basis, new fables have been constructed, elevating those personages to the rank of gods. On this supposition, the simple mention of them in genuine portions of the *Védas*, particularly in that part of it which is entitled *Bràhman'a*, would not appear surprising. Accordingly, CRISHN'A, son of DE'VACÍ, is actually named in the *Ch'handógya Upanishad* (towards the close of the 3d Chapter,) as having received theological information from GHÓRA a descendant of ANGIRAS. This passage, which had escaped my notice, was indicated to me by MR. SPEKE, from the Persian translation of the *Upanishad*.

to others; nor by evidence which may entirely convince them. Some arguments will, however, be advanced, to show that the supposition is not gratuitous.

The long sought history of *Cáshmír*, which, in the original *Sanscrit*, was presented to the emperor ACBER, as related by ABUL-FAZIL in the *Ayín Acberí**, and of which a Persian translation exists, more ample than ABUL-FAZIL's brief abstract, has been at length recovered in the original language†. A fuller account of this book will be hereafter submitted to the society: the present occasion for the mention of it, is a passage which was cited by DR. BUCHANAN‡, from the English translation of the *Ayín Acberí*, for an import which is not supported by the Persian or *Sanscrit* text.

The author, after briefly noticing the colony established in *Cáshmír* by CAS'YAPA, and hinting a succession of kings to the time of the *Curus* and *Pándavas*, opens his detailed history, and list of princes, with GÓNANDA, a contemporary of YUD'HISHT'HIRA. He describes ASÓCA (who was 12th in succession from GÓNANDA,) and his son JALÓCA, and grandson DAMÓDARA, as devout worshippers of S'IVA; and JALÓCA, in particular, as a conqueror of the *Mlech'has*, or barbarians. DAMÓDARA, according to this history, was succeeded by three kings of the race of *Turushca*; and they were followed by a *Bód'hisatwa*, who wrested the empire from them by the aid of S'A'CYASINHA, and introduced the religion of BUDD'HA into

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* Vol. 2. p. 178.

† The copy which I possess, belonged to a *Bráhmana* who died some months ago (1805) in *Calcutta*. I obtained it from his heirs.

‡ As. Res. Vol. VI. p. 165.

Cáshmír. He reigned a hundred years; and the next sovereign was ABHIMANYA, who destroyed the *Baudd'has*, and re-established the doctrines of the *Nílapurána*. This account is so far from proving the priority of the *Baudd'has*, that it directly avers the contrary.

From the legendary tales concerning the last BUDD'HA, current in all the countries, in which his sect now flourishes*; and upon the authority of a life of BUDD'HA in the *Sanscrit* language, under the title of *Lalita purána*, which was procured by MAJOR KNOX, during his public mission in *Népál*, it can be affirmed, that the story of GAUTAMA BUDD'HA has been engrafted on the heroic history of the lunar and solar races, received by the orthodox *Hindus*: an evident sign, that his sect is subsequent to that, in which this fabulous history is original.

The same remark is applicable to the *Jainas*, with whom the legendary story of their saints also seems to be engrafted on the *Pauránic* tales of the orthodox sect. Sufficient indication of this will appear, in the passages which will be subsequently cited from the writings of the *Jainas*.

Considerable weight might be allowed to an argument deduced from the aggravated extravagance of the fictions admitted by the sects of JINA and of BUDD'HA. The mythology of the orthodox *Hindus*, their present chronology adapted to astronomical periods, their legendary tales, their mystical allegories, are abundantly extravagant. But the *Jainas* and *Baudd'has* surpass them in monstrous exaggerations of the same kind. In this rivalship of

* Relation d'un voyage. *Tachard. Laloubere*, Royaume de *Siam*.

absurd fiction, it would not be unreasonable to pronounce that to be most modern, which has outgone the rest.

The greater antiquity of the religion of the *Védas* is also rendered probable, from the prevalence of a similar worship of the sun and of fire in ancient *Persia*. Nothing forbids the supposition, that a religious worship, which was there established in times of antiquity, may have also existed from a remote period in the country between the *Ganges* and the *Indus*.

The testimony of the *Greeks* preponderates greatly for the early prevalence of the sect, from which the present orthodox *Hindus* are derived. ARRIAN, having said that the *Brachmanes* were the sages or learned among the Indians *, mentions them under the latter designation (σοφισταὶ) as a distinct tribe, 'which, though inferior to the others in number, is superior in rank and estimation: bound to no bodily work, nor contributing any thing from labour to the public use: in short, no duty is imposed on that tribe, but that of sacrificing to the gods for the common benefit of the Indians; and, when any one celebrates a private sacrifice, a person of that class becomes his guide; as if the sacrifices would not else be acceptable to the gods †.'

Here, as well as in the sequel of the passage, the priests of a religion consonant to the *Védas*, are well described: and what is said, is suitable

* Καὶ των Βραχμάνων οἱ δὴ σοφισταὶ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς εἰσὶν. κ. τ. λ. lib. 6.

† Πενίμηλαι οἱ πάντες Ἰνδοὶ εἰς ἐπτὰ μάλιστα γενεάς· ἐν μὲν αὐλοῖσιν οἱ Σοφισταὶ εἰσὶ, κ. τ. λ. Arrian in Indicis.

to them; but to no other sect, which is known to have at any time prevailed in *India*.

A similar description is more succinctly given by STRABO. 'It is said, that the Indian multitude is divided into seven classes; and that the philosophers are first in rank, but fewest in number. They are employed, respectively, for private benefit, by those who are sacrificing or worshipping, &c *.'

In another place he states, on the authority of MEGASTHENES, 'two classes of philosophers or priests; the *Brachmanes* and *Germanes:* but the *Brachmanes* are best esteemed, because they are most consistent in their doctrine †.' The author then proceeds to describe their manners and opinions: the whole passage is highly deserving of attention, and will be found, on consideration, to be more suitable to the orthodox *Hindus*, than to the *Baudd'has* or *Jainas:* particularly towards the close of his account of the *Brachmanes*, where he says, 'In many things they agree with the *Greeks;* for they affirm, that the world was produced and is perishable; and that it is spherical: that God, governing it as well as framing it, pervades the whole: that the principles of all things are various; but water is the principle of the construction of the world: that, besides the four elements, there is a fifth nature, whence heaven and the stars: that the earth is placed in the centre of all. Such and many other things are affirmed of reproduction, and of the soul. Like PLATO, they devise fables concerning the immorta-

* Φησὶ δὴ τὸ τῶν Ἰνδῶν πλῆθος εἰς ἑπτὰ μέρη διῃρῆσθαι, καὶ πρώτους μὲν τοὺς φιλοσόφους εἶναι. κ. τ. λ. lib. 15.

† Ἄλλην δὲ διαίρεσιν ποιεῖται περὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων, δύο γενη φασκων, ὧν τοὺς μέν Βραχμᾶνας καλεῖ, τοὺς δὲ Γερμᾶνας. κ. τ. λ. lib. 15.

lity of the soul, and the judgment in the infernal regions; and other similar notions. These things are said of the *Brachmanes*.'

STRABO notices likewise another order of people, opposed to the *Brachmanes*, and called *Prammæ*: he characterises them as 'contentious cavillers, who ridiculed the *Brachmanes* for their study of physiology and astronomy *.

PHILOSTRATUS, in the life of APOLLONIUS, speaks of the *Brachmanes* as worshipping the sun. 'By day they pray to the sun respecting the seasons, which he governs, that he would send them in due time; and that *India* might thrive: and, in the evening, they intreat the solar ray not to be impatient of night, and to remain as conducted from them †.'

PLINY and SOLINUS ‡ also describe the Gymnosophists contemplating the sun: and HIEROCLES, as cited by STEPHANUS of *Byzantium* §, expressly declares the *Brachmanes* to be particularly devoted to the sun.

This worship, which distinguishes the orthodox *Hindus*, does not seem to have been at any time practised by the rival sects of JINA and BUDD'HA.

PORPHYRIUS, treating of a class of religious men, among the *Indians*, whom the *Greeks* were accustomed to call *Gymnosophists*, mentions two

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* φιλοσόφοις τὲ τοῖς Βραχμᾶσιν ἀντιδιαρῦνται Πράμνας ἰριστικούς τινας καὶ ἐλεγκτικούς. κ. γ. λ. lib. 15.

† Μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν εἶν ἥλιον ὑπὲρ τῶν ὡρων. κ. τ. λ. lib. 3. cap. 4.

‡ Pliny, lib. 7. c. 2. Solin. l. 52.

§ Τὸ Βραχμάνων φῦλον ἀνδρῶν φιλοσοφων, καὶ θειοῖς φίλων, ἡλίῳ δὲ μάλιστα καθωσιωμένων, Step. de Urbibus, ad vocem Brachmanes.

orders of them; 'one, the *Brachmanes;* the other, the *Samanæans:* the *Brachmanes* receive religious knowledge, like the priesthood, in right of birth; but the *Samanæans* are select, and consist of persons choosing to prosecute divine studies.' He adds, on the authority of BARDESANES, that 'all the *Brachmanes* are of one race; for they are all descended from one father and one mother. But the *Samanæans* are not of their race; being selected from the whole nation of Indians, as before mentioned. The *Brachman* is subject to no domination; and contributes nothing to others *.'

In this passage, the *Bráchman*, as an hereditary order of priesthood, is contrasted with another religious order; to which persons of various tribes were admissible: and the *Samanæans*, who are obviously the same with the *Germanes* of STRABO, were doubtless *Sannyásis;* but may have belonged to any of the sects of *Hindus*. The name seems to bear some affinity to the *Sramaṇas*, or ascetics of the *Jainas* and *Baudd'has*.

CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS does indeed hint, that all the *Bráchmanes* revered their wise men as deities †; and in another place, he describes them as worshipping HERCULES and PAN ‡. But the following passage from CLEMENS is most in point. Having said, that philosophy flourished anciently among the barbarians, and afterwards was introduced among the *Greeks;* he instances the prophets of the Egyptians, the Chaldees of the *Assyrians;* the Druids of the *Gauls* (Galatæ); the *Samanæans* of the *Bactrians;* the philosophers of the *Celts;* the Magi of the *Persians;* the Gymnosophists of the *Indians:* and proceeds thus.—They are of two kinds, some called

* Porph. de Abstinentia, lib. 4. † Και μοι δοκουσιν, &c. Strom. lib. 1.
‡ Strom. lib. 3, &c.

Sarmanes, other *Brachmanes*. Among the *Sarmanes*, those called *Allobii* *, neither inhabit towns, nor have houses; they are clad with the bark of trees, and eat acorns, and drink water with their hands. They know not marriage, nor procreation of children; like those now called *Encratetai* (chaste). There are likewise, among the *Indians*, persons obeying the precepts of BUTTA, whom they worship as a god, on account of his extreme venerableness †.'

Here, to my apprehension, the followers of BUDD'HA are clearly distinguished from the *Brachmanes* and *Sarmanes* ‡. The latter, called *Germanes*, by STRABO, and *Samanæans*, by PORPHYRIUS, are the ascetics of a different religion; and may have belonged to the sect of JINA, or to another. The *Brachmanes* are apparently those, who are described by PHILOSTRATUS and HIEROCLES, as worshipping the sun; and, by STRABO and by ARRIAN, as performing sacrifices for the common benefit of the nation, as well as for individuals. The religion, which they practised, was so far conformable with the precepts of the *Védas:* and their doctrine and observances, their manners and opinions, as noticed by the authors above cited, agree with no other religious institutions known in *India*, but the orthodox sect. In short, the *Bráhmanes* are distinctly mentioned by Greek authors, as the first of the tribes or casts, into which the Indian nation was then, as now, divided.

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* Same with the Hylobii of Strabo. C.

† Διτ῀ὸν δὲ τουτων τὸ γενος, οἱ μεν Σαρμάναι, αυτῶν. οἱ δὲ Βραχμάναι καλέμενοι. καὶ τῶν Σαρμανῶν οἱ Αλλόβιοι προσαγορευόμενοι, ὅτε πόλεις οἰκῦσιν, ὅτε στέγας ἴχουσιν, δένδρων δὲ ἀμφιέννυνται φλοιοῖς, καὶ ἀκρυδρυα σιτὲνται, καὶ ὕδωρ ταῖς χερσὶ πίνουσιν· ὐ γάμον, ὐ παιδοποιίαν ἴσασιν, ὥσπερ οἱ νῦν Εγκρατ῀ῆαὶ καλέμενοι. εἰσὶ δὲ τῶν Ινδῶν οἱ τοῖς Βὰτ῀α πειθόμενοι παραγ῀έλμασιν· ὃν δὶ ὑπερβολὴν σεμνότητ῀ος εἰς Θεὸν τετιμήκασι. Strom. lib. 1.

‡ The passage has been interpreted differently; as if CLEMENS said, that the *Allobii* were those who worshipped BUTTA. (See MORERI Art. *Sammanéens.*) The text is ambiguous.

They are expressly discriminated from the sect of BUDD'HA by one ancient author, and from the *Sarmanes*, or *Samanæans*, (ascetics of various tribes,) by others. They are described by more than one authority, as worshipping the sun, as performing sacrifices, and as denying the eternity of the world, and maintaining other tenets incompatible with the supposition, that the sects of BUDD'HA or JINA, could be meant. Their manners and doctrine, as described by these authors, are quite conformable with the notions and practice of the orthodox *Hindus*. It may therefore be confidently inferred, that the followers of the *Védas* flourished in *India*, when it was visited by the Greeks under ALEXANDER: and continued to flourish from the time of MEGASTHENES, who described them in the fourth century before CHRIST, to that of PORPHYRIUS, who speaks of them, on later authority, in the third century after CHRIST.

I have thus stated, as briefly as the nature of the subject permitted, a few of the facts and reasons by which the opinion, that the religion and institutions of the orthodox *Hindus* are more modern than the doctrines of JINA and of BUDD'HA, may, as I think, be successfully resisted. I have not undertaken a formal refutation of it, and have, therefore, passed, unnoticed, objections which are founded on misapprehension.

It is only necessary to remark, that the past prevalence of either of those sects in particular places, with its subsequent persecution there by the worshippers of SIVA, or of VISHNU, is no proof of its general priority. *Hindustan* proper was the early seat of the *Hindu* religion; and the acknowledged cradle of both the sects in question. They were foreigners in the Peninsula of India; and admitting, as a fact, (what need not, however, be conceded,) that the orthodox *Hindus* had not been previously settled in the *Carnát'aca* and other districts, in which the *Jainas* or the *Baudd'has* have

flourished, it cannot be thence concluded, that the followers of the *Védas* did not precede them in other provinces.

It may be proper to add, that the establishment of particular sects, among the *Hindus* who acknowledge the *Védas*, does not affect the general question of relative antiquity. The special doctrines introduced by SANCARA-A'CHARYA, by RA'MA'NUJA, and by MA'D'HAVA'CHA'RYA, and of course the origin of the sects which receive those doctrines, may be referred, with precision, to the periods when their authors lived: but the religion, in which they are sectaries, has undoubtedly a much earlier origin.

To revert to the immediate object of these observations; which is that of explaining and supporting the information communicated by MAJOR MACKENZIE: I shall, for that purpose, state the substance of a few passages from a work of great authority, among the *Jainas*, entitled *Calpa-Sútra*, and from a vocabulary of the *Sanscrit* language by an author of the *Jaina* sect.

The *Abhid'hána Chintámeni*, a vocabulary of synonymous terms, by HE'MACHANDRA A'CHA'RYA, is divided into six chapters *(Cándas,)* the contents of which are thus stated in the author's preface. 'The superior deities *(Dévád'hidévas)* are noticed in the first chapter; the gods *(Dévas)* in the second; men in the third; beings furnished with one or more senses in the fourth; the infernal regions in the fifth; and terms of general use in the sixth. 'The earth,' observes this author, 'water, fire, air, and trees, have a single organ or sense *(indriya);* worms, ants, spiders, and the like, have two, three, or four senses; elephants, peacocks, fish, and other beings moving on the earth, in the sky, or in water, are furnished with five senses: and so are gods and men, and the inhabitants of hell.'

The first chapter begins with the synonyma of a *Jina* or deified saint, among which the most common are *Arhat*, *Jinéśwara*, *Tírt'hancara* or *Tír-t'hacara:* others, viz. *Jina*, *Sarvajnya*, and *Bhagavat*, occur also in the dictionary of AMERA as terms for a *Jina* or *Budd'ha;* but it is deserving of remark, that neither *Budd'ha*, nor *Sugata*, is stated by HE'MACHANDRA among these synonyma. In the subsequent chapter, however, on the subject of inferior gods, after noticing the gods of *Hindu* mythology, (INDRA and the rest, including BRAHMA', &c.) he states the synonyma of a *Budd'ha*, *Sugata*, or *Bód'hisatwa;* and afterwards specifies seven such, viz. VIPASYÍ, SIC'HÍ, VÍS'WANNA, CUCUCH'HANDA, CA'NCHANA, and CA'SYAPA*, expressly mentioning as the seventh BUDD'HA, SA'CYASINHA, also named SERVA'RT'HA-SIDD'HA, son of SUDD'HÓDANA and MAYA', a kinsman of the sun, from the race of GAUTAMA.

In the first chapter, after stating the general terms for a *Jina* or *Arhat;* the author proceeds to enumerate twenty-four *Arhats*, who have appeared in the present *Avasarpiní* age: and afterwards observes, that excepting MUNISUVRATA and NE'MI, who sprung from the race of HARI, the remaining twenty-two *Jinas* were born in the line of ICSHW'ACU†. The fathers and mothers of the several *Jinas* are then mentioned; their attendants; their standards or characteristics; and the complexions with which they are figured or described.

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* Two of these names occur in Captain MAHONY's and Mr. JOINVILLE's lists of five BUDD'HAS. As. Res. vol. 7, p. 32 and 414.

† I understand that the JAINAS have a mythological poem entitled *Harivansá puráná*, different from the *Harivansá* of the orthodox. Their ISCHWACU, likewise, is a different person; and the name is said to be a title of their first JINA, RISHABA DEVA.

The author next enumerates twenty-four *Jinas* who have appeared in the past *Utsarpiní* period; and twenty-four others who will appear in the future age: and, through the remainder of the first book, explains terms relative to the *Jaina* religion.

The names of the *Jinas* are specified in MAJOR MACKENZIE'S communication. Wherever those names agree with HE'MACHANDRA'S enumeration, I have added no remark; but where a difference occurs I have noticed it*, adding in the margin the name exhibited in the Sanscrit text.

I shall here subjoin the information gathered from HE'MACHANDRA'S vocabulary, and from the *Calpa Sútra* and other authorities, relative to the *Jinas* belonging to the present period. They appear to be the deified saints, who are now worshipped by the *Jaina* sect. They are all figured in the same contemplative posture, with little variation in their appearance, besides a difference of complexion: but the several *Jinas* have distinguishing marks or characteristic signs, which are usually engraved on the pedestals of their images, to discriminate them.

1. RÍSHABHA, or VRÍSHABHA, of the race of ICSHWA'CU, was son of NA'BHI by MARUDE'VA': he is figured of a yellow or golden complexion; and has a bull for his characteristic. His stature, as is pretended, was 500 poles *(dhanush)*; and the duration of his life, 8,400,000 great years *(púrva-varshá)*. According to the *Calpa Sútra*, as interpreted by the commentator, he was born at *Cósalá* or *Ayód'hyá* (whence he is named

* See pages 260, 261, 262.

Causalica), towards the latter part of the third age. He was the first king, first anchoret, and first saint; and is therefore entitled *Prat'hama-Rája*, *Prat'hama Bhícshácara*, *Prat'hama Jina*, and *Prat'hama Tírt'hancara*. At the time of his inauguration as king, his age was 2,000,000 years. He reigned 6,300,000 years; and then resigned his empire to his sons: and, having employed 100,000 years in passing through the several stages of austerity and sanctity, departed from this world on the summit of a mountain, named *Asht'ápada*. The date of his apotheosis was 3 years and $8\frac{1}{2}$ months before the end of the third age, at the precise interval of one whole age before the deification of the last *Jina*.

2. AJITA was son of JITA'SATRU by VIJAYA': of the same race with the first JINA, and represented as of the like complexion; with an elephant for his distinguishing mark. His stature was 450 poles; and his life extended to 7,200,000 great years. His deification took place, in the fourth age, when fifty *lacshas* of *crórs* of oceans of years had elapsed out of the tenth *crór* of *crórs* *.

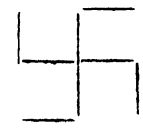
3. SA'MBHAVA was son of JITA'RI by SE'NA'; of the same race and complexion with the preceding; distinguished by a horse; his stature was 400 poles; he lived 6,000,000 years; and he was deified 30 *lacshas* of *crórs* of *Ságaras* after the second *Jina*.

4. ABHINANDANA was son of SAMBARA by SIDD'HART'HA': he has an ape for his peculiar sign. His stature was 300 poles; and his life reached to 5,000,000 years. His apotheosis was later by 10 *lacshas* of *crórs* of *Ságaras* than the foregoing.

* The divisions of time have been noticed by MAJOR MACKENZIE, p. 257, and will be further explained.

5. SUMATI was son of ME'GHA by MANGAL'A: he has a curlew for his characteristic. His life endured 4,000,000 years, and his deification was nine *lacshas* of *crórs* of *Ságaras* after the fourth *Jina*.

6. PADMAPRABHA was son of SRÍD'HARA by SUSÍMA; of the same race with the preceding, but described of a red complexion. He has a lotos for his mark: and lived 3,000,000 years, being 200 poles in stature. He was deified 90,000 *crórs* of *Ságaras* after the fifth *Jina*.

7. SUPA'RS'WA was son of PRATISHTA by PRÍT'HWÍ; of the same line with the foregoing; but represented with a golden complexion: his sign is the figure called *Swastica*.  He lived 2,000,000 years; and was deified 9,000 *crórs* of *Ságaras* subsequent to the sixth *Jina*.

8. CHANDRAPRABHA was son of MAHA'SE'NA by LACSHMAN'A'; of the same race with the last, but figured with a fair complexion: his sign is the moon; his stature was 150 poles, and he lived 1,000,000 years: and his apotheosis took place 900 *crórs* of *Ságaras* later than the seventh *Jina*.

9. PUSHPADANTA, also named SUVID'HI, was son of SUPRIYA by RA'MA': of the same line with the preceding, and described of a similar complexion: his mark is a marine monster *(Macara)*: his stature was 100 poles, and the duration of his life 200,000 years. He was deified 90 *crórs* of *Ságaras* after the eighth *Jina*.

10. SÍTALA was son of DRÍ'D'HARAT'HA by NANDA': of the same

race, and represented with a golden complexion: his characteristic is the mark called *Śrívatsa.* His stature was 90 poles; and his life 100,000 great years; his deification dates 9 *crórs* of *Ságaras* later than the preceding.

11. 'Sre'y'an ('Sre'yas) or 'Srɛ'ya'nsa, was son of Vishnu by Vishna'; of the same race, and with a similar complexion; having a rhinoceros for his sign. He was 80 poles in stature, and lived 8,400,000 common years. His apotheosis took place more than 100 *Ságaras* of years before the close of the fourth age.

12. Va'supújya was son of Vasupújya by Jaya': of the same race, and represented with a red complexion, having a buffalo for his mark: and he was 70 poles high, lived 7,200,000 years, and was deified later by 54 *Ságaras* than the eleventh *Jina.*

13. Vimala was son of Críṭavarman by 'Sya'ma'; of the same race; described of a golden complexion, having a boar for his characteristic; he was 60 poles high, lived 6,000,000 years, and was deified 30 *Ságaras* later than the twelfth *Jina.*

14. Ananta, also named Anantajit, was son of Sinhase'na by Suyas'a'. He has a falcon for his sign; his stature was 50 poles, the duration of his life 3,000,000 years, and his apotheosis 9 *Ságaras* after the preceding.

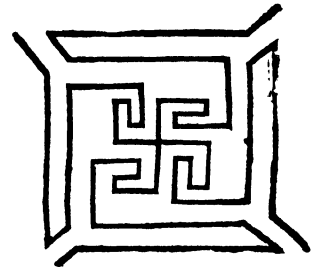
15. D'harma was son of Bha'nu by Suvrata'; characterised by the

thunderbolt: 45 poles in stature, and lived 1,000,000 years: deified 4 *Ságaras* later than the foregoing.

16. SA'NTI was son of VIS'WASE'NA by ACHIRA, having an antelope for his sign; he was 40 poles high, lived 100,000 years, and was deified 2 *Ságaras* subsequent to the last mentioned *.

17. CUNT'HU was son of SÚRA, by 'SRÍ; he has a goat for his mark; his height was 35 poles, and his life 95,000 years. His apotheosis is dated in the last *palya* of the fourth age.

18. ARA was son of SUDARSA'NA by DE'VÍ: characterised by the figure called *Nandavarta:* his stature was 30 poles, his life 84,000 years, and



his deification 1000 *crórs* of years before the next *Jina.*

19. MALLI was son of CUMBHA by PRABHA'VALÍ; of the same race with the preceding; and represented of a blue complexion; having a jar for his characteristic; he was 25 poles high, and lived 55,000 years; and was deified 6,584,000 years before the close of the fourth age.

* The life of this *Jina* is the subject of a separate work entitled *Sántipurána.*

20. MUNISUVRATA, also named SUVRATA, or MUNI, was son of SUMITRA by PADMA', sprung from the race called HARIVANS'A; represented with a black complexion, having a tortoise for his sign: his height was 20 poles, and his life extended to 30,000 years. His apotheosis is dated 1,184,000 years before the end of the fourth age.

21. NAMI was son of VIJAYA by VIPRA'; of the race of IC'SHWA'CU: figured with a golden complexion; having for his mark a blue water-lily *(Nilótpala)*; his stature was 15 poles; his life 10,000 years: and his deification took place 584,000 years before the expiration of the fourth age.

22. NE'MI, also called ARISHT'ANE'MI, was son of the king SUMUDRAJAYA by 'SIVA'; of the line denominated HARIVANS'A; described as of a black complexion, having a conch for his sign. According to the *Calpa sútra*, he was born at *Sóriyapura*; and, when 300 years of age, entered on the practice of austerity. He employed 700 years in passing through the several stages of sanctity; and, having attained the age of 1000 years, departed from this world at *Ujjinta*, which is described as the peak of a mountain, the same, according to the commentator, with *Giranára**. The date of this event is 84,000 years before the close of the fourth age.

23. PA'RSWA (or PA'RS'WANA'T'HA) was son of the king ASWASE'NA by VA'MA', or BA'MA'DE'VI'; of the race of IC'SHWA'CU; figured with a blue complexion, having a serpent for his characteristic. The life of this celebrated JINA, who was perhaps the real founder of the sect, is the sub-

* I understand this to be a mountain situated in the west of *India*; and much visited by pilgrims.

ject of a poem entitled *Párswanát'ha charitra.* According to the *Calpa sútra,* he was born at *Bánárasí* *, and commenced his series of religious austerities at thirty years of age; and having completed them in 70 years, and having consequently attained the age of 100 years, he died on Mount *Samméya* or *Samét* †. This happened precisely 250 years before the apotheosis of the next JINA: being stated by the author of the *Calpa sútra* at 1230 years before the date of that book.

24. VARD'HAMA'NA, also named VÍRA, MAHA'VÍ'RA, &c. and surnamed *Charama-tírt'hacrít,* or last of the *Jinas:* emphatically called 'SRAMAN'A, or the saint. He is reckoned son of SIDD'HA'RT'HA by TRIS'ALA'; and is described of a golden complexion, having a lion for his standard.

The subject of the *Calpa sútra* before cited is the life and institutions of this JINA. I shall here state an abstract of his history as there given, premising that the work, like other religious books of the *Jainas,* is composed in the *Prácrit* called *Mágad'hí;* and that the *Sanscrit* language is used by the *Jainas* for translations, or for commentaries, on account of the great obscurity of the *Prácrit* tongue ‡.

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* *Bhélúpurá,* in the suburbs of Benares, is esteemed holy, as the place of his nativity.

† *Samét sic'hara,* called in Major Rennel's map *Parsonaut,* is situated among the hills between *Bihár* and *Bengal.* Its holiness is great in the estimation of the *Jainas:* and it is said to be visited by pilgrims from the remotest provinces of India.

‡ This *Prácrit,* which does not differ from the language introduced by dramatic poets into their writings, and assigned by them to the female persons in their dramas, is formed from *Sanscrit.* I once conjectured it to have been formerly the colloquial dialect of the *Sáraswata Bráhmens* (As. Res. vol. 7, p. 219;) but this conjecture has not been confirmed by further researches. I believe it to be the same language with the *Páli* of *Ceylon.*

According to this authority, the last *Tírt'hancara,* quitting the state of a deity, and relinquishing the longevity of a god, to obtain immortality as a saint, was incarnate towards the close of the fourth age, (now past,) when 75 years and 8½ months of it remained. He was at first conceived by DE'VA'NANDA, wife of RÍSHABHADATTA, a *Bráhmána* inhabiting *Bráhmanácundagráma,* a city of *Bháratavarsha,* in *Jambudwípa.* The conception was announced to her by dreams. INDRA*, or 'SACRA, who is the presiding deity on the south of *Méru,* and abides in the first range of celestial regions, called *Saud'harma,* being apprized of MAHA'VÍRA's incarnation, prostrated himself, and worshipped the future saint; but reflecting that no great personage was ever born in an indigent and mendicant family, as that of a *Bráhmaṇa,* INDRA commanded his chief attendant HARINAIGUMESHI, to remove the fetus from the womb of DE'VA'NANDA to that of TRISALA, wife of SIDD'HA'RT'HA, a prince of the race of ICSHWA'CU, and of the *Cásyapa* family. This was accordingly executed; and the new conception was announced to TRISALA by dreams; which were expounded by soothsayers, as foreboding the birth of a future *Jina.* In due time, he was born; and his birth celebrated with great rejoicings.

His father gave him the name of VARD'HAMA'NA. But he is also known by two other names; 'SRAMANA and MAHA'VÍRA. His father has similarly three appellations, SIDD'HA'RT'HA, SREYA'NSA, and YAS'ASWÍ; and his mother likewise has three titles, TRISALA, VIDE'HADINNA', and PRÍTICA'RIN'I. His paternal uncle was SUPA'RS'WA, his elder brother, NANDI-

* The *Jainas* admit numerous INDRAS; but some of the attributes, stated in this place by the *Calpasútra,* belong to the INDRA' of the Indian mythology.

VARD'HANA, his sister (mother of JAMA'LI) SUDARSANA'. His wife was YASÓDA', by whom he had a daughter, (who became wife of JAMA'LI,) named ANÓJJA and PRIYADARS'ANA'. His grand-daughter was called 'SE'SHAVATÍ and JASÓVATÍ.

His father and mother died when he was 28 years of age; and he afterwards continued two years with his elder brother: after the second year he renounced worldly pursuits, and departed amidst the applauses of gods and men, to practise austerities. The progress of his devout exercises, and of his attainment of divine knowledge, is related at great length. Finally, he became an ARHAT, or JINA, being worthy of universal adoration, and having subdued all passions *; being likewise omniscient and all-seeing: and thus, at the age of 72 years, he became exempt from all pain for ever. This event is stated to have happened at the court of king HASTIPA'LA, in the city of *Páwápurí*, or *Pápápurí* †; and is dated 3 years and 8½ months before the close of the fourth age, (called *Duc'hamá suc'hamá)* in the great period named *avasarpiní*. The author of the *Calpasútra* mentions, in several places, that, when he wrote, 980 years had elapsed since this apotheosis ‡. According to

* So the commentator expounds both terms.

† Near *Rájagriha, in Bihár.* It is accordingly a place of sanctity. Other holy places, which have been mentioned to me, are *Champápurí*, near *Bhágalpúr, Chandrávati* distant ten miles from *Benares*, and the ancient city *Hastináпura, in Hindustan:* also *Satrunjaya*, said to be situated in the west of *India.*

‡ Samanassa Bhagavàu MAHA'BI'RASSA Jàva duhkha Hínassa Navabása Sayàin Bicwantáin dasamassaya Bása sayassa ayam Así imé sambach'hare Cálé gach'hai. Nine hundred years have passed since the adorable MAHA'BI'RA became exempt from pain; and, of the tenth century of years, eighty are the time which is now elapsed.

tradition, the death of the last JINA happened more than two thousand four hundred years since; and the *Calpasútra* appears therefore to have been composed about fifteen hundred years ago *.

The several *Jinas* are described as attended by numerous followers, distributed into classes, under a few chief disciples, entitled *Ganad'haras*, or *Ganád'hipas*. The last *Jina* had nine such classes of followers, under eleven disciples. INDRABHÚTI, AGNIBHÚTI, VA'YUBHÚTI, VYACTA, SUDHARMA, MANDICAPUTRA, MAURYAPUTRA, ACAMPITA, ACHALABHRA'TA', ME'TA'RYA, PRABHA'SA. Nine of these disciples died with MAHA'VÍRA; and two of them, INDRABHÚTI and SUD'HARMA, survived him, and subsequently attained beatitude. The *Calpasútra* adds, that all ascetics, or candidates for holiness, were pupils in succession from SUDHARMA, none of the others having left successors. The author then proceeds to trace the succession from SUDHARMA to the different *Sác'hás*, or orders of priests, many of which appear still to exist. This enumeration disproves the list communicated to MAJOR MACKENZIE by the head priest of *Belligola*.

The ages and periods, which have been more than once alluded to in the foregoing account of the *Jainas*, are briefly explained in HE'MACHANDRA'S vocabulary. In the second chapter, which relates to the heavens and the gods, &c. the author, speaking of time, observes, that it is distinguished into *Avasarpiní* and *Utsarpiní*, adding that the whole period is completed by twenty *cótis* of *cótis* of *Sagara*; or

* The most ancient copy in my possession, and the oldest one which I have seen, is dated in 1614 samvat: it is nearly 250 years old

2,000,000,000,000,000 oceans of years. I do not find, that he any where explains the space of time denominated *Ságara*, or ocean. But I understand it to be an extravagant estimate of the time, which would elapse, before a vast cavity, filled with chopped hairs, could be emptied, at the rate of one piece of hair in a century: the time requisite to empty such a cavity, measured by a *yójana* every way, is a *Palya;* and that repeated ten *cótís* of *cótís* of times *, is a *Ságara.*

Each of the periods, above-mentioned, is stated by HE'MACHANDRA, as comprizing six *Aras;* the names and duration of which agree with the information communicated to MAJOR MACKENZIE: In the one, or the declining period, they pass from extreme felicity *(ecántasuhc'ha)* through intermediate gradations, to extreme misery *(ecánta duhc'ha).* In the other, or rising period, they ascend, in the same order, from misery to felicity. During the three first ages of one period, mortals lived for one, two, or three *Palyas;* their stature was one, two, or three leagues *(Gavyutis);* and they subsisted on the fruit of miraculous trees; which yielded spontaneously food, apparel, ornaments, garlands, habitation, nurture, light, musical instruments, and household utensils. In the fourth age, men lived ten millions of years; and their stature was 500 poles *(Dhanush):* in the fifth age, the life of man is a hundred years: and the limit of his stature, seven cubits: in the sixth, he is reduced to sixteen years, and the height of one cubit. In the next period, this succession of ages is reversed, and afterwards they recommence as before.

Here we cannot but observe, that the *Jainas* are still more extravagant

* 1,000,000,000,000,000 palyas = one *ságara*, or *sagarópama.*

in their inventions, than the prevailing sects of *Hindus*, absurd as these are in their fables.

In his third chapter, HE'MACHANDRA, having stated the terms for paramount and tributary princes, mentions the twelve *Chacravartís*, and adds the patronymics and origin of them. BHARATA is surnamed A'RSHABHI, or son of RÍSHABHA; MAGHAVAN is son of VIJAYA; and SANATCUMA'RA, of AS'WASE'NA. 'SA'NTI, CUNT'HU and ARA are the JINAS so named. SAGARA is described as son of SUMITRA; SÚBHÚMA is entitled CA'RTAVÍRYA; PADMA is said to be son of PADMÓTTARA; HARISHENA of HARI; JAYA of VIJAYA; BRAHMADATTA of BRAHME; and all are declared to have sprung from the race of ICSHWA'CU.

A list follows, which, like the preceding, agrees nearly with the information communicated to MAJOR MACKENZIE. It consists of nine persons, entitled *Vasudévas*, and *Crĭshnas*. Here TRĬPRĬSHT'A is mentioned with the patronymic PRA'JA'PATYA; DWIPRĬSHT'A is said to have sprung from BRAHME; SWAYAMBHÚ is expressly called a son of RUDRA; and PURUSHÓTTAMA, of SÓMA, or the moon. PURUSHASINHA is surnamed SAIVI, or son of 'SIVA; PURUSHAPUNDARÍCA, is said to have sprung from MAHA'S'IRAS. DATTA is termed son of AGNISINHA; NA'RA'YANA has the patronymic DA'SARAT'HI (which belongs to RA'MACHANDRA): and CRĬSHNA is described as sprung from VASUDE'VA.

Nine other persons are next mentioned, under the designation of *'Sucla Balas*, viz. 1 *Achala.* 2 *Vijaya.* 3 *Bhadra.* 4 *Suprabha.* 5 *Sudarsana.* 6 *Ánanda.* 7 *Nanda.* 8 *Padma.* 9 *Ráma.*

They are followed by a list of nine foes of VISHN'U: it corresponds nearly

with one of the lists noticed by MAJOR MACKENZIE, viz. 1 As'WAGRÍVA, 2 TA'RACA, 3 ME'RACA, 4 MAD'HU, 5 NISUMBHA, 6 BALI, 7 PRAHLA'DA. 8 The king of *Lancá* (RA'VAN'A). 9 The king of *Magad'ha* (JARA'SAND'HA).

It is observed, that, with the *Jinas*, these complete the number of sixty-three eminent personages, viz. 24 *Jinas*, 12 *Chacravartís*, 9 *Vásudévas*, 9 *Baladévas*, and 9 *Prativásudévas*.

It appears, from the information procured by MAJOR MACKENZIE, that all these appertain to the heroic history of the *Jaina* writers. Most of them are also well known to the orthodox Hindus: and are the principal personages in the *Purán'as*.

HE'MACHANDRA subsequently notices many names of princes, familiar to the Hindus of other sects. He begins with PRIT'HU son of VE'NA, whom he terms the first king: and goes on to MA'ND'HA'TA', HARIS'CHANDRA; BHARATA son of DUSHYANTA, &c. Towards the end of his enumeration of conspicuous princes, he mentions CARN'A, king of *Champá* and *Anga;* HA'LA or SA'LAVA'HANA; and CUMA'RAPA'LA, surnamed CHAULUCYA, a royal saint, who seems, from the title of *Paramárhata*, to have been a *Jaina*, and apparently the only one in that enumeration.

In a subsequent part of the same chapter, HE'MACHANDRA, (who was himself a theologian of his sect, and author of hymns to JINA *,) mentions and discriminates the various sects; viz. 1st, *A'rhatas*, or *Jainas*. 2ndly, *Saugatas*, or *Baudd'has*, and, 3dly, six philosophical schools, viz.

* A commentary on these hymns is dated in Saca 1214 (A. D. 1292); but how much earlier HE'MACHANDRA lived, is not yet ascertained.

1st. *Naiyáyica;* 2d. *Yóga;* 3d. CA'PILAS *Sánc'hya;* 4th. *Vais'éshica;* 5th. *Várhaspatya,* or *Nástica;* and 6th. *Chárváca,* or *Lócáyata.* The two last are reputed atheistical, as denying a future state and a providence. If those be omitted, and the two *Mimánsás* inserted, we have the six schemes of Philosophy familiar to the Indian circle of the sciences.

The fourth chapter of HE'MACHANDRA'S vocabulary relates to earth and animals. Here the author mentions the distinctions of countries which appear to be adopted by the *Jainas;* viz. the regions *(Varsha)* named *Bharata, Airávata,* and *Vidéhá,* to which he adds *Curu;* noticing also other distinctions familiar to the *Hindus* of other sects, but explaining some of them according to the ideas of the *Jainas.* '*Aryavarta,*' he observes, 'is the native land of *Jinas, Chacrís,* and *Ardd'hachacrís,* situated between the *Vind'hya* and *Himádri* mountains.' This remark confines the theatre of *Jaina* history, religious and heroic, within the limits of *Hindustán* proper.

A passage, in BHA'SCARA'S treatise on the sphere, will suggest further observations concerning the opinions of the *Jainas,* on the divisions of the earth. Having noticed, for the purpose of confuting it, a notion maintained by the *Baudd'has,* (whom some of the commentators, as usual among orthodox *Hindus,* confound with the *Jainas;)* respecting the descent or fall of the earth in space; he says*, 'the naked sectaries and the rest affirm, that two suns, two moons, and two sets of stars, appear alternately: against them I allege this reasoning. How absurd is the notion which you have formed of duplicate suns, moons, and stars; when you see the revolution of the polar fish †.'

* *Gólád'hyáya.* §. 3. v. 8 & 10. † Ursa minor.

The commentators* agree that the *Jainas* are here meant: and one of them remarks, that they are described as 'naked sectaries, &c.' Because the class of *Digambaras* is a principal one among these people.

It is true that the *Jainas* do entertain the preposterous notion here attributed to them: and it is also true, that the *Digambaras*, among the *Jainas*, are distinguished from the *Súclámbaras*, not merely by the white dress of the one, and the nakedness (or else the tawny apparel) of the other; but also by some particular tenets and diversity of doctrine.—However, both concur in the same ideas regarding the earth and planets, which shall be forthwith stated, from the authority of *Jaina* books; after remarking, by the way, that ascetics of the orthodox sect, in the last stage of exaltation, when they become *Paramahansa*, also disuse clothing.

The world, which according to the *Jainas*, is eternal, is figured by them as a spindle resting on half of another; or, as they describe it, three cups, of which the lowest is inverted; and the uppermost meets at its circumference the middle one. They also represent the world by comparison to a woman with her arms akimbo†. Her waist, or according to the description first mentioned, the meeting of the lower cups, is the earth. The spindle above, answering to the superior portion of the woman's person, is the abode of the gods; and the inferior part of the figure comprehends the infernal regions. The earth, which they suppose to be a flat surface, is bounded by a circle, of which the diameter is one *raju*‡.

* LACSHMI'DA'SA, MUNI'S'WARA, and the *Vásanábháshya*.

† The *Sangrahan'í ratna* and *Lócanáb sútra*, both in *Prácrit*, are the authorities here used.

‡ This is explained to be a measure of space, through which the gods are able to travel in six months, at the rate of 2,057,152 *Yójanas*, (of 2000 *crósa* each,) in the twinkling of an eye.

The lower spindle comprises seven tiers of inferior earths or hells, at the distance of a *raju* from each other, and its base is measured by seven *rajus*. These seven hells are *Ratna prabhá, Sancara prabhá, Bálucá prabhá, Panca prabhá, Dhúman prabhá, Tama prabhá, Tamatama prabhá.* The upper spindle is also seven *rajus* high; and its greatest breadth is five *rajus*. Its summit, which is 4,500,000 *Yójanas* wide, is the abode of the deified saints: beneath that are five *Vimánas*, or abodes of gods: of which the centre one is named *Sarvárt'hasidd'ha:* it is encompassed by the regions *Aparájita, Jayanta, Vaijayanta,* and *Vijaya.* Next, at the distance of one *raju* from the summit, follow nine tiers of worlds, representing a necklace *(graivéyaca,)* and inhabited by gods, denominated, from their conceited pretensions to supremacy, *Ahamindra.* These nine regions are, *'Aditya, Prítincara, Sómanasa, Sumanasa, Suvisála, Sarvatóbhadra, Manórama, Supravadd'ha,* and *Sudars'ana.*

Under these regions are twelve (the *Digambaras* say sixteen) other regions, in eight tiers, from one to five *rajus* above the earth. They are filled with *Vimánas*, or abodes of various classes of gods, called by the general name of *Calpavásís.* These worlds, reckoning from that nearest the earth; are, *Saud'hama* and *I's'ána; Sanatcumdra* and *Mahéndra; Brahme; Lántaca; Sucra; Sahasrára; A'nata* and *Pránata; Arana* and *Achyuta.*

The sect of *Jina* distinguish four classes of deities, the *Vaimánicas, Bhuvanapatis, Jiótishís,* and *Vyantaras.* The last comprises eight orders of demigods, or spirits, admitted by the Hindus in general, as the *Rácshasas, Písáchas, Cinnaras,* &c. supposed to range over the earth. The preceding class *(Jyótishis),* comprehends five orders of lumina-

ries; suns, moons, planets, constellations and stars, of which more hereafter. The *Vaimánicas* belong to the various *Vimánas*, in the twelve regions, or worlds, inhabited by gods. The class of *Bhuvanapati* includes ten orders, entitled *Asuracumára*, *Nágacumára*, &c.; each governed by two *Indras*. All these gods are mortal, except, perhaps, the luminaries.

The earth consists of numerous distinct continents, in concentric circles, separated by seas forming rings between them. The first circle is *Jambúdwípa*, with the mountain *Sudarśa Méru* in the centre. It is encompassed by a ring containing the salt ocean; beyond which is the zone, named *Dhátucídwípa;* similarly surrounded by a black ocean. This again is encircled by *Pushcaradwípa;* of which only the first half is accessible to mankind: being separated from the remoter half, by an impassable range of mountains, denominated *Mánushóttara Parvata*. *Dhá-tusídwipa* contains two mountains, similar to *Suméru*, named *Vijanga* and *Achala;* and *Pushcara* contains two others, called *Mandirá* and *Vidyunmáli*.

The diameter of *Jambúdwípa* being 100,000 great *Yójanas**, if the 190th part be taken, or $526\frac{6}{19}$, we have the breadth of *Bharata varsha*, which occupies the southern segment of the circle. *Airávata* is a similar northern segment. A band ($33648\frac{4}{19}$ *Yójanas* wide) across the circle, with *Sudarśa Méru* in the middle of it, is *Vidéha varsha*, divided by *Méru* (or by four peaks like elephant's teeth, at the four corners of that

* Each great *Yójana* contains 2000 *cós*.

vaſt mountain) into caſt and weſt *Vidéha*. These three regions, *Bharata*, *Airávata*, and *Vidéha*, are inhabited by men who practise religious duties. They are denominated *Carmachúmi*, and appear to be furnished with distinct sets of *Tirthancaras* or saints entitled *Jina*. The intermediate regions, north and south of *Méru*, are bounded by four chains of mountains; and intersected by two others: in such a manner, that the ranges of mountains, and the intermediate vallies, increase in breadth progressively. Thus *Himavat* is twice as broad as *Bharata varsha* (or $1052\frac{12}{19}$); The valley beyond it is double its breadth ($2105\frac{5}{19}$); the mountain *Maháhimavat*, is twice as much ($4210\frac{10}{19}$): its valley is again double ($8421\frac{1}{19}$); and the mountain *Nishaḍha* has twice that breadth ($16842\frac{2}{19}$). The vallies between these mountains, and between similar ranges reckoned from *Airávata* (viz. *Sic'hari*, *Racmi*, and *Nila*), are inhabited by giants (*Yugala*), and are denominated *Bhógabhúmi*. From either extremity of the two ranges of mountains named *Himavat* and *Sic'hari*, a pair of tusks project over the sea; each divided into seven countries denominated *Antara dwipas*. There are consequently fifty-six such; which are called *Cubhógakhúmi*, being the abode of evil doers. None of these regions suffer a periodical destruction; except *Bharata* and *Airávata*, which are depopulated, and again peopled, at the close of the great periods beforementioned.

We come now to the immediate purpose, for which these notions of the *Jainas* have been here explained. They conceive the setting and rising of stars and planets to be caused by the mountain *Sumeru*: and suppose three times the period of a planet's appearance to be requisite for it to pass round *Sumeru*, and return to the place whence it emerges. Accordingly they allot two suns, as

many moons, and an equal number of each planet, star, and constellation, to *Jambúdwipa*; and imagine that these appear, on alternate days, south and north of *Meru*. They similarly allot twice that number to the salt ocean; six times as many to *Dhátuci dwipa*; 21 times as many, or 42 of each, to the *Cálódad'hi*; and 72 of each to *Pushcara dwipa*.

It is this notion, applied to the earth which we inhabit, that Bh'ascara refutes. His argument is thus explained by his commentators.

'The star close to the north pole, with those near it to the east and west, form a constellation figured by the Indian astronomers as a fish. In the beginning of the night (supposing the sun to be near *Bharani* or *Musca)*, the fish's tail is towards the west, and his head towards the east; but at the close of the night, the fish's tail, having made half a revolution, is towards the east, and his head towards the west: and since the sun, when rising and setting, is in a line with the fish's tail, there is but one sun; not two.' This explanation is given by Munís'wara and Lacshmída'sa. But the *Vásaná Bháshya* reverses the fish; placing his head towards the west at sun set, when the sun is near *Bharáni*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	25	26	27	28
Nacshatras. - - -	Aswiní.	Bharaní.	Critticá.	Róhiní.	Mrigasiras.	Árdrá.	Satabhishá.	P. Bhádrapada.	U. Bhádrapada.	Révatí.
es or regents of each - - - - - - -	The *Aswins.*	YAMA.	Fire.	PRAJÁPATI.	The moon.	RUDRA.	VARUNA.	AJAPAT	AHIBRADHNA.	PUSHAN.
the *Nacshatras* ac- ŚRÍPATI, &c.	A horse's head.	The *Yóni.*	A razor or knife.	A wheel-ed Carriage.	An antelope's head.	A gem.	A circle.	A figure with a double face.	A couch or bed.	A tabor.
according to other - - - - - - -				A temple*.				A couch, or bed.‡	A figure with two faces.‡	
rs according to Śrí- - - - - - -	3	3	6	5	3	1	100	2	2	32
assigned by different - - - - - - -	27†						1			
tion of the principal ding to the *Súrya* - - - - - -	N.	S.	S.	E.	N.		Brightest	N.	N.	S.
ar in 60ths of degrees gin of the *Nacshatra;* the same. - -	48	40	65	57	48	4	780	36	22	79
grees, from the origin tic. - - - - -	8°	20°	37° 30′	19° 30′	63°	67° 20′	930°	326	337°	359° 50′
om the Ecliptic. - -	10° N.	12° N.	5° N.	5° S.	10° S.	9° S.	0 30′ S.	24° N.	26° N.	N.
star in degrees, mea- e Ecliptic, according UPTA. - - - - -	8°	20°	37° 28′	19° 28′	63°	67°	930°	326°	337°	360°
the Ecliptic. - -	10° N.	12° N.	4° 31′ N	4° 33′ S.	10° S.	11° S.	0 18′ S.	24° N.	26° N.	N.
ces measured on the cording to the *Sidd'- ánta.* - - - - -	8°	20°	37° 28′	19° 28′	63°	67°	930	326°	337°	60°
n the Ecliptic. - -	10° N.	12° N.	4° 30′ N.	4° 30′ S.	10° S.	11° S.	0 20′ S.	24° N.	26° N.	N.
rees measured on the cording to the *Graha* - - - - - - -	8°	21°	38°	19°	62°	66°	940°	325	337°	360°
n the Ecliptic. - -	10° N.	12° N.	5° N.	5° S.	10° S.	11° S.	0.	24° N.	27° N.	N.
ide, according to the *Súrvabhauma.* - -	12° 40′	25° 8′	39° 2′	48° 9′	61° 1′	65° 8′	940° 15′	335° 8′	348° 44′	359° 50′
- - - - - - - -	10° 50′ N.	12° 55′ N.	4° 44′ N.	4° 40′ S.	10° 12′ S.	11° 7′ S.	0 45′ S.	26° 8′ N.	28° N.	
d to be meant. - - -	α Arietis.	Musca.	η Tauri. Pleiades.	α Tauri. Aldebaran.	λ Orionis.	α Orionis.	β Aquarii.	α Pegasi.	α Andromedæ.	ζ Piscium.

VI.

On the INDIAN *and* ARABIAN DIVISIONS *of the* ZODIACK.

BY H. T. COLEBROOKE, ESQ.

THE researches, of which the result is here laid before the Asiatick Society, were undertaken for the purpose of ascertaining correctly the particular stars, which give names to the Indian divisions of the Zodiack. The inquiry has at intervals been relinquished and resumed: it was indeed attended with considerable difficulties. None of the native astronomers, whom I consulted, were able to point out, in the heavens, all the asterisms for which they had names: it became, therefore, necessary to recur to their books, in which the positions of the principal stars are given. Here a fresh difficulty arose from the real or the seeming disagreement of the place of a star, with the division of the Zodiack, to which it was referred: and I was led from the consideration of this and of other apparent contradictions, to compare carefully the places assigned by the Hindus to their *nacshatras*, with the positions of the lunar mansions, as determined by the Arabian astronomers. After repeated examination of this subject, with the aid afforded by the labours of those, who have preceded me in the same inquiry, I now venture to offer to the perusal of the Asiatick Society the following remarks, with the hope, that they will be found to contain a correct ascertainment of the stars by which the Hindus have been long accustomed to trace the moon's path.

THE question, which I proposed to myself for investigation, appeared to me important, and deserving of the labour bestowed upon it, as obviously essential towards a knowledge of Indian astronomy, and as tending to determine another question: namely, whether the Indian and Arabian divisions of the Zodiack had a common origin. SIR WILLIAM JONES thought, that they had not: I incline

to the contrary opinion. The co-incidence appears to me too exact, in most instances, to be the effect of chance: in others, the differences are only such, as to authorize the remark, that the nation, which borrowed from the other, has not copied with servility. I apprehend, that it must have been the Arabs who adopted (with slight variations) a division of the Zodiack familiar to the Hindus. This, at least, seems to be more probable than the supposition, that the Indians received their system from the Arabians: we know, that the Hindus have preserved the memory of a former situation of the Colures, compared to constellations, which mark divisions of the Zodiack in their astronomy; but no similar trace remains of the use of the lunar mansions, as divisions of the Zodiack, among the Arabs, in so very remote times.

IT will be found, that I differ much from SIR WILLIAM JONES in regard to the stars constituting the asterisms of Indian astronomy. On this, it may be sufficient to remind the reader, that SIR WILLIAM JONES stated only a conjecture founded on a consideration of the figure of the *nacshatra* and the number of its stars, compared with those actually situated near the division of the ecliptick, to which the *nacshatra* gives name. He was not apprized, that the Hindus themselves place some of these constellations far out of the limits of the Zodiack.

I SHALL examine the several *nac'shatras* and lunar mansions in their order; previously quoting from the *Hindu* astronomers, the positions assigned to the principal star, termed the *yógatárá*. This, according to BRAHMEGUPTA, (as cited by LACSHMÍDA'SA in his commentary on the *Siróman'i,*) or according to the *Brahmesidd'hánta* (cited by BHU'D'HARA), is the brightest star of each cluster. But the *Súryasidd'hánta* specifies the relative situation of the *Yógatárá* in

respect of the other stars; and that does not always agree with the position of the most conspicuous star.

THE number of stars in each asterism, and the figure under which the asterism is represented, are specified by *Hindu* astronomers: particularly by SRÍPATI in the *Ratnamálá*. These, with the positions of the stars relatively to the ecliptick, are exhibited in the annexed table. It contains the whole purport of many obscure and almost enigmatical verses, of which a verbal translation would be nearly as unintelligible to the English reader, as the original text.

THE authorities, on which I have chiefly relied, because they are universally received by Indian astronomers, are the *Súryasidd'hánta*, *Sróvani*, and *Grahalághava*. They have been carefully examined, comparing at the same time several commentaries. The *Ratnamálá* of SRÍPATI is cited for the figures of the asterisms; and the same passage had been noticed by SIR WILLIAM JONES (As. Res. vol. 2. p. 294). It agrees nearly with the text of VASISHT'HA cited by MUNÍS'WARA, and is confirmed in most instances by the *Muhúrta Chintamani*. The same authority, confirmed with rare exceptions by VASISHT'HA, SA'CALYA, and the *Abharaṇa* is quoted for the number of stars in each asterism. The works of BRAHMEGUPTA have not been accessible to me: but the *Marichi*, an excellent commentary on the *Sidd'hánta sirómaṇi*, by MUNÍS'WARA, adduces from that author a statement of the positions of the stars; and remarks, that it is founded on the *Brahmesidd'hánta*, contained in the *Vishnud'hermottara* *. Accordingly, I have found the same passage in the *Brahmesidd'hánta*, and verified

* Another *Brahmesidd'hánta* is entitled the *Sacalyasanhita*. The author of the *Marichi*, therefore, distinguishes the one to which he refers.

it by the gloss entitled *Vásaná*; and I, therefore, use the quotation without distrust. Later authorities, whose statements coincide exactly with some of the preceding (as CAMALA'CARA in the *Tatwavivéca*) would be needlessly inserted: but one (MUN'ÍSWARA in the *Sidd'hánta sárvabhauma*), exhibiting the position of the stars differently, is quoted in the annexed table.

THE manner of observing the places of the stars is not explained in the original works first cited. The *Súryasidd'hánta* only hints briefly, that 'the astronomer should frame a sphere, and examine the apparent longitude and latitude *.' Commentators †, remarking on this passage, describe the manner of the observation: and the same description occurs, with little variation, in commentaries on the *Siromani* ‡. They direct a spherical instrument *(Golayantra)* to be constructed, according to instructions contained in a subsequent part of the text. This, as will be hereafter shewn, is precisely an armillary sphere. An additional circle graduated for degrees and minutes, is directed to be suspended on the pins of the axis as pivots. It is named *Véd'havalaya* or intersecting circle, and appears to be a circle of declination. After noticing this addition to the instrument, the instructions proceed to the rectifying of the *Golayantra* or armillary sphere, which is to be placed, so that the axis shall point to the pole, and the horizon be true by a water level.

THE instrument being thus placed, the observer is instructed to look at the star *Révatí* through a sight fitted to an orifice at the centre of the sphere; and

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* *Sphutávicshépa* and *Sphutádhruvaca*; which will be explained further on.

† RANGANAT'HA and PHUD'HARA.

‡ In the *Vásanábháshya* and in the *Marichi*.

having found the star, to adjust by it the end of the sign Pisces on the ecliptick. The observer is then to look, through the sight, at the *yoga* star of *As'wini*, or of some other proposed object; and to bring the moveable circle of declination over it. The distance in degrees, from the intersection of this circle and ecliptick, to the end of *Mina* or Pisces, is its longitude *(d'hruvaca)* in degrees: and the number of degrees on the moveable circle of declination, from the same intersection to the place of the star, is its latitude *(vicshépa)* North or South *.

THE commentators † further remark, that 'the latitude, so found, is *(sphut'a)* apparent, being the place intercepted between the star and the ecliptick, on a circle passing through the poles; but the true latitude *(asphutá)* is found on a circle hung upon the poles of the celestial sphere, as directed in another place.' The longitude, found as above directed, is, in like manner, the space intercepted between the origin of the ecliptick and a circle of declination passing through the star: differing, consequently, from the true longitude. The same commentators add; that the longitudes and latitudes, exhibited in the text, are of the description thus explained: and those, which are stated in the *Surya sidd'hánta*, are expressly affirmed to be adapted to the time when the equinox did not differ from the origin of the ecliptick in the beginning of *Mésha*.

IT is obvious, that, if the commentators have rightly understood the text of

* Father PETAU, and, after him, BAILLY, for reasons stated by them (Uranol. Dissert. 2 2. Ast. Anc. p. 428.), are of opinion, that the ancient astronomers referred stars to the Equator, and that EUDOXUS and HIPPARCHUS must be so understood, when speaking of the longitudes of stars. Perhaps the Greek astronomers, like the Hindus, reckoned longitudes upon the ecliptick intersected by circles of declination, in the manner, which has been explained.

† BHUD'H ARA is the most explicit on this point.

their authors, the latitudes and longitudes, there given, require correction. It will indeed appear, in the progress of this inquiry, that the positions of stars distant from the ecliptick, as there given, do not exactly correspond with the true latitudes and longitudes of the stars supposed to be intended: and the disagreement may be accounted for, by the circumstance of the observations having been made in the manner above described.

ANOTHER mode of observation is taught in the *Sidd'hánta sundara* cited and expounded by the author of the *Sidd'hánta sárvabhauma*. 'A tube, adapted to the summit of a gnomon, is directed towards the star on the meridian: and the line of the tube, pointed to the star, is prolonged by a thread to the ground. The line from the summit of the gnomon to the base is the hypothenuse; the height of the gnomon is the perpendicular; and its distance from the extremity of the thread is the base of the triangle. Therefore, as the hypothenuse is to its base, so is the radius to a base, from which the line of the angle, and consequently the angle itself, are known. If it exceed the latitude, the declination is south; or, if the contrary, it is north. The right ascension of the star is ascertained by calculation from the hour of the night, and from the right ascension of the sun for that time. The declination of the corresponding point of the ecliptick being found, the sum of difference of the declinations, according as they are of the same or of different denominations, is the distance of the star from the ecliptick. The longitude of the same point is computed; and from these elements, with the actual precession of the equinox, may be calculated the true longitude of the star; as also its latitude on a circle passing through the poles of the ecliptick.

SUCH, if I have rightly comprehended the meaning in a single and not very accurate copy of the text, is the purport of the directions given in the *Sidd'hánta*

sárvabhauma: the only work, in which the true latitudes and longitudes of the stars are attempted to be given. All the rest exhibit the longitude of the star's circle of declination, and its distance from the Ecliptick measured on that circle.

I SUPPOSE the original observations, of which the result is copied from BRAHMEGUPTA and the *Surya sidd'hánta*, with little variation, by successive authors, to have been made about the time, when the vernal equinox was near the first degree of *Mésha* *. The pole then was nearly seventeen degrees and a quarter from its present position, and stood a little beyond the star near the ear of the Camelopard. On this supposition, it will be accordingly found, that the assigned places of the *Nacshatras* are easily reconcileable to the positions of stars likely to be meant.

I SHALL here remark, that the notion of a polar star, common to the Indian and Grecian celestial spheres, implies considerable antiquity. It cannot have been taken from our present pole-star (α Ursæ minoris), which, as Mons. BAILLY has observed (Astronomie Ancienne, p. 511), was remote from the pole, when EUDOXUS described the sphere; at which time, according to the quotation of HIPPARCHUS, there was a star situated at the pole of the world †. BAILLY conjectures, as the intermediate stars of the sixth magnitude are too small to have designated the pole, that χ Draconis was the star meant by EUDOXUS,

* BRAHMEGUPTA wrote soon after that period: and the *Surya Sidd'hánta* is probably a work of nearly the same age. Mr. BENTLEY considers it as more modern (As. Res. vol. 6.): it certainly cannot be more ancient; for the equinox must have past the beginning of *Mesha*, or have been near it, when that work was composed.

† HIPPARCHUS. Comment. on Aratus. Lib. 1. p. 179.

which had been at its greatest approximation to the pole, little more than four degrees from it, about 1236 years before CHRIST. It must have been distant, between seven and eight degrees of a great circle, when EUDOXUS wrote. Possibly the great star in the Dragon (ε Draconis), which is situated very near to the circle described by the north pole round the pole of the ecliptick, had been previously designated as the polar star. It was within one degree of the north pole about 2836 years before CHRIST. As we know, that the idea could not be taken from the star in the tail of Ursa minor, we are forced to choose between BAILLY's conjecture or the supposition of a still greater antiquity. I should, therefore, be inclined to extend to the Indian sphere, his conjecture respecting that of EUDOXUS.

I SHALL now proceed to compare the *Nacshatras* with the *Manzils* of the moon, or lunar mansions.

I. *As'wini*, now the first *Nacshatra*, but anciently the last but one, probably obtained its present situation at the head of the Indian asterisms, when the beginning of the Zodiack was referred to the first degree of *Mésha*, or the Ram, on the Hindu sphere. As measuring a portion of the Zodiack, it occupies the first 13° 20′ of *Mésha*: and its beginning follows immediately after the principal star in the last *Nacshatra* (*Revati*), reckoned, by some exactly, by others nearly, opposite to the very conspicuous one, which forms the fourteenth asterism. Considered as a constellation, *As'wini* compresses three stars figured as a horse's head; and the principal, which is also the northern one, is stated by all ancient authorities, in 10° N. and 8° E. from the beginning of *Mesha*.

THE first *Manzil*, or lunar mansion according to the Arabs, is entitled

Sherat'an, (by the Persians corruptly called, as in the oblique case, *Sheratain*), and comprises two stars of the third magnitude on the head of Aries, in lat. 6° 36′, and 7° 51′, N. and long. 26° 13′, and 27° 7′. (HYDE's ULUGH BEG, p. 58). With the addition of a third, also in the head of the Ram, the asterism is denominated *Ashát.* The bright star of the 2d or 3d magnitude which is out of the figure of the Ram, according to ULUGH BEG, but on the nose according to HIPPARCHUS cited by this author from PTOLEMY, is determined *Nátih:* it is placed in Lat. 9° 30′ N. and Long. 1ˢ 0° 43′, and is apparently the same with the principal star in the Indian asterism; for MUHAMMED of *Tizin,* in his table of declination and right ascension, expressly terms it the first star of the *Sheratain.* (HYDE's Com. on ULUGH BEG's tables, p. 97).

MANY *Pandits,* consulted by me, have concurred in pointing to the three bright stars in the head of Aries (α β and γ) for the Indian constellation *As'wini.* The first star of Aries (α) was also shewn to Dr. HUNTER, at *Ujjayini,* for the principal one in this asterism; and Mr. DAVIS (As. Res. vol. 2. p. 226.) states the other two, as those which were pointed out to him by a skilful native astronomer, for the stars that distinguish *As'wini.* The same three stars, but with the addition of three others, were indicated to LE GENTIL, for this constellation (Mem. Acad. Scien. 1772. P. II. p. 209). I entertain therefore no doubt, that SIR W. JONES (As. Res. vol. 2. p. 298.) was right in placing the three stars of *As'wini* in, and near, the head of the Ram; and it is evident, that the first *Nacshatra* of the *Hindus* is here rightly determined, in exact conformity with the first Lunar mansion of the Arabs; although the longitude of α Arietis exceed, by half a degree, that which is deduced, for the end of *As'wini,* from the sup-

posed situation of the Virgin's spike opposite to the beginning of this *Nacshatra*; and although its circle of declination be 13° instead of 8° from the principal star in *Révati*.

II. *Bharani*, the second Indian asterism, comprises three stars figured by the *Yoni* or pudendum muliebre: and all ancient authorities concur in placing the principal and southern star of this *Nacshatra* in 12° N. The second *Manzil*, entitled *Butain*, is placed by ULUGH BEG (Hyde, p. 61.) in Lat. 1° 12′ and 3° 12′; and this cannot possibly be reconciled with the Hindu constellation. But *Muhammed* of *Tizin* (See HYDE's Commentary, p. 97), assigns to the bright star of *Butain* a declination of 23° N. exceeding by nearly 2° the declination allotted by him to *Nátih*, or his first star in *Sheratain*. This agrees with the difference between the principal stars of *As'wini* and *Bharani*; and it may be inferred, that some among the Muhammedan astronomers have concurred with the Hindus, in referring the second constellation to stars that form Musca. There were no good grounds for supposing *Bharani* to correspond with three stars on the tail of the Ram (As. Res. vol. 2. p. 298); and I have no doubt, that the stars, which compose this *Nacshatra*, have been rightly indicated to me, as three in Musca, forming a triangle almost equilateral: their brightness, and their equal distance from the first and third asterisms, corroborate this opinion, which will be confirmed by shewing, as will be done in the progress of this comparison, that the *Nacshatras* are not restricted to the limits of the Zodiack.

III. *Críttiká*, now the third, but formerly the first, *Nacshatra*, consists of six stars figured as a knife or razor, and the principal and southern star is placed in $4\frac{1}{2}$° or 5° N. and in 65 sixths of degrees (or 1° 50′) from its own commencement,

according to the *Surya sidd'hánta*, or 37° 28′ to 38° from the beginning of *Mésha*, according to the *Sidd'hánta siromani*, and *Grahalághava*, respectively. This longitude of the circle of declination corresponds nearly with that of the bright star in the Pleiades, which is 40° of longitude distant from the principal star of *Révati*.

THE stars, indicated by ULUGH BEG for *Thurayyá*, also correspond exactly with the Pleiades; and these were pointed out to the Jesuit missionaries*, as they have since been to every other inquirer, for the third *Nacshatra*. If any doubt existed, Mythology might assist in determining the question; for the *Crĭtticás* are six nymphs, who nursed SCANDA, the God of war, named from these, his foster mothers, CA'RTICE'YA or SHA'NMA'TURA.

IV. WE retain on our celestial globes the Arabick name of the fourth lunar mansion *Debarán* (or with the article, Aldebaran): applied by us, however, exclusively to the bright star called the Bull's-eye; and which is unquestionably the same with the principal and eastern star of *Rohiní*, placed in $4\frac{1}{2}°$ or 5° S. and $49\frac{1}{2}°$ E. by the Hindu writers on Astronomy. This *Nacshatra*, figured as a wheeled carriage, comprises five stars, out of the seven which the Greeks named the Hyades. The Arabs, however, like the Hindus, reckon five stars only in the asterism; and Sir W. JONES rightly supposed them to be in the head and neck of the Bull; they probably are α ρ γ δ ε Tauri, agreeably to Mons. BAILLY's conjecture (Ast. Ind. p. 129).

* Costard's Hist. of Ast. p. 51. Bailly Ast. Ind. p. 131.

Hindu astronomers define a point in this constellation, of some importance in their fanciful astrology. According to the *Surya sidd'hánta*, when a planet is in the 7th degree of *Vřisha* (Taurus) and has more than two degrees of south latitude, or, as commentators expound the passage, 2° 40′; the planet is said to cut the cart of *Rohini*. This is denominated *sacat'abhéda*, or the section of the wain. LALLA and the *Grahalághava* give nearly the same definition; and it is added in the work last mentioned, that, when Mars, Saturn and the Moon are in that position (which occurs, in regard to the moon, when the node is eight *nacshatras* distant from *Punarvasu*, and might happen in regard to the rest during another *Yuga*), the world is involved in great calamity. Accordingly, the *Puranas* contain a legendary story of *Dasarat'ha's* dissuading *Saturn* from so traversing the constellation *Rohini*.

V. *Mřigásiras* the fifth *Nacshatra*, represented by an antelope's head, contains three stars; the same which constitute the fifth lunar mansion *Hakáh*; for the distance of 10° S. assigned to the northern star of this *Nacshatra*, will agree with no other but one of the three in the head of Orion. The difference of longitude (24° to $25\frac{1}{2}$°) from *Cřittica* corresponds with sufficient exactness; and so does the longitude of its circle of declination (62° to 63°) from the end of *Revati*; since the true longitude of λ Orionis, from the principal star in *Revati* (ζ Piscium), is $63\frac{1}{2}$°. It was a mistake to suppose this asterism to comprise stars in the feet of Gemini, or in the Galaxy (As. Res. vol. 2. p. 298).

VI. *A'rdra*, the sixth *Nacshatra*, consists of a single bright star, described as a gem, and placed in 9° S. by one authority, but in 11° by others, and at the distance of $4\frac{1}{3}$° to 4° in longitude from the last asterism. This indicates the star

in the shoulder of Orion (α Orionis); not, as was conjectured by SIR WILLIAM JONES, the star in the knee of Pollux (As. Res. 2. p. 298).

THE sixth lunar mansion is named by the Arabs, *Hanah*; and comprises two stars in the feet of the second twin, according to ULUGH BEG, though others make it to be his shoulder (HYDE, Com. p. 7. and 44). MUHAMMED of *Tizin* allots five stars to this constellation; and the *Kamus*, among various meanings of *Hanah*, says, that it is a name for five stars in the left arm of Orion; remarking, also, that the lunar mansion is named *Tahayi*, comprising three stars called *Tahyat*. Either way however, the Indian and Arabian asterisms appear in this instance irreconcileable.

VII. THE seventh *Nacshatra*, entitled *Punarvasu*, and represented by a house, or, according to a *Sanscrit* work cited by SIR WILLIAM JONES (As. Res. v. 2. p. 295), a bow, is stated by astronomers as including four stars, among which the principal and eastern one is 30° or 32° from the fifth asterism; but placed by all authorities in 6° N. This agrees with (β Geminorum) one of the two stars in the heads of the twins, which together constitute the seventh lunar mansion *Ziraa*, according to MUHAMMED of *Tusi* and MUHAMMED of *Tizin* and other Arabian authorities (HYDE on ULUGH BEG, p. 43).

IT appears from a rule of *Sanscrit* grammar *, that *Punarvasu*, as a name for a constellation, is properly dual, implying, as it may be supposed, two stars. On this ground, a conjecture may be raised, that *Punarvasu* originally comprised two stars, though four are now assigned to it. Accordingly, that number is retained in the *Sacalya sanhita*.

* PANINI 1. ii. 63.

It may be further observed, that the seventh lunar mansion of the Arabs is named *Ziraâ ul ased* according to *Juhari* and others cited by HYDE (Com. on ULUGH BEG, p. 44); and that the *Kamus* makes this term to be the name of eight stars in the form of a bow.

UPON the whole, the agreement of the Indian and Arabian constellations is here apparent, notwithstanding a variation in the number of the stars; and I conclude, that *Punarvasu* comprises, conformably with SIR WILLIAM JONES's supposition (As. Res. vol. 2. p. 209), stars in the heads of the twins; viz. α, β, Geminorum; and which were indicated to DR. HUNTER by a Hindu astronomer at *Ujjayn*; to which, perhaps, θ and τ may be added to complete the number of four.

VIII. *Pushya*, the eighth asterism, is described as an arrow; and consists of three stars, the chief of which, being also the middlemost, has no latitude, and is 12° or 13° distant from the seventh asterism, being placed by *Hindu* astronomers in 106° of longitude. This is evidently Cancri; and does not differ widely from the eighth lunar mansion *Nethrah*, which, according to ULUGH BEG and others (HYDE's Com. p. 45), consists of two stars, including the nebula of Cancer. The Indian constellation comprises two other stars, besides δ Cancri, which are perhaps γ and β of the same constellation; and SIR WILLIAM JONES's conjecture, that it consists of stars in the body and claws of Cancer, was not far from the truth.

IX. THE ninth asterism, *A's'lésha*, contains five stars figured as a potter's wheel, and of which the principal or eastern one is placed in 7° S. and, according to different tables, 107°, 108°, or 109°, E. This appears to be intended for the bright star in the southern claw of Cancer (α Cancri,) and cannot be reconciled with the lunar mansion *Tarf* or *Tarfah*,

which comprises two stars (HYDE's Com. p. 8.) near the lion's eye; the northernmost being placed by MUHAMMED of *Tízín* in 24° of N. declination (HYDE's Com. p. 101). The Jesuit missionaries, if rightly quoted by COSTARD (Hist. of Astr. p. 51) made *As'lésha* correspond with the bright stars in the heads of Castor and Pollux, together with Procyon." This is evidently erroneous. SIR WILLIAM JONES's supposition, that *As'lésha* might answer to the face and name of Leo, nearly concurs with the Arabian determination of this lunar mansion, but disagrees with the place assigned to the stars by Hindu astronomers. BAILLY committed the same mistake, when he affirmed, that *As'lésha* is the Lion's head. (Astr. Ind. p. 328).

X. THE tenth asterism *Mag'ha* contains, like the last, five stars; but which are figured as a house. The principal or southern one has no latitude, and, according to all authorities, has 129° longitude. This is evidently Regulus (α Leonis): which is exactly $129\frac{20}{3}$ distant from the last star in *Révati*.

ACCORDING to the Jesuits cited by COSTARD, *Mag'ha* answers to the lion's mane and heart; and the tenth lunar mansion of the Arabians, *Jebhah*, comprises three (some say four) stars, nearly in the longitude of the Lion's heart (HYDE's ULUGH BEG, p. 74. and Com. p. 46). In this instance, therefore, the Indian and Arabian divisions of the Zodiack coincide: and it is owing to an oversight, that SIR WILLIAM JONES states the *Nacshatra* as composed of stars in the Lion's leg and haunch. It appears to consist of α γ ζ η and ν Leonis.

XI. THE stars, constituting the eleventh *Nacshatra*, or preceding *Phalguní*, which is represented by a couch or bedstead, are determined by the place of the chief star (the northernmost according to the *Surya sidd'-*

hanta) in 12° N. and 144° E. or, according to BRAHMEGUPTA, the *Siróman'i* and the *Grahalag'hava* 147° or 148° E. They are probably δ and θ Leonis; the same which form the lunar mansion *Zubrah* or *Khertan* (HYDE's ULUGH BEG, p. 76. and Com. p. 47).

IT may be conjectured, that BRAHMEGUPTA and BHA'SCARA selected the southern for the principal star; while the *Surya sidd'hanta* took the northern: hence the latitude, stated by those several *Hindu* authorities, is the mean between both stars; and the difference of longitude, compared to the preceding and subsequent asterisms, may be exactly reconciled upon this supposition.

XII. Two other stars, constituting the twelfth *Nacshatra*, or following *P'halguni*, which is likewise figured as a bed, are ascertained by the place of one of them (the northernmost) in 13° N. and 155° E. This indicates β Leonis; the same which singly constitutes the Arabian lunar mansion *S'erfah* (HYDE's ULUGH BEG, p. 78. and Com. p. 47.), though MUHAMMED of *Tizin* seems to hint that it consists of more than one star (HYDE, p. 102). By an error regarding the origin of the ecliptick on the Indian sphere, SIR WILLIAM JONES refers to the preceding *Nacshatra*, the principal star of this asterism.

XIII. *Hasta*, the thirteenth *Nacshatra*, has the name and figure of a hand; and is suitably made to contain five stars. The principal one, towards the west, next to the north-western star, is placed according to all authorities in 11° S. and 170° E. This can only belong to the constellation Corvus: and accordingly five stars in that constellation ($\alpha\ \beta\ \gamma\ \delta\ \varepsilon$ Corvi), have been pointed out to me by Hindu astronomers for this *Nacshatra*.

Áwwa, the thirteenth lunar mansion of the Arabs, is described as containing the same number of stars, situated under Virgo, and so disposed as to resemble the letter Alif. They are placed by ULUGH BEG in the wing (HYDE's ULUGH BEG, p. 80).

IN this instance the Indian and Arabian divisions of the Zodiack have nothing in common but the number of stars and their agreement of longitude. It appears, however, from a passage cited from SUFI by HYDE (Com. p. 82), that the Arabs have also considered the constellation of Corvus as a mansion of the moon.)

XIV. The fourteenth *Nacshatra*, figured as a pearl, is a single star named *Chitra*. It is placed by the *Surya sidd'hanta* in 2° S. and 180° E; and by BRAHMEGUPTA, the *Sirómani* and *Graha Lag'hava*, in $1\frac{30}{4}$° or 2° S. and 183° E. This agrees with the virgin's spike (α Virginis;) and *Hindu* astronomers have always pointed out that star for *Chitra*. The same star constitutes the fourteenth lunar mansion of the Arabs, named from it *Simac ul aázil*. LE GENTIL's conjecture *, that the fourteenth *nacshatra* comprises the two stars δ and ε Virginis was entirely erroneous. And MONS. BAILLY was equally incorrect in placing ζ Virginis in the middle of this asterism (Astr. Ind. p. 227).

XV. ANOTHER single star constitutes the fifteenth *Nacshatra*, *Swati*, represented by a coral bead. The *Surya sidd'hanta*, BRAHMEGUPTA, the *Sromani* and *Graha lag'hava*, concur in placing it in 37° N. They differ one degree in the longitude of its circle of declination; three of these authorities making it 199°, and the other 198°.

THE only conspicuous star, nearly in the situation thus assigned to *Swati*,

* BAILLY Ast. Ind. p. 227.

(and the Indian astronomers would hardly travel so far from the Zodiack to seek an obscure star;) is Arcturus, 33° N. of the ecliptick in the circle of declination, and 198° E. from the principal star of *Révati*. I am therefore disposed to believe, that *Swati* has been rightly indicated to me by a native astronomer who pointed out Arcturus for this *Nacshatra*. The longitude, stated by MUN'IS'WARA (viz. $1\frac{1}{2}°$ less than *Chitra*), indicates the same star: but, if greater reliance be placed on his latitudes, the star intended may be ε *Bootis*. At all events, MONS. BAILLY mistook, when he asserted, on the authority of LE GENTIL, that the fifteenth *Nacshatra* is marked by α Virginis; and that this star is situated at the beginning of the *Nacshatra* (Ast. Ind. p. 139 and 227).

THE Indian asterism totally disagrees with the lunar mansion *Ghafr*, consisting of three stars in the Virgin's foot, according to ULUGH BEG (HYDE, p. 82. and Com. p. 50); but in, or near, the balance, according to others (ibid).

XVI. *Visac'ha*, the sixteenth *Nacshatra*, consists of four stars described as a festoon. Authorities differ little as to the situation of the principal and northernmost star: placing it in 1°, 1° 20′, or 1° 30′ S. and in 212°, 212° 5′ or 213° E. The latitude seems to indicate the bright star in the southern scale (α Libræ), though the longitude disagree; for this suggests a remote star (possibly κ Libræ). I apprehend the first to be nearest the truth; and hence conclude the four stars to be α ν ι Libræ and γ Scorpii.

THE sixteenth lunar mansion named *Zubanah* or *Zubaniyah*, is according to MUHAMMED of *Tizin* (HYDE, Com. 104), the bright star in the northern scale (β Libræ), which SIR WILLIAM JONES supposed to be the fifteenth *Nacshatra*.

FATHER SOUCIET, by whom Corona Borealis is stated for the asterism

Visac'ha, is censured by SIR W. JONES, under an impression, that all the *Nacshatras* must be sought within the Zodiack. The information, received by Father SOUCIET, does appear to have been erroneous; but the same mistake was committed by a native astronomer, who showed to me the same constellation for *Visác'há*; and the *Nacshatras* are certainly not restricted to the neighbourhood of the ecliptick.

XVII. FOUR stars, (or, according to a different reading, three,) described as a row of oblations, that is, in a right line, constitute the seventeenth *Nacshatra* named *Anurád'há*. Here also, authorities differ little as to the situation of the chief and middlemost star; which is placed in 3°, or 2°, or 1° 45′ S. and in 224° or 224° 5′ E. This must intend the star near the head of the scorpion (δ Scorpionis); and the asterism probably comprises β δ π and ρ Scorpionis.

THE seventeenth lunar mansion of the Arabs called *Iclil* or *Iclilu'jebhah*, contains four (some say three, and others six *,) stars lying in a straight line. Those, assigned by ULUGH BEG (HYDE, p. 87.) for this mansion, are β δ ν π Scorpionis.

HERE the Indian and Arabian divisions appear to concur exactly; and SIR W. JONES (As. Res. 2. p. 299), as well as the Missionaries cited by COSTARD (Hist. Astr. p. 51), have apparently understood the same stars; though the latter extend the *Nacshatra* to the constellation Serpentarius.

XVIII. *Jyés'ht'ha*, the eighteenth *Nacshatra*, comprises three stars figured as

* HYDE's Com. p. 51.

a ring. In regard to this, also, authorities are nearly agreed in the position of the principal and middlemost star, placed in 4°, $3\frac{1}{2}$°, or 3° S. and in 229°, 229° 5′, or 230° E. This position clearly indicates Antares or the Scorpion's heart (α Scorpionis); which is also the eighteenth lunar mansion named *Kalb* or *Kalbul'akrab*. The three stars of the Indian asterism may be α σ & τ Scorpionis.

XIX. The nineteenth asterism, *Múla*, represented by a Lion's tail, contains eleven stars, of which the characteristick one, the easternmost, is placed in 9°, $8\frac{1}{2}$° or 8° S. and in 241° or 242° E. Although the latitude of υ Scorpionis be five degrees too great, there seems little doubt, that either that, or the star east of it marked ν, must be intended; and this determination agrees with the 18th lunar mansion of the Arabs called *Shaulah*, consisting of two stars near the scorpion's sting. The Hindu asterism probably includes all the stars placed by us in the Scorpion's tail, viz. ε μ ζ η θ ι κ λ υ and ν Scorpionis.

XX. The twentieth *Nacshatra*, entitled preceding *A'shád'ha*, figured as an elephant's tooth, or as a couch, cossists of two stars, of which the most northern one is placed in $5\frac{1}{2}$° 5½° or 5° S. and 254° or 255° E. This suits with δ Sagittarii, which is also one of the stars of the twentieth lunar mansion called *Náaim*. It consists of four, or, according to some authorities, of eight, stars. The Indian asterism seemingly comprises δ & ε Sagittarii.

XXI. Two stars constitute the twenty-first asterism, named the subsequent *A'shád'ha*, which is represented by a couch or by an elephant's tooth. The principal star, which also is the most northerly one, is placed in 5° S. and 260°, or 261° E. This agrees with a star in the body of Sagittarius (τ Sagittarii), and the other star is perhaps the one marked ζ.

THE twenty-first lunar mansion of the Arabians, named *Baldah*, comprises six stars, two of which are placed by MUHAMMED of *Tizin* in Declination 21° & 16°. One of these must be a star in the head of Sagittarius. Some authors, on the contrary, describe the lunar mansion as destitute of stars (HYDE, Com. on ULUGH BEG, p. 9.) At all events, the Hindu and Arabian divisions appear, in this instance, to be but imperfectly reconcileable.

XXII. THREE stars, figured as a triangle, or as the nut of the floating Trapa, form the twenty-second asterism, named *Abhijit*; which, in the modern Indian astronomy, does not occupy an equal portion of the ecliptick with the other *Nácshatras*, but is carved out of the contiguous divisions. Its place (meaning that of its brightest star) is very remote from the Zodiack; being in 60° or 62° N. The longitude of its circle of declination, according to different authorities, is 265°, 266° 40′, or 268°. Probably the bright star in the Lyre is meant. It was shown to DR. HUNTER, at *Ujjayini* for the chief star in *Abhijit*; and the same was pointed out to me, for the asterism, by a Hindu astronomer at this place.

THE Arabian lunar mansion *Zábih*, consists of two stars (some reckon four *) in the horns of Capricorn, totally disagreeing with the Indian *Nacshatra*.

XXIII. *S'ravaná*, the twenty-third *Nacshatra*, represented by three footsteps, contains three stars, of which one, the middlemost, is by all authorities placed in 30° N. but they differ as to its longitude; the *Surya sidd'hánta* placing it in 280°; BRAHMEGUPTA and the *S'rómani*, in 278°; and the *Grahaláग'hava* in 275°.

* ULUGH BEG, p. 94, and HYDE's Com. 51.

The assigned latitude indicates the bright star in the eagle, whence the three may be inferred to be $\alpha\,\beta$ and γ Aquilæ.

THE twenty-third mansion of the moon, called by the Arabs *Balá*, consists of two stars in the left hand of Aquarius. Consequently the Arabian and Hindu divisions are here at variance.

XXIV. *D'hanish't'há*, the twenty-fourth asterism, is represented by a drum or tabor. It comprises four stars, one of which (the westernmost) is placed in 36° N. and, according to the *Surya sidd'hánta*, BRAHMEGUPTA and the *Siróman'i*, in 290° E. though the *Grahalág'hava* state 286° only. This longitude of the circle of declination, and the distance of the star on it from the ecliptick, indicate the Dolphin; and the four stars probablyare $\alpha\,\beta\,\gamma$ and δ Delphini. The same constellation is mentioned by the Jesuit missionaries as corresponding to *D'hanish't'há* (COSTARD, p. 51): and there can be little doubt, that the ascertainment is correct. The longitude, stated by MUN'IS'WARA, (viz. 294° 12′) supports the conclusion, though his latitude (26° 25′) be too small. To determine accurately the position of this *Nacshatra* is important, as the solstitial colure, according to the ancient astronomers, passed through the extremity of it, and through the middle of *As'lésha*.

THE twenty-fourth mansion, called by the Arabs *Sáud*, comprises two stars in Aquarius (β and ξ Aquarii); totally disagreeing with the Hindu division.

XXV. *Satabhisha*, the twenty-fifth *Nacshatra*, is a cluster of a hundred stars figured by a circle. The principal one, or brightest, has no latitude; or only a third, or at the utmost half, a degree of south latitude; and all the tables concur in placing it in long. 320°. This will suit best with λ Aquarii.

These hundred stars may be sought in the stream from the Jar, where SIR WILLIAM JONES places the *Nacshatra*; and in the right leg of Aquarius.

Akhbiyah, the twenty-fifth lunar mansion, is stated to consist of three stars only, which seem to be the three in the wrist of the right hand of Aquarius (HYDE's Com. p. 55). However, it appears from ULUGH BEG's tables, as well as from MUHAMMED of *Tizin's*, that four stars are assigned to this mansion (HYDE, p. 99. and Com. p. 95.)

THE Hindu and Arabian asterisms differ, here less widely, than in the instances lately noticed: and a passage, cited by HYDE from FIROZABADI, even intimates the circular figure of the constellation (Com. p. 10).

XXVI. THE twenty-sixth of the Indian asterisms, called the preceding *Bhádrapada*, consists of two stars represented by a couch or bed, or else by a double headed figure; one of which is placed by Hindu astronomers in 24° N. and 325° or 326° E. The only conspicuous star, nearly in that situation, is the bright star in Pegasus (α Pegasi); and the other may be the nearest consideration (ζ Pegasi). I should have considered β Pegasi to be the second star of this *Nacshatra*, were not its *yóga* or chief star expressly said to be the most northerly. *Mukaddim*, the 26th lunar mansion, consists of the two brightest stars in Pegasus (α and β *); and thus the two divisions of the Zodiack nearly concur.

XXVII. Two other stars constitute the 27th lunar mansion named the subsequent *Bhadrapada*. They are figured as a twin, or person with a dou-

* HYDE's ULUGH BEG, p. 53, and Com. p. 34.

ble face, or else as a couch. The position of one of them (the most northerly) is stated in 26° or 27° N. and 337° E. I suppose the bright star in the head of Andromeda to be meant; and the other star to be the one in the extremity of the wing of Pegasus (γ Pegasi). This agrees exactly with the 27th lunar mansion of the Arabians, called *Muakkher*. For ULUGH BEG assigns those stars to it (HYDE, p. 53. Com. p. 34. and 35.)

XXVIII. THE last of the twenty-eight asterisms is named *Révati*, and comprises thirty-two stars figured as a tabor. All authorities agree, that the principal star, which should be the southernmost, has no latitude, and two of them assert no longitude; but some make it ten minutes short of the origin of the ecliptick, viz. 359° 50′. This clearly marks the star on the ecliptick in the string of the fishes (ζ Piscium); and the ascertainment of it is important in regard to the adjustment of the *Hindu* sphere.

THE Arabick name of the 28th mansion, *Risha*, signifying a cord, seems to indicate a star nearly in the same position. But the constellation, as described by JUHARI cited by GOLIUS, consists of a multitude of stars in the shape of a fish, and termed *Betnu'lhut*; in the navel of which is the lunar mansion: and MUHAMMED of *Tizin*, with some others, also makes this lunar mansion to be the same with *Betnu'lhut*, which appears, however, to be the bright star in the girdle of Andromeda (β Andromedæ); though others describe it as the northern fish, extending, however, to the horns of the ram (HYDE's Com. p. 10, 35, and 96). The lunar mansion and Indian asterism are, therefore, not reconcileable in this last instance.

THE result of the comparison shows, I hope satisfactorily, that the Indian asterisms, which mark the divisions of the ecliptick, generally consist of nearly the same stars, which constitute the lunar mansions of the Arabians: but, in a

few instances, they essentially differ. The Hindus have likewise adopted the division of the Ecliptick and Zodiack into twelve signs or constellations, agreeing in figure and designation with those of the Greeks; and differing merely in the place of the constellations, which are carried on the Indian sphere a few degrees further west than on the Grecian. That the *Hindus* took the hint of this mode of dividing the ecliptick from the Greeks, is not perhaps altogether improbable: but, if such be the origin of it, they have not implicitly received the arrangement suggested to them, but have reconciled and adapted it to their own ancient distribution of the ecliptick into twenty-seven parts *.

In like manner, they may have either received or given the hint of an armillary sphere as an instrument for astronomical observation: but certainly they have not copied the instrument which was described by Ptolemy; for the construction differs considerably.

In the Arabick Epitome of the Almagest entitled *Tahrir u'lmejesti* †, the armillary sphere *(Zat ul halk)* is thus described. "Two equal circles are placed at right angles; the one representing the ecliptick, the other the solstitial colure. Two pins pass through the poles of the ecliptick; and two other pins are placed on the poles of the equator. On the two first pins, are suspended a couple of circles, moving the one within, the other without, the first mentioned circles, and

* According to the longitude of the three brightest stars of Aries, as stated by Ptolemy, viz. 1° 40′, 7° 10′ and 0° 40′, (I quote from an Arabick epitome of the Almagest); the origin of the ecliptick, in the Greek book which is most likely to have become known in India, is 0° 20′ from the star which the *Hindus* have selected to mark the commencement of the ecliptick.

† By the celebrated Nasiruddin Tusi; from the Arabick version of Is'hak bin Huney which was revised by Thabit.

representing two secondaries of the ecliptick. On the two other pins a circle is placed, which encompasses the whole instrument, and within which the different circles turn: it represents the meridian. Within the inner secondary of the ecliptick a circle is fitted to it, in the same plane, and turning in it. This is adapted to measure latitudes. To this internal circle, two apertures, or sights, opposite to each other, and without its plane, are adapted, like the sights of an instrument for altitudes. The armillary sphere is complete when consisting of these six circles. The ecliptick and secondaries are to be graduated as minutely as may be practicable. It is best to place both secondaries, as by some directed, within the ecliptick, (instead of placing one of them without it,) that the complete revolution of the outer secondary may not be obstructed by the pins at the poles of the equator. The Meridian, likewise, should be doubled, or made to consist of two circles; the external one graduated, and the internal one moving within it. Thus the pole may be adjusted at its proper elevation above the horizon of any place. The instrument so constructed consists of seven circles.

"It is remarked, that when the circle, representing the meridian, is placed in the plane of the true meridian, so that it cuts the plane of the horizon at right angles, and one of the poles of the equator is elevated above the horizon conformably with the latitude of the place; then the motions of all the circles round the poles represent the motions of the universe.

"After rectifying the meridian, if it be wished to observe the sun and moon together, the outer secondary of the ecliptick must be made to intersect the ecliptick at the sun's place for that time: and the solstitial colure must be moved until the place of intersection be opposite to the sun. Both circles are thus adjusted to their true places; or if any other object, but the sun, be

observed, the colure is turned, until the object be seen in its proper place, on that secondary referred to the ecliptick; the circle representing the ecliptick, being at the same time in the plane of the true ecliptick and in its proper situation. Afterwards, the inner secondary is turned towards the moon (or to any star intended to be observed), and the smaller circle within it, bearing the two sights, is turned, until the moon (or to any star intended to be observed), and the smaller circle within it, bearing the two sights, is turned, until the moon be seen in the line of the apertures. The intersection of the secondary circle and ecliptick is the place of the moon in longitude; and the arc of the secondary, between the aperture and the ecliptick, is the latitude of the moon on either side (North or South)."

THE same instrument, as described by MONTUCLA from the text of PTOLEMY (l. 3. c. 2.*), consists of six circles: first, a large circle representing the meridian; next, four circles united together, representing the equator, ecliptick and two colures, and turning within the first circle on the poles of the equator; lastly, a circle turning on the poles of the ecliptick, furnished with sights and nearly touching, on its concave side, the circumference of the ecliptick.

THE armillary sphere, described by the Arabian epitomiser, differs, therefore, from PTOLEMY's, in omitting the equator and equinoctial colure, and adding an inner secondary of the ecliptick, which, as well as the meridian, is doubled.

ACCORDING to LALANDE, the astrolabe of PTOLEMY, from which TYCHO BRAHE derived his equatorial armillary, consisted only of four circles: two

* Hist. des Mathem. 1. p. 301.

placed at right angles to represent the ecliptick and solstitial colure; a third turning on the poles of the ecliptick and serving to mark longitudes; and a fourth, within the other three, furnished with sights to observe celestial objects and measure their latitudes and longitudes *.

WHETHER the ancient Greeks had any more complicated instrument formed on similar principles, and applicable to astronomical observations, is perhaps uncertain. We have no detailed description of the instrument, which ARCHIMEDES is said to have devised to represent the phenomena and motions of the heavenly bodies; nor any sufficient hint of its construction †; nor does CICERO's account of the sphere exhibited by POSIDONIUS ‡ suggest a distinct notion of its structure.

AMONG the Arabs, no addition is at present known to have been made to the Armillary sphere, between the period when the Almagest was translated §, and the time of ALHAZEN, who wrote a treatise of optics, in which a more com-

* LALANDE Astron. I. 13. (§ 2279).

† If Claudian's epigram on the subject of it was founded upon any authority, the instrument must have been a sort of orrery, enclosed in glass.

Vide Claud. epig. Cicero. Tusc. Quæs. I. 1 Nat. Deo. 2. 35.

‡ Cic. Nat. Deo. 2. 34.

§ In the *Hejra* year 212, or A. D. 827, by ALHAZEN BEN YUSEF with the aid of SERGIUS (MONTUCLA, 2. p. 304); or rather by ISHAK BEN HONEN, whose death is placed about the *Hejra* year 260 (D'HERBELOT, p. 455). According to the *Cashfulzun*, ISHAK's version was epitomised by HAJAI BEN YUSEF, by THABIT BEN KARRAH, and by NASIRUDDIN TUSI. Other versions, however, are mentioned: particularly, one by HAJAB, said to have been corrected first by HUNEN BEN ISHAK, and afterwards by THABIT; another by THABIT himself; and a third by MUHI BEN YATHYAH. A different account is likewise given of the earliest translation of the *Almagest*, which is ascribed to ABU HISAN and SALMAN, who are said to have completed it, after the failure of other learned men, who had previously attempted the translation. Mention is also made of a

plicated instrument, than that of PTOLEMY, is described. ALHAZEN's armillary sphere is stated to have been the prototype of TYCHO BRAHE's *; but neither the original treatise, nor the Latin translation of it, are here procurable; and I am therefore unable to ascertain whether the sphere, mentioned by the Arabian author, resembled that described by Indian astronomers. At all events, he is more modern †, than the oldest of the Hindu writers whom I shall proceed to quote ‡.

THE construction of the Armillary sphere is briefly and rather obscurely taught in the *Surya sidd'hanta*. The following is a literal translation.

"LET the astronomer frame the surprising structure of the terrestrial and celestial spheres.

"HAVING caused a wooden globe to be made, [of such size] as he pleases, to represent the earth; with a staff for the axis, passing through the center, and

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version by IBRAHIM BEN SALAT, revised by HUBEN. But none of these translations are anterior to the 9th century of the Christian era.

* Adhibuit (Tycho) Armillare quoddam instrumentum, quod tamen comperi ego positum, et adhibitum olim fuisse ante Tychonem ab Alhazeno, lib. 7. opt. C. 1. prop. 15 et à Vitell. lib. 10. propos. 49. cujus instrumenti astronomicè collocati ope, atque usu, (vide instrumentum multiplex armillare apud Tycho, in Mechanicis Astronomiæ) eandem elevationem falsam 9 scrupulorum invenit, quam per alia, duo diversa instrumenta, compererat.

Bestim. Aparat.

† He wrote his treatise on opticks and other works about the year 1190.

Biog. Dict.

‡ BHASCARA flourished in the middle of the twelfth century; being born, as he himself informs us, in the *Saca* year 1003, answering to A. D. 1114. But the *Surya Sidd'hanta* is more ancient.

exceeding the globe at both ends; let him place the supporting hoops *, as also the equinoctial circle.

"THREE circles must be prepared, (divided for signs and degrees,) the radius of which must agree with the respective diurnal circles, in proportion to the equinoctial: the three circles should be placed for the Ram and following signs, respectively, at the proper declination in degrees, N. or S.; the same answer contrariwise for the Crab and other signs. In like manner, three circles are placed in the southern hemisphere, for the Balance and the rest, and contrariwise for Capricorn and the remaining signs. Circles are similarly placed on both hoops for the asterisms in both hemispheres, as also for *Abhijit*; and for the seven *Rishis*, *Agastya*, *Brahme* and other stars.

"IN the middle of all these circles is placed the equinoctial. At the intersection of that and the supporting hoops, and distant from each other half the signs, the two equinoxes should be determined; and the two solstices, at the degrees of obliquity from the equinoctial; and the places of the Ram and the rest, in the order of the signs, should be adjusted by the strings of the curve. Another circle, thus passing from equinox to equinox, is named the ecliptick; and by this path, the sun, illuminating worlds, for ever travels. The moon and the other planets are seen deviating from their nodes in the ecliptick, to the extent of their respective greatest latitudes [within the Zodiack]."

THE author proceeds to notice the relation of the great circles before mentioned to the horizon; and observes, that, whatever place be assumed for the apex of the sphere, the middle of the heavens for that

* They are the Colures.

place is its horizon. He concludes by showing, that the instrument may be made to revolve with regularity, by means of a current water; and hints, that the appearance of spontaneous motion may be given, by a concealed mechanism, for which quicksilver is to be employed. The manner of using this instrument for astronomical observations has been already explained (p. 326).

MORE ample instructions for framing an armillary sphere are delivered in the *Sidd'hánta s'iróman'i*. The passage is too long for insertion in this place; and I reserve it for a separate article, on account of the explanations which it requires, and because it leads to the considerations of other topicks *, which cannot be sufficiently discussed in the present essay. A brief abstract of BHA'SCARA's description may here suffice. In the center he places a small globe to represent the earth encompassed with circles for the orbits of the planets arranged like the curved lines in a spider's web. On an axis passing through the poles of the earth, and prolonged on both sides, a sphere, or assemblage of circles, is suspended, by means of rings or tubes adapted to the axis, so that the sphere may move freely on it. This assemblage of circles comprises a horizon and equator adjusted for the place, with a prime vertical meridian, and two intermediate verticals (intersecting the horizon at the N. E. and S. W. and N. W. and S. E points); as also the equinoctial colure. Another

* Among others, that of the precession of the equinoxes; respecting which different opinions are stated by BHASCARA. It appears from what is said by him, that the notion of a libration of the equinoxes has not universally prevailed among *Hindu* astronomers. The correcter opinion of a revolution of the equinoctial points was advanced by some authors, but has not obtained the general suffrage of *Hindu* writers on astronomy.

circle is suspended within this sphere on the poles of the horizon, apparently intended to measure the altitude and amplitude of an object.

ANOTHER sphere or assemblage of circles is in like manner suspended on the pole of the equator. It consists of both colures, and the equinoctial, with the ecliptick adjusted to it; and six circles for the planetary orbits adjusted to the ecliptick; as also six diurnal circles parallel to the equinoctial, and passing through the extremities of the several signs.

THIS, though not a complete description of BHA'SCARA's armillary sphere, will convey a sufficient notion of the instrument for the purpose of the present comparison; and will justify the remark, that its construction differs greatly from that of the instrument specified by PTOLEMY.

IN the description of the armillary sphere cited from the *Súrya sidd'hánta*, mention is made of several stars not included in the asterisms which mark the divisions of the ecliptick. The following table exhibits the positions of those, and of the few other stars which have been particularly noticed by *Hindu* astronomers.

	Brahma sidd'hánta and *Siromani.*		*Graha Lag'hava*		*S Sárvabhauma*		*Surya Sidd'hánta*	
	Lat	Long	Lat	Long	Lat	Long	Lat	Long
Agastya, -	77° S	87°	6° S	80°	77° 16 S	85° 5	80° S	90°
Lubd'haca, or the hunter,	40° S	86°	40° S	81°	40° 4 S	84° 36	40° S	80°
Agni - - -			8° N	53°	8° 14 N.	57° 4	8° N	52°
Brahmehr daya			31° N	46°	30° 49 N	58° 36	30° N	52° †
Prajápati or *Brahma*			39° N	61°	38° 38 N	56° 53	38° N	57°
Apámvatsa			3° N	183°	3 N	183°	3° N	180°
Apas							9 N	180°

† The *Sácalya sanhitá* and *Tatwa viveca* agree with the *Surya sidd'hánta* as to the positions of the first four stars. They omit the other three.

The seven *Rishis*	According to the *Sácalya Sanhitá*. Lat.
CRATU	55° N.
PULAHA	50° N.
PULASTYA	50° N.
ATRI	56° N.
ANGIRAS	57° N.
VASISHT'HA	60° N.
MARÍCHI	60° N.

Here *Agastya* is evidently Canopus; as *Lubd'haca* is Sirius. *Brahmeridaya* seems to be Capella, which was shown, under that Indian name, to DR. HUNTER at *Ujjayiní*. *Agni* may be the bright star in the northern horn of the bull (β Tauri): *Prajápati* is perhaps the star on the head of the waggoner (ϑ Aurigæ). The distances of the three last mentioned stars from the ecliptick do not exactly agree with the places stated; but no conspicuous stars are found nearer to the assigned positions: and it may be remarked, that they are all nearly in the longitude of the *Nacshatra Mrigas'iras* corresponding to the head of Orion; and that the latitude, assigned to them by Hindu astronomers, is as much too small, as that of *Mrigas'iras* is too great.

THE star, mentioned in the *Súrya sidd'hánta* under the name of *A'pas* or water, is doubtless ϑ Virginis; and *Apámvatsa* comprises the nebulous stars in the same constellation, marked b 1. 2. 3.

ASTRONOMERS give rules for computing the heliacal rising and setting of the star *Agastya*, on account of certain religious ceremonies to be performed when that star appears. VARA'HA MIHIRA says, "*Agastya* is visible at *Ujjayini*, when

the sun is 7° short of the sign Virgo." But he afterwards adds, that "the star becomes visible, when the sun reaches *Hasta*, and disappears when the sun arrives at *Róhiní*." His commentator remarks, that the author has here followed earlier writers; and quotes PARA'SARA saying, "When the sun is in *Hasta*, the star rises; and it sets when the sun is in *Róhiní* *." BHATTÓTPALA cites from the five *Sidd'hántas* a rule of computation, analogous to that, which will be forthwith quoted from the *Bháswatí*; and remarks, that three periods of *Agastya's* heliacal rising are observed, viz. 8th and 15th of *As'wina* and 8th of *Cártica*.

THE *Bháswatí* directs the day of *Agastya's* rising for any particular latitude to be found by the following rule. 'The length of the shadow of a gnomon † at a particular latitude, on the day of the equinox, is multiplied by 25; and to the product 900 are added; the sum, divided by 225, gives in signs and degrees the place of the sun, on the day, when *Agastya* rises or appears in the south, at the close of night.' The commentator adds, that 'the day of the star's setting may be computed by deducting the sum found as above, from 1350; the difference reduced to signs and degrees, is the place of the sun, on the day, when *Agastya* sets in the southwest.' According to these rules, *Agastya* in latitude 26° 34′, rises when the sun is in 4ˢ 20° and sets when the sun is in 1ˢ 10°.

The *Grahalág'hava* teaches another method of calculation. The length of the shadow of the gnomon is multiplied by 8, and the product is

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* दृश्यतेसकिलहस्तगतेर्केरोहिणीमुपगतेस्तमपैति.

† In duodecimal parts.

added to 98 for the sun's place in degrees, on the day when *Agastya* rises; or is deducted from 78, to find the sun's place when that star sets. By this rule, the star should rise, in latitude 26° 34′, when the sun is at the 26th degree of the lion, and should set when the sun quits the ram. Accordingly, the *Bhavishya* and the *Brahmevaivarta Puránas* ordain oblations for *Agastya* three days before the sun reaches the Zodiacal sign Virgo; though the inhabitants of the province of *Gaura*, as observed in the last mentioned *Purána*, perform this ceremony three days earlier.

In regard to the passages above quoted, it may be remarked, that the rule, stated in the *Bháswati*, implies the distance of three signs, from the beginning of Aries, to *Agastya*, and supposes the star to become visible when distant one sign from the sun. But the rule, delivered in the *Grahalág'hava*, places the star at the distance of 88° from the beginning of *Mésha*, and supposes it visible in the right sphere, when 10° distant from the sun. According to the quotation from Para'sara, the right ascension of the star must have been, in his time, not less than 100° reckoned from the beginning of *Mésha*; and the star, rising cosmically, became visible in the oblique sphere, at the distance of 60° from the sun; and disappeared, setting achronically, when within that distance. Making allowance therefore for the star's proper motion, and change of declination and right ascension, it remains probable, that Para'sara's rule was framed for the north of India, at a period when the solstitial points were, as stated by that author, in the middle of *Asleshá* and beginning of *Dhanisht'ha* *.

I have purposely reserved for separate consideration the seven *Rishis*, who

* As. Res. vol. 2. p. 393.

give name to seven stars in Ursa major; not only because their positions are not stated by BRAHMEGUPTA, BHA'SCARA, and the *Súrya sidd'hánta*, but also because the authors, who give their positions, ascribe to them a particular motion, or variation of longitude, different from other stars, and apparently unconnected with the precession of the equinoxes.

VARA'HA MIHIRA has a chapter in the *Váráhisanhitá* expressly on the subject of this supposed motion of the *Rishis*. He begins by announcing the intention of stating their revolution conformably with the doctrine of VRĬDD'HA GARGA, and proceeds as follows: "When king YUD'HIST'HIRA ruled the earth, the *Munis* were in *Maghá*, and the period of the era of that king is 2526 years. They remain for a hundred years in each asterism, being connected with that particular *Nacshatra*, to which, when it rises in the east, the line of their rising is directed *."

THE commentator, BHATTÓTPALA, supports the text of his author by quotations from VRĬDD'HA GARGA and CA'S'YAPA. "At the junction of the *Cali* and *Dwápar* ages, says GARGA, "the virtuous sages, who delight in protecting the people, stood at the asterism, over which the *Pitris* preside." That is at *Maghá*. "The mighty sages," says CA'S'YAPA, "abide during

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* आसन्नमघासु मुनयः शासति पृथ्वीं युधिष्ठिरे नृपता॥ षड्द्विकपंचद्वियुतः शककालस्तस्य राज्यस्य॥ एकैकस्मिन्ऋक्षे शतं शतं ते चरन्ति वर्षाणाम्॥ प्रागुदयतोऽस्तविवरादृजूदयतत्रसयुक्ताः

According to a different reading noticed by the commentator, the concluding hemistich signifies "they constantly rise in the northeast; together with ARUND'HATÍ."

प्रागुत्तरतश्चैते सदोदयंते ससाध्वीकाः

a hundred years in each asterism, attended by the virtuous ARUND'HATÍ."

THE author next states the relative situation of the seven *Rĭshis*, with ARUND'HATÍ near her husband VASISHT'HA: and the remainder of the Chapter is devoted to astrology.

THE revolution of the seven *Rĭshis*, and its periods, are noticed in *Puránas*. The following passage is from the *Srí Bhágavata* *.

"FROM your birth (PARICSHIT is addressed by SU'CA) to the inauguration of NANDA, 1115 years will elapse.

"OF the seven *Rishis*, two are first perceived, rising in the sky; and the asterism, which is observed to be at night even with the middle of those stars, is that, with which the *Rishis* are united, and they remain so during a hundred years of men. In your time, and at this moment, they are situated in *Maghá*.

"WHEN the splendor of VISHNU, named CRĬSHNA, departed for heaven, then did the *Cali* age, during which men delight in sin, invade the world. So long as he continued to touch the earth with his holy feet; so long the *Cali* age was unable to subdue the world.

"WHEN the seven *Rishis* were in *Maghá*, the *Cali* age comprising 1200 [divine] years † began; and when, from *Maghá*, they shall reach *Purvá-shád'ha*, then will this *Cali* age attain its growth under NANDA and his successors."

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* Book 12. C. 2.

† 432000 common years.

THE commentator SRI'D'HARA SWA'MI remarks, that the constellation, consisting of seven stars, is in the form of a wheeled carriage. MARI'CHI, he observes, is at the extremity; and next to him, VASISHT'HA in the arched part of the yoke; and beyond him ANGIRAS: next to whom are four stars in a quadrangle: ATRI at the northeast corner; south of him PULASTYA; next to whom is PULAHA; and CRATU is north of the last. Such being their relative position, the two stars, which rise first, are PULAHA and CRATU; and whichever asterism, is in a line south from the middle of those stars, is that with which the seven *Rĭshis* are united; and they so remain for 100 years.

A SIMILAR passage is found in the *Vishnu Purána* *, and a similar exposition of it is given by the commentator RATNAGARBHA: but the period, there stated to elapse between the birth of PARICSHIT and the inauguration of NANDA, is 1015 years only.

THE *Matsya Purána* contains a passage to the like effect; but allows 1050 years from the birth of PARICSHIT to the inauguration of MAHA'PADMA: and the seven *Rĭshis* are stated as being in a line with the constellation sacred to fire (that is *Crĭtticá*), 836 years later, in the time of the *Andhra* kings.

IN the *Brahme sidd'hánta* of SA'CALYA, denominated from its reputed author *Sácalya sanhitá*, the supposed motion of the seven *Rĭshis* is thus noticed †: "At the commencement of the *yuga*, CRATU was near the star sacred to VISHNU *(Sravaná)*, at the beginning of the asterism. Three degrees east of him, was PULAHA; and PULASTYA, at ten degrees

* Part 4. Ch. 23. v. 32. &c.

† *Prasna* 2. ch. 2.

from this; ATRI followed at three degrees from the last; and ANGIRAS, at eight degrees from him; next came VAS'ISHT'HA, at the distance of seven degrees; and lastly MARÍCHI at ten. Their motion is eight *liptas* (minutes) in a year. Their distances from the ecliptick, north, were respectively 55°, 50°, 50°, 56°, 57°, 60°, and 60°. For, moving in the north into different positions, the sages employ 2700 years in revolving through the assemblage of asterisms: and hence their positions may be easily known at any particular time."

LALLA, cited by MUNÍS'WARA in his gloss on the *Siróman'i*, says "If the number of years of the *Cali* age, less fourteen, be divided by 100, the quotient, as the wise declare, shows the asterisms traversed by MARÍCHI and other celestial sages, beginning from the asterism of *Viranchi* (BRAHMA)."

HERE LALLA is generally understood to mean *Róhiní*, which is sacred to *Prajápati* (or *Brahmá*). But MUNÍS'WARA has remarked, in another place, that LALLA may intend *Abhijit* which is sacred to *Vid'hi* or *Brahma*; and consequently may mean *S'ravan'á*, of which *Abhijit* forms a part: and thus LALLA and SA'CALYA may be reconciled.

MOST of the commentators on the *Súrya sidd'hánta* and *Siróman'i* are silent on the subject of the seven *Ríshis*. But NRĬSINHA, in his *Várlica* to the *Vásaná Bháshya* or gloss on the *Siróman'i*, quotes and expounds the *Sácalya Sanhitá*, and rejects VARA'HA'S rule of computation, as disagreeing with *Purán'as*. MUNÍS'WARA, in his commentary on the *Siróman'i*, cites some of the passages above noticed, and remarks, that BHA'SCARA has omitted this topick on account of contradictory opinions concerning it, and because it is of no great use.

THE same author, in his own compilation entitled *Sidd'hánta Sárvabhauma*, has entered more fully into this subject. He observes, that the seven *Ríshis* are not, like other stars, attached by spikes to the solid ring of the ecliptick, but revolve in small circles round the northern pole of the ecliptick, moving by their own power in the etherial sphere above Saturn, but below the sphere of the stars. He places the *Ríshis* in the same relative positions, which SA'CALYA had assigned to them; states in other terms the same distances from the ecliptick, and the same annual motion; and directs their place to be computed by deducting 600 from the years of the *Cali* age, doubling the remainder and dividing by fifteen: the quotient, in degrees, is divided by 30, to reduce it into signs. MUNÍS'WARA supports this mode of calculation on the authority of SA'CALYA, against VARA'HA MIHIRA and LALLA; and affirms, that it agrees with the phenomena, as observable at the period of his compilation. It appears, however, to be a correction of SA'CALYA's rule.

CAMALA'CARA, in the *Tatwavivéca*, notices the opinion delivered in the *Sidd'hanta Sárvabhauma*; but observes, that no such motion of the stars is perceptible. Remarking, however, that the authority of the *Purán'as* and *Sanhitás*, which affirm their revolution, is incontrovertible, he reconciles faith and experience by saying, that the stars themselves are fixed; but the seven *Ríshis* are invisible deities, who perform the stated revolution in the period specified.

IF CAMALA'CARA's notion be adopted, no difficulty remains: yet it can hardly be supposed, that VARA'HA MIHIRA and LALLA intended to describe revolutions of invisible beings. If then it be allowed, that they have attributed to the stars themselves an imaginary revolution grounded on an erroneous theory, a probable inference may be thence drawn as to the period when those authors lived, provided one position be conceded: namely, that the rules,

stated by them, gave a result not grossly wrong at the respective periods when they wrote. Indeed it can scarcely be supposed, that authors, who, like the celebrated astronomers in question, were not mere compilers and transcribers, should have exhibited rules of computation, which did not approach to the truth, at the very period when they were proposed.

If this reasoning be admitted, it would follow, that VARA'HA MIHIRA composed the *Vŭrahí sanhitá* about 2800 years after the period assigned by him to the commencement of the reign of YUDHISHT'HIRA, or near the close of the third century after the expiration of YUDHISHT'HIRA's era as defined by him. For the circle of declination passing between CRATU and PULAHA (the two first of the seven *Rĭshis*), and cutting the ecliptick only 2° short of the beginning of *Maghá*, was the solstitial colure, when the equinox was near the beginning of *Crĭtticá*; and such probably was the reason of that line being noticed by ancient Hindu astronomers. It agrees with the solistitial colure on the sphere of EUDOXUS, as described by HIPPARCHUS *. A similar circle of declination, passing between the same stars, intersected the ecliptick at the beginning of

* HIPPARCHUS tells us, that EUDOXUS drew the colure of the solstices, through the middle of the Great Bear; and the middle of Cancer; and the neck of Hydrus; and the star between the poop and mast of Argo; and the tail of the South Fish; and through the middle of Capricorn, and of Sagitta; and through the neck and right-wing of the Swan; and the left-hand of Cepheus: and that he drew the equinoctial colure through the left-hand of Arctophylax; and along the middle of his body; and cross the middle of Chelæ; and through the right-hand and fore-knee of the Centaur; and through the flexure of Eridanus and head of Cetus; and the back of Aries across, and through the head and right-hand of Perseus." SIR I. NEWTON's *Chronology*, §. 29. *Hipparch. ad Phœnom. in Petavii Uranologia*, p. 207, 208. BAILLY, *Ast. Anc.* p. 506. COSTARD, p. 136.

Maghá when the solstitial colure was at the middle of *Aśléshá*; and a like circle passed through the next asterism, when the equinox corresponded with the first point of *Mésha*. An astronomer of that period, if he were apprized of the position assigned to the same stars by GARGA reputed to have been the priest of CRĬSHNA and the *Pándus*, might conclude with VARA'HA MIHIRA, that one revolution had been completed, and that the stars had passed through one *Nacshatra* of the second revolution. In corroboration of this inference respecting the age of VARA'HA MIHIRA's astrological treatise, it may be added, that he is cited by name in the *Pancha tantra*, the original of the fables of *Pilpay*, which were translated for NUSHIRVA'N more than 1200 years ago *.

THE theory being wholly unfounded, VARA'HA MIHIRA's rule of computation soon ceased to agree with the phenomena, and other rules have been successively introduced by different authors, as LALLA, SA'CALYA and lastly MUNÍS'WARA; whose rule, devised less than two hundred years ago, does not yet grossly betray its insufficiency.

THIS pretended revolution of the stars of Ursa Major is connected with two remarkable epochas in Indian chronology; the commencement of the *Cali yuga*, or sinful age, in the reign of YUD'HISHT'HIRA; and its prevalence, on the failure of the succession of *Cshatriya* princes, and establishment of a different dynasty, 1015 years after the birth of PARICSHIT, according to the *Vishnu Purána*; or 1115 years, according to the *Bhágavata*; but 1498 years, if a correction, which has been proposed by SRÍD'HARA SWAMI and some other com-

* PREFACE to the Sanscrit edition of the *Hitópadesa*. p. xi.

mentators, be admitted. This subject has been already noticed by Capt. WILFORD in his essay on VICRAMA'DITYA; and it is, therefore, unnecessary to enlarge upon it in this place.

It has been noticed, towards the beginning of the present essay, that the principal star of each *Nacshatra*, is denominated *Yogatárá*. Perhaps it may not be superfluous to caution the reader against confounding these *yoga* stars with the *yogas*, of which a list is inserted in Sir W. JONES's Treatise on the Indian Zodiack *. They are mentioned by him as divisions of the ecliptick: but it will presently appear, that they cannot in strictness be so denominated. Their principal purpose regards astrology; but they are also employed in regulating certain moveable feasts; and they are of such frequent use, that every Indian Almanack contains a column specifying the *yoga* for each day, with the hour of its termination.

THE *yoga* is nothing else than a mode of indicating the sum of the longitudes of the sun and moon. The rule for its computation, as given in the *Súrya Sidd'hánta*, *Bháswati* and *Graha lág'hava*, directs, that the longitude of the sun be added to the longitude of the moon; and the sum, reduced to minutes, is to be divided by 800 (the number of minutes in 13° 20′): the quotient exhibits the elapsed *yogas*, counted from *Vishcumbha* †. It is obvious therefore, that the *yogas* are twenty-seven divisions of 360° of a great circle, mea-

* As. Res. vol. 2, p. 302.

† 1 Vishcumbha. 2 Príti. 3 Ayushmat. 4 Saubhágya. 5 Sóbhana. 6 Atiganda. 7 Sucarman. 8 Dhriti. 9 Súla. 10 Ganda. 11 Vriddhi. 12 Dhruva. 13 Vyágháta. 14 Hershana. 15 Vajra. 16 Sidd'hi. 17 Vyatipáta. 18 Varíyas. 19 Parigha. 20 Siva. 21 Sidd'ha. 22 Sádhya. 23 Subha. 24 Sucla. 25 Brahman. 26 Aindra. 27 Vaidhriti.

sured upon the ecliptick. But, if they be represented on a circle, it must be a moveable one in the plane of the ecliptick.

ASTROLOGERS also reckon twenty-eight *yogas*, which correspond to the twenty-eight *Nacshatras* or divisions of the moon's path; varying, however, according to the day of the week. As the Indian Almanacks sometimes appropriate a column to the moon's *yoga* for each day, I shall insert in a note a list of these *yogas*, with the rule by which they are determined *.

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* 1 Ananda. 2 Cáladanda. 3 Dhúmra. 4 Prajápati. 5 Saumya. 6 Dhwáncsha. 7 Dhwaja. 8 Srívatsa. 9 Vajra. 10 Mudgara. 11 Ch'hatra. 12 Maitra. 13 Mánasa. 14 Padma. 15 Lambuca. 16 Utpáta. 17 Mrityu. 18 Cána. 19 Sidd'hi. 20 Subha. 21 Amrita. 22 Musula, 23 Gada. 24 Mátanga. 25 Rácshasa. 26 Chara. 27 St'hira. 28 Pravard'ha.

THE foregoing list is extracted from the *Ratnamálá* of SRÍPATI. He adds the rule by which the *yógas* are regulated. On a Sunday, the *Nacshatras* answer to the *yógas*, in their natural order; viz. *Aswini* to *Ananda*, *Bharani* to *Cálandanda*, &c. But, on a Monday, the first *yoga (Ananda)* corresponds to *Mrigasiras*, the sesond to *Ardrá*, and so forth. On a Tuesday, the *Nacshatra*, which answers to the first *yóga*, is *Aslesha*; on Wednesday, *Hasta*; on Thursday, *Anurád'ha*; on Friday, *Uttaráshád'da*; and on Saturday, *Satabhishá*.

ALMANACKS usually contain another set of astrological divisions of the lunar month, which it may be proper to explain. They are denominated *Carana*; and consist of seven variable and four invariable, as in the subjoined list.

Variable *Caranas*.	Invariable *Caranas*.
1 Bava.	1 Sacuni.
2 Bálava.	2 Chatushpád.
3 Caulava.	3 Nága.
4 Taitila.	4 Cintughna.
5 Gara.	
6 Vanij.	
7 Vishti.	

ANOTHER topick, relative to the Zodiack, and connected with astrology, remains to be noticed. I allude to the *Dréshcánas* answering to the Decani of European Astrologers. The *Hindus*, like the Egyptians and Babylonians, from whom that vain science passed to the Greeks and Romans, divide each sign into three parts, and allot to every such part a regent exercising planetary influence under the particular planet whom he there represents.

THE description of the 36 *Dréshcanás* is given towards the close of VARA'HAMIHIRA's treatise on the casting of nativities, entitled *Vrihat Játaca*. It is here translated conformably with the gloss of BHATTÓTPALA: omitting, however, some variations in the reading of the text, which are noticed by him; but which can be of no use, unless occasion should arise for reference to them in comparing the description of the *Dréshcánas* with some amulet or ancient monument in which the Decani may be supposed to be figured. Even for that purpose, the following description will probably suffice.

1. [MARS] A man with red eyes, girt round the waist, with a white cloth, of a black complexion, as formidable as able to protect, holds a raised battle-axe.

2. [THE SUN] A female clad in red apparel, with her mind fixed on wearing ornaments, having a mare's head, and a belly like a jar, thirsty and

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They answer successively to half a *Ti'thi* or lunar day; *Cintughna* being always assigned to the first half of the first *Ti'thi*; and the variable *Caranas* afterwards succeeding each other regularly, through eight repetitions: they are followed by the three remaining invariable *Caranas*, which conclude the month; *Chatuhpád* and *Nága* appertaining to *Amávasyá* or the new moon, and *Sacuni* being appropriated to the latter half of the preceding *Ti'hi*.

resting on one foot, is exhibited by YAVANA as the figure of the *Dréshcâna* in the middle of *Mésha* *.

3. [JUPITER] A fierce and wrathful man, conversant with arts, of a tawny complexion, solicitous of action, but unsteady in his resolves, holds in his hands a raised stick, and wears red clothes. He is the third in the tripartite division of *Mésha*.

4. [VENUS] A woman with hair clipped and curled, a body shaped like a jar, her clothes burnt, herself thirsty, disposed to eat, and fond of ornaments: such is the figure of the first in *Vrishabha*.

5. [MERCURY] A man with the head of a goat, and a shoulder like a bull, clothed in dirty apparel, skilful in regard to the plough and the cart, acquainted with field, grain, house, and kine, conversant with arts; and, in disposition, voracious.

6. [SATURN] A man with a body vast as an elephant's, and feet great as a *Sarabha's* †, with white teeth and a tawny body, his mind busied upon the wool of wild sheep, occupies the extremity of the sign Taurus.

7. [MERCURY] Such as are conversant with the subject, declare the first in the tripartite partition of the third sign, to be a woman fond of working with the needle, beautiful, delighting in ornaments, childless, amorous, and with her arms elevated.

8. [VENUS] In the middle of the sign Gemini is a man, with the face

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* मेषमध्ये द्रेष्काण नृपंयवनोपदिष्टं॥ BHATTÓTPALA expounds this "declared by YAVANCHARYA" यवनाचार्यैः कथितम्।

† A monster with eight legs, who destroys elephants.

of a *Garud'a* *, standing in a grove: he is an archer clad in armour, and holds a bow, he meditates on sport, his children, ornaments, and wealth.

9. [SATURN] At the end of the sign Gemini is a man decorated with ornaments, having as many gems as the ocean contains; clad in armour and furnished with bow and quiver; skilled in dance, musick, and song, and practising poetry.

10. [THE MOON] The wise declare the first in Cancer to be an animal with the body of an elephant, the feet of a *Sarabha*, a boar's head and horse's neck, standing in a grove under a Sandal-wood tree †, and upholding leaves, root, and fruit.

11. [MARS] In the middle of the sign Cancer, a woman, in prime of youth, with blossoms of lotos on her head, attended by a serpent, cries, while standing in a forest, resting against the branch of a *Palása* ‡ tree.

12. [JUPITER] Last in Cancer is a man with his head inclined; he is decorated with golden ornaments, and, embarking on a vessel and encompassed by serpents [twined round him,] he traverses the ocean to seek ornaments for his wife.

13. [THE SUN] A vulture and shakal stand on a cotton tree §: a dog is near: and a man, in a squalid dress, laments for his father and mother: this representation is pronounced to be the first of the Lion.

14. [JUPITER] A man formed like a horse, bearing on his head a garland of yellowish white flowers, wears a leather dress: unconquered like a Lion;

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* An eagle: or else a gigantick crane, Perhaps a vulture.

† Santalum Album sive Sirium myrtifolium.

‡ Butea frondosa.

§ Bombax heptaphyllum.

armed with a bow; and distinguished by a hooked nose, he is placed in the middle of Leo.

15. [MARS] The third in the tripartite division of Leo, is a man having the head of a bear, with a long beard and curled hair; in disposition similar to an ape; and holding a staff, fruits, and flesh.

16. [MERCURY] A damsel, bearing a jar filled with blossoms, (her person clothed in apparel soiled with dirt,) solicitous for the union of dress with opulence, is going towards the family of her spiritual parent: such is the first of Virgo.

17. [SATURN] A man of a dark complexion, with a cloth on his head, holds a pen, and is casting up accounts of receipts and disbursements: he bears a large bow, and his body is covered with hair: he is placed in the middle of the sign.

18. [VENUS] A woman of a fair complexion, dressed in bleached silk, tall, holding in her hand a jar and ladle; is devoutly going towards a temple of the gods: the wise pronounce this to be the last of Virgo.

19. [VENUS] A man is proceeding along the middle of a highway; holding a balance, and having weights in his hand; he is skilled in measuring and meting, and meditates on commodities and their prices. The *Yavanas* declare this form to be first of Libra *.

20. [SATURN] A man with the head of a vulture, carrying a water pot, is anxious to proceed, being hungry and thirsty; in thought, he visits his wife and son. He is middlemost of the balance-bearer (Libra.)

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* नरूपंवदंतियवनाः प्रथमंतुलायाः This might signify "YAVANA declares;" for the plural is used in Sanscrit respectfully: and *Bhattôtpala* has before expounded यवन intending YAVANACHARYA: but a different explanation occurs a little lower.

21. [MERCURY] A man, in figure like an ape, adorned with gems, bearing a golden quiver and armour, and carrying fruits and flesh, is scaring deer, in a forest: such is the figure exhibited by the *Yavanas* *.

22. [MARS] A woman, without clothes or ornaments, comes from the great ocean, to the shore; she has fallen from her place; round her feet are serpents entwined; but she is pleasing. Such is the first of the sign Scorpio.

23. [JUPITER] A woman, with a body like a tortoise and a jar, and with serpents entwined round her person, is solicitous to prepare local comforts for her husband. This figure the wise pronounce to be the middle one of Scorpio.

24. [THE MOON] The last of the Scorpion is a lion with a large and stooping head resembling that of a tortoise; he guards the place where Sandal-wood grows, terrifying dogs, deer, boars, and shakals.

25. [JUPITER] An animal with the body of a horse and head of a man, holding a large bow, stands near a hermitage and devoutly guards the implements of sacrifice: such is the first of the three divisions of the bow (Sagittarius.)

26. [MARS] A pleasing female, of golden complexion like the *Champaca* †, moderately handsome, sits on a throne, distributing marine gems. This is described as the middle division of the bow.

27. [THE SUN] A man with a long beard, of a complexion yellow like

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* यवनेन्द्रदाहृतः Which BHATTOTPALA expounds "declared by the ancient *Yavanas*." पुराणयवनैः

† Michelia Champaca.

the *Champaca*, is sitting on a throne with a staff in his hand: he wears silk raiment and a deer's skin. Such is the third figure of the ninth sign.

28. [SATURN] A man, of a terrible aspect, with the body of a hog, hairy, having tusks like a *Macara* *, holds a yoke, a net, and fetters. He is first of Capricorn.

29. [VENUS] In the middle of *Macara* is a woman skilled in musick, with eyes large like the petals of the lotos, and with a dark complexion. She seeks various things: she is decorated with jewels; and wears metallick ornaments in her ears.

30. [MERCURY] A man, shaped like a *Cinnara* †, clothed in a woolen cloth, and furnished with quiver, bow, and armour, bears on his shoulder a jar adorned with gems: he is last of the sign *Macara*.

31. [THE SUN] The first of the jar (Aquarius) is a man with the head of a vulture, clothed in silk and wearing an antelope's hide with a woolen cloth: his mind is busied in obtaining oil, ardent spirits, water, and food.

32. [MERCURY] In a burnt carriage, a woman clad in soiled apparel, bearing vessels on her head, is collecting metals in a forest containing cotton trees.

33. [VENUS] A man of a dark complexion, with hairy ears, adorned with a diadem, carries and transports vases with articles of metal, and with bark, leaves, gum, and fruit. He is last of *Cumbha*.

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* A sea monster. Perhaps the Narwhal may be intended.

† A human figure with the head of a horse.

34. [JUPITER] The first of the fish [Pisces] navigates the sea in search of ornaments for his wife: he has jewels, and his hands are full of vessels used in sacrifice, together with pearls, gems, and shells.

35. [THE MOON] A woman, surpassing in complexion the blossom of the *Champaca*, ascends a ship with lofty masts and flags; and approaches the shore of the sea, accompanied by her retinue. This is declared by sages to be the second in the tripartite division of *Mína*.

36. [MARS] Near a cavern, in a forest, a naked man, with serpents entwined round his body, and tormented by robbers and fire, laments. He is the last of the fish.

ARABIAN astronomers in like manner divide each sign of the Zodiack into three parts, denominated *Wajeh* (وجه) or in the plural *Wujuh* (وجوه), which severally belong to the different planets * thence called *Rab ul wajeh*. The proper import of the term وجه is face or countenance; agreeing with the Greek προσωπον, which is similarly employed in this acceptation †.

THE near correspondence of the *Darésh'cán'as* with the Decani of Roman authors and δεκανοι of Grecian writers will be evident from the following passage of MANILIUS, supported by quotations from other authors, which I shall insert on the faith of SAUMAISE ‡; the original works, from which they are taken, not being here procurable.

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* In the following order, beginning from Aries: viz. Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, the Moon, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, &c. *Ikhwánu'l Safá.*

† Firmici Mathesis seu Astron. vide infra.

‡ Salmasii Plinianæ Exercitationes, p. 652.

MANILIUS says *

Quam partem decimam dixêre Decania gentes,
A numero nomen positum est, quòd paribus astra
Condita tricenis propriâ sub sorte feruntur,
Et tribuunt denas in se coeuntibus astris,
Inque vicem terris habitentur sidera signis.

HEPHÆSTION expressly declares †, that "each sign of the Zodiack is divided into three Decani comprising ten degrees each: the first division of Aries is named *Chontare*; the second *Chontachre*, and the third *Sicet*."

FIRMICUS differs in the means, and does not allow ten complete degrees to each Decanus. Thus, in the sign Aries, the three first degrees are, according to him, unappropriated; the five next belong to the first Decanus *Asitan*, the next nine are vacant; and the four following appertain to the second Decanus *Senacher*: five degrees are again unoccupied; and the four last belong to the third Decanus *Sentacher* ‡.

WE learn from PSELLUS § that the several Decani were figured with different attributes and dresses; and, from DEMOPHILUS and FIRMICUS ‖ that they represented the planets. The first appertained to Mars; the second

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* Lib. 4. 298—302.

† Καὶ ἐστὶν ὁ μὲν πρῶτος χοιλαρὲ, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος, ὁ τρίτος σικέτ.

‡ Salmasii Plin. Exerc. p. 653.

§ Εισί γαρ εν εκάςω των ζωδίων τρεῖς καλειλεγμενοι δεκανοὶ ποικιλόμορφοι, ὁ μεν κατεχων πελεκυν, ὁ δ' εις ἄλλο τι εσχηματισμενος εικασμα. ων ει τὰ ειδη ἢ τὰ σχήμαλα δακτυλίων εγγλύψεις σφενδοναις ἀποτροπαια δεινῶν φανησεται. Ταῦτα μεν ουν ὁ Τεῦκρος κατ' εκεινον περιτ]οι τα μετεωρα.

‖ Primum προσωπον est is planeta cujus signum est: secundum προσωπον planeta sequens: et sic deinceps. Aries est Martis primum προσωπον, secundum Solis, tertium Veneris, juxta seriem errantium. This agrees precisely with the Arabian وجه.

to the Sun; and the third to Venus (the Hindu author says Jupiter).

THIS astrological notion was confessedly received from foreign nations. The doctrine seems to be ascribed by FIRMICUS to NEKEPSO king of *Egypt* *; and PSELLUS cites a Babylonian author, whom he calls TEUCER; and who is also noticed by PORPHYRIUS: besides, the names of the Decani, stated by HEPHÆSTION and FIRMICUS, are decidedly barbarous. It was not, therefore, without reason, that SAUMAISE and KIRCHER sought a derivation of the word Decanus itself from a foreign language. It cannot be deduced, as SCALIGER proposes, from the similar term for an inferior officer commanding ten men †; since this office and its designation were first introduced later than the time of MANILIUS, by whom the astrological term is employed; and PORPHYRIUS expressly affirms that the word was used by those whom he denominates "ancients ‡." HUET, not concurring in either of the opinions abovementioned, supposes the term to have been corruptly formed by the astrologers of *Alexandria* from the Greek numeral with a Latin termination § If this be admitted, it still remains not improbable that some affinity of sound, in the Egyptian or in the Chaldaick name, may have suggested the formation of this corrupt word.

THE *Sanscrit* name apparently comes from the same source. I do not suppose it to be originally *Sanscrit*; since, in that language, it bears no etymological signification. For the same reason, it is likely, that the astrological doctrine itself may be exotick in India. One branch of astrology, entitled

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* Sic et Nekepso Ægypti justissimus Imperator, et Astrologus valde bonus, per ipsos Decanos omnia vitia valetudinesque collegit, ostendens quam valetudinem quis Decanus efficeret, &c.

† Erant Decani denis militibus propositi. *Veget.* 2. 8.

‡ Ὀυς τινας εκαλεσαν δεκανους οἱ παλαιοι.

§ Huetii animadversiones ad Manilium. Lib. iv. v. 198.

Tájaca, has been confessedly borrowed from the Arabians: and the technical terms used in it, are, as I am informed by Hindu astrologers, Arabick. The casting of nativities, though its practice is of more ancient date in India, may also have been received from Western astrologers; Egyptians, Chaldeans, or even Greeks. If so, it is likely, that the Hindus may have received astronomical hints at the same time.

By their own acknowledgment *, they have cultivated astronomy for the sake of astrology; and they may have done so, with the aid of hints received from the same quarter, from which their astrology is derived. In the present instance VARA'HA MIHIRA himself, as interpreted by his commentator, quotes the *Yavanas* (meaning perhaps Grecian authors), in a manner which indicates, that the description of the *Dréshcánas* is borrowed from them.

THE name of YAVANA'CHA'RYA, who is cited by BHATTÓTPALA, would not be alone decisive. He is frequently quoted by *Hindu* astronomers: and it is possible, though by no means certain, that, under this name, a Grecian or an Arabian author may be intended. To determine that point, it will be requisite (unless the work attributed to him be recovered) to collect all the passages, in which YAVAN'ACHA'RYA is cited by Sanscrit authors; and to compare the doctrines ascribed to him with those of the Grecian and Arabian writers on Astronomy. Not being prepared for such a disquisition, I shall dismiss this subject, for the present, without offering any positive opinion on the question, which has been here proposed.

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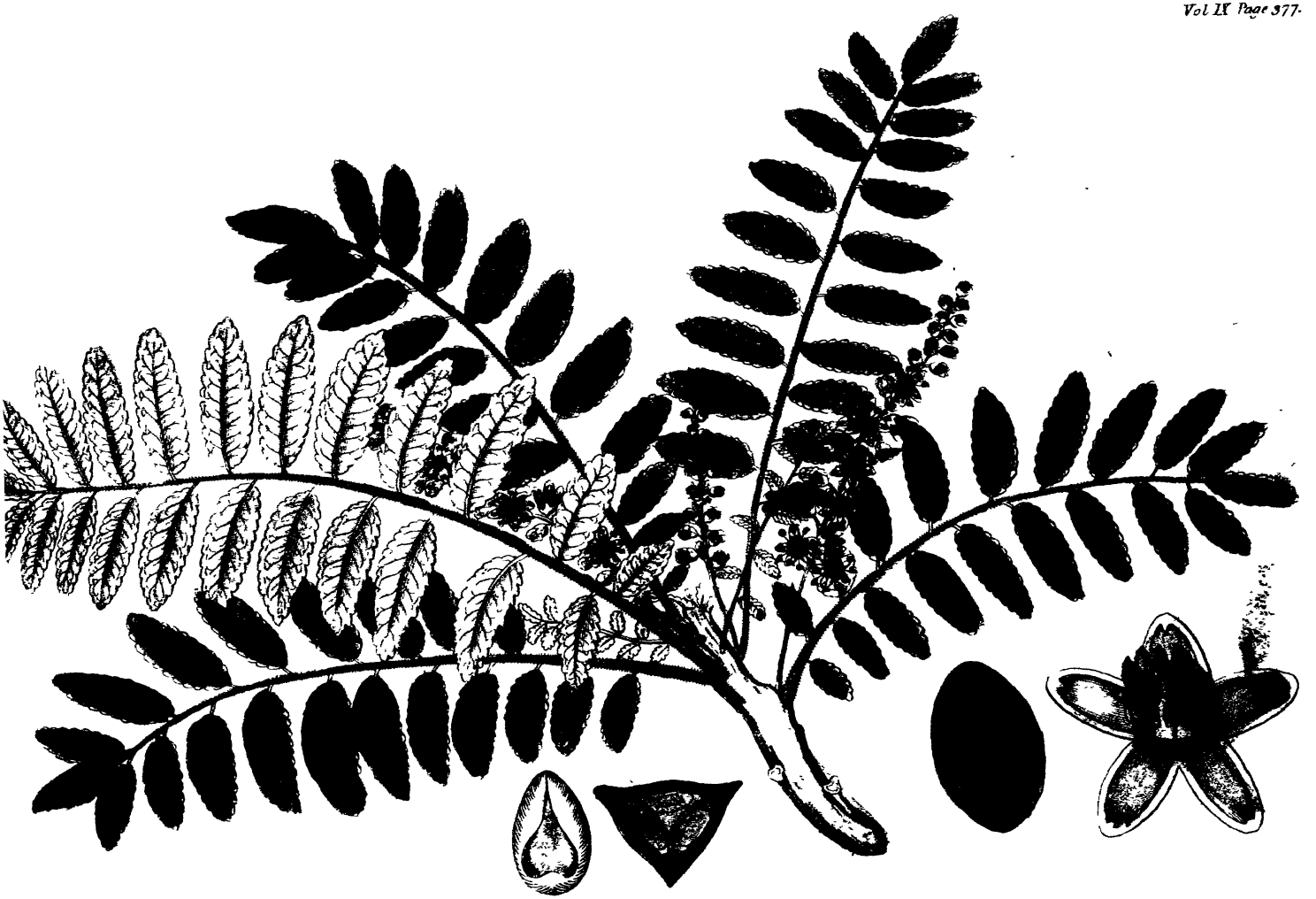
* BHASCARA expressly says, "By ancient astronomers, the purpose of the science is declared to be judicial astrology; and that, indeed, depends on the influence of configurations; and these, on the apparent places of the planets."

Gólád'hyáya, 1. v. 6.



VII.

On Olibanum *or* Frankincense.

BY H. T. COLEBROOKE, ESQ.

It is generally agreed, that the Gum-resin, called Olibanum, is the Frankincense which was used by the Ancients in their religious ceremonies. But there is not the same agreement as to the plant supposed to produce it. Linnæus has referred it to a species of Juniper *: and accordingly botanists of his school †, and the Chemical writers ‡, concur in affirming, that Olibanum is the produce of the Lycian Juniper. But this tree is a native of the south of France, as well as the Levant and Siberia: and the French Botanists deny, that it yields the resinous Gum in question §; and remark, that Linnæus made the assertion without proof. Their remark is, I believe, well founded. No proof appears to have been alledged; and both Niebuhr and Bruce considered it as an undecided question, which they endeavoured, though unsuccessfully, to investigate ‖. I therefore apprehended, that the evidence, which will be

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* His pupil Gahn, in a treatise on officinal plants, written and published in 1753, and inserted in Fund. Bot. vol. 2, has so stated it, without specifying the species. This was probably grounded on the Materia Medica of Linnæus published in 1749. Murray cites that work of Linnæus, for the observation, that it is yet uncertain whether Olibanum be produced from the Juniperus Lycia. Appar. Medic. T. 1. p. 55.

† Martyn's Botan. Dict.

‡ Fourcroy, Syst. Chim. T. 8. p. 30. Thompson, 4. p. 344.

§ Les botanistes ignorent quel est l'arbre d'où découle cette résine précieuse. Linnæus a avancé, sans preuve, qu'elle étoit produite par une espèce de genevrier.

Dict. D'Hist. Nat. published in 1803

‖ Niebuhr says, "We could learn nothing of the tree, from which incense distils; and Mr. Forskal does not mention it. I know, that it is to be found in a part of Hadramaut, where it is called Oliban." (Eng. Transl. vol. 2. p. 356.)

adduced for a different tree, is not opposed to any arguments of strength in favour of the Lycian Juniper.

A great degree of obscurity has always hung over this subject. We learn from THEOPHRASTUS and from PLINY *, that the Greek writers differed in their description of the tree; PLINY adds, that the information contained in the volume addressed by King JUBA to C. CÆSAR, grandson and adopted son of AUGUSTUS, was inconsistent with other accounts; and further remarks, that the Ambassadors, who came to Rome from Arabia in his own time, had rendered the whole matter more uncertain than ever. The information, obtained in modern times from Arabia, is not more satisfactory.

OLIBANUM is named *Lubán* and *Cundur* by the Arabs. But, Benzoin having been introduced into general use, as incense, in place of Olibanum, the name of *Lubán* has been appropriated to that fragrant balsam, and the Muhammedan writers of India, on Materia Medica, apply only the term *Cundur* to Olibanum. The author of the *Mekhzenuladviyeh*, under this head, states *Cundur* as Arabick, or according to other opinions Persian, and equivalent to the Syriack *Labúniyá* (لبونيا.) He describes the drug as the gum of a thorny plant, a yard high, with leaves and seed resembling the myrtle. It grows, he says, on the mountains of Shahar and Yemen. He, however, adds, that the plant is said to be found in some parts of India. The *Tohfut ul muminin* gives a similar description (excepting the remark last quoted;) and so does the Arabian author ABULFADLI cited by the French translator of PLINY †.

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* Pliny, 12. 14. Theophrastus Hist. Plant. 9. 2.

† Poinsinet. Paris 1771. tom. 4. p. 532.

From the Hebrew *Lebonah* or Arabick *Lubán*, the Greeks obtained their names for the tree and the gum, *Libanos* and *Libanotos*. They seem likewise to have been acquainted with the term of *Cundur*, from which κονδρος is probably derived.

The Hindu writers on Materia Medica notice a fragrant resinous gum, under the name of *Cunduru*, which their grammarians consider as a Sanscrit word, and accordingly state an etymology of it from a Sanscrit root. They concur in declaring it to be the produce of the *Salkaí*, a tree which they affirm to be vulgarly called *Sálaï*. The tree, which is known by that name, was examined by Dr. Hunter on his journey to *Ujjayini*; and by me on a journey to *Nágpur*: and it has been figured and described by Dr. Roxburgh, who has named it Boswellia Serrata. His description follows.

Boswellia Serrata, Roxb.

Gen. Char. Calyx beneath, 5—toothed. Corol 5 petaled. Nectary a crenulated, fleshy cup, surrounding the lower part of the germ, with stamens inserted on its outside. Capsule 3—sided, 3—celled, 3—valved. Seeds solitary, membrane-winged.

Spec. Char. Leaves pinnate; leaflets serrate, downy. Racemes simple, axillary. Petals ovate. Filaments inserted on the exterior margin of the nectary.

A large tree, a native of the mountains of India. A most fragrant resin is collected from wounds made in the bark, &c.

Leaves crowded about the extremities of the branchlets, pinnate with a single terminal one.

Leaflets sessile, sometimes opposite, sometimes alternate, in general about 10 pair, obliquely-ovate, oblong, obtuse, serrate, villous; length about an inch, or an inch and a half.

Petioles round, downy.

Racemes axillary, simple, shorter than the leaves, downy

Bracts minute.

Flowers numerous, very pale pink, small.

Calyx five lobed *, downy.

Corol, petals five, oblong, expanding, downy on the outside, and considerably longer than the stamens.

Nectary, a fleshy crenulated cup †, surrounding the lower two-thirds of the germ.

Stamens: Filaments ten, alternately shorter ‡, inserted on the outer edge of the mouth of the nectary. Anthers oblong.

Pistil. Germ above, ovate. Style cylindric. Stigma of three pretty large lobes.

Pericarp: Capsule oblong, three-sided, three-celled, three-valved, size of an olive, smooth.

Seed solitary, winged, broad-cordate, at the base deeply emarginate, point long and slender, and by it inserted into the apex of the valve of the Capsule to which it belongs.

THE foregoing description is by Dr. ROXBURGH. I have merely added in the margin a few inconsiderable variations taken from Dr. HUNTER's notes or from my own.

THE fructification is remarkably diversified on the same plant. I have found, even on the same raceme, flowers in which the teeth or lobes of

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* So Dr. ROXBURGH. But Perianth 1-leaved, 5-toothed; according to Dr. HUNTER's observations and my own.

† Coloured and adhering to the Calyx.

‡ Subulate and alternately slender.

the Calyx varied from 4 to 10. The number was generally 5, sometimes 6, rarely 7, more rarely 4, and very rarely 10. Petals as many as the divisions of the Calyx. Stamens twice as many. Capsule generally 3 sided, sometimes 4, rarely 5, sided; with as many cells and as many valves. Seeds generally solitary: the dissection of germ does indeed exhibit a few in each cell; but only one is usually matured.

THE tree is frequent in the forest between the *Sône* and *Nágpúr*; on the route by which I travelled to *Berar* in 1798. The gum, which exudes from it, was noticed by Mr. D. TURNBULL, who was then Surgeon to the residency at *Nágpúr*. He judged it to be Olibanum; and so did several intelligent natives who accompanied us. But the notion, prevalent among botanists, that Olibanum is the produce of a species of juniper, left room for doubt. I now learn from Mr. TURNBULL, that, since his return to his station at *Mirzápúr*, he has procured considerable quantities of the gum of the *Sálaï*, which he has sent to Europe at different times; first without assigning the name of Olibanum; and, more lately, under that designation. It was in *England* recognised for Olibanum, though offered for sale as a different gum; and annual consignments of it have been since regularly sold at the East India Company's sales.

THE experience of several years at a market such as that of London, where a mistake (had any been committed) would have been soon discovered, seems to be conclusive. I might, however, add to it the testimony of medical gentlemen at this place, by whom specimens of the Gums furnished by MR. TURNBULL have been inspected, and who concur in opinion, that the Gum appears to be the same with the Olibanum of the shops.

Upon this evidence so corroborated, I shall venture to propose the following statement of Synonyma both for the tree and the Gum.

Boswellia Serrata *.

Sansc. Sallací or Sillací, Cundurucí † or Cundurí, Surabhí ‡, Suvahá, &c.

Hind. Sálaï, Sálé, Sálá or Silá, Sajíwan.

Gr. Libanos.

Lat. Libanus.

The Gum. *Sansc.* Cunduru, Cunda, Mucunda, &c.

Ar. & *Pers.* Cundur (anciently Lubán.) *Syr.* Labuniya. *Heb.* Lebonah.

Gr. Libanotos or Libanos. *Lat.* Libanus. Mod. *Lat.* Olibanum, (quasi Oleum libani).

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* If the genus had not already received a botanical name, it might have been suitably denominated from the resinous Gum, afforded by this tree; and the generick and trivial names of the species might be Libanus thurifera.

† Producing Conduru.

‡ Fragrant.

VIII.

REMARKS *on the* SPECIES *of* PEPPER, *which are found on* PRINCE OF WALES'S ISLAND.

BY WILLIAM HUNTER, ESQ. M. D.

HAVING had an opportunity, during a residence of some months at *Prince of Wales's Island*, to ascertain, partly by observation and partly by inquiry, some particulars which I conceive to be new respecting the culture and preparation of black pepper, the principal staple of that island, I am induced to lay the fruit of my researches before the Asiatick Society. To these I have added a few remarks on the other species which are found on the Island. I judged it would not be without utility to add the oriental names of each species; and in this part of my task, as far as regards the Sanscrit and its derivative, I am indebted to the liberal assistance of Mr. COLEBROOKE.

1. *Piper nigrum.* Lin. sp. 40. Syst. 74. Reich. 1. 75. Willden. 159. Fl. Zeylan. 26. Mat. Med. p. 41. Woodv. Med. Bot. 513. t. 187. Camelli de plantis Philip. in Phil. Trans. vol. 24. p. 1773. Loureir: Cochinch. 30. Miller illust. Plenck icon. Miller's Dict. No. 1.

Black Pepper. Leaves ovate, accuminate, five to seven nerved, smooth; petioles short.

Piper rotundum nigrum. Pluk: almag. p. 297. t. 437. f. 1.

Piper rotundifolium nigrum. Bauhin. pin. 411. Morison hist. pl. 3. p. 602. f. 15. t. 1. f. 1. Blackwell t. 348. Ray. Hist. 1341. Burm. Zeyl. 193.

Lada, aliis *molanga* s. *Piper mas.* Piso Mant. Arom. p. 180. cum icon.

Molago Codi. Hort. Malab. v. 7. p. 23. t. 12.

Pepper-plant. Marsden Sumat. p. 105, & seq.

Gr. Πεπερι

Sans. *Maricha, Marícha.*

Hind. *Mirch, Golmirch, Cálímirch*

Arab. *Fulful, Filfil.*

Pers. *Pilpil.*

Malay. *Ladda.*

THE Greek name of this species, from which the name of the genus is taken, has been said to be derived from Πεπτω, because it is supposed to promote digestion [1]. But we have it on the authority of HIPPOCRATES that the Greeks received this term from the Persians [2]; and these undoubtedly, had it from the Indians [3], from whose country they imported the drug itself. In fact, the Persian and Arabick, as well as the Greek and Latin names, are derived from *Pippali*, the Sanscrit denomination of Long Pepper. The ancients in general, with the single exception of THEOPHRASTUS, supposed the black, the white, and the long pepper to be the produce of one plant. Hence, they might naturally enough apply to one species the Indian name of another. SALMASIUS, who notices this [4], has fallen, in common with other modern writers [5], into the opposite error, by supposing the black and white peppers to grow on different plants. PISO appears to be the first

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1 Scapulæ Lexic. in voce. Alex. Aphr. in præf. l. 1. probl.

2 De Morb. Mulier: ed. Fœs. p. 672. l. 14.

3 Salmas. Plinian. Exercit. in Solin. (Paris 1629. fol.) p. 1026. C.

4 Ibid.

5 Garcias Hist. Arom. apud. Clus. exot. p. 182.

who corrected this mistake[6]; and his statement is confirmed by RHEEDE[7], LOUREIRO[8], and MARSDEN[9].

THIS plant has been so fully described, that I have nothing to add on that head. But as it is the most important article of produce on *Prince of Wales's Island*, the manner of cultivation pursued there merits a particular detail.

IT is propagated by cuttings, or suckers. They are generally planted at the distance of about $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet; that is 100 plants in an *U'rlong*, which is a measure of 80 yards square, nearly equal to 1 1-3 Acre. But some experienced cultivators think that the distance should be greater; perhaps nine feet; as the roots would be better nourished, and the produce more abundant.

WHEN a plantation is to be commenced, the large timber is cut down by Malays, at the rate of five Dollars per *U'rlong*. The remaining labour is performed by Chinese, who dig out the roots, burn them and the trunks, pulverise and level the soil, plant the pepper vines and the trees which are to support them. It is usual to contract with them for making the plantation in this manner, and taking care of it for three years, at the end of which time it is in bearing, at the rate of 225 Dollars for 100 plants. The sum is liquidated by instalments, as the contractor requires it to pay his workmen. Something more than one-third is paid

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6 Mantissa Aromatica.

7 H. M. v. 7 p 23.

8 Fl. Coch. 30.

9 Hist. Sum. 106, 117.

in the first year, because the labour is then greatest; but about one-fourth of the whole is generally reserved, till the contract is completed, and the plantation delivered over. This does not include the price of the plants, or cuttings, which are furnished by the proprietor of the plantation.

THE vine is first made to climb on a pole. At the end of ten or twelve months, it is detached from the pole, to undergo the process called laying down. A circular hole, about eighteen inches in diameter, is dug at one side of the plant. At the bottom of this the plant is carried round in a circle, and the end of it is brought to the tree which is in future to form its support. The depth of the hole, in which the vines are laid down, varies, according to the situation and nature of the soil; and much judgement, to be acquired by practice, is requisite, to adapt it to these circumstances. In high and dry situations, the depth must be considerably greater than in those which are low and moist. Too little depth in the former would expose the roots to be parched in dry seasons; and too much in the latter would occasion them to rot, from excess of moisture.

THE trees used for supporting the pepper vines on *Prince of Wales's Island* are the *Morinda Citrifolia (Mankúdo)* and the *Erythrina Corallodendron (Dadap)*. The Chinese planters alledge, that the pepper supported by the *Erythrina* thrives better, and lasts longer than that supported by the *Morinda*. One instance I heard quoted in proof of this assertion, was a plantation which had been long neglected, and overgrown with weeds. When it came to be examined, the vines which had grown on the *Morinda* were all dead; while those on the *Erythrina* were still strong and productive. The reason assigned by the planters,

for this difference, is, that the roots of the *Erythrina* do not spread so much, or penetrate so deep, as those of the *Morinda*; whence they interfere less with the pepper, and do not draw so much nourishment from the earth.

THE *Morinda* was formerly made to grow with one stem, but this was not found to afford sufficient spread for the vines. Therefore, when that tree is used, the practice now is to break off the principal stem, at the height of about two feet from the ground. This obliges the trees to put out lateral branches at that height. When these have attained the length of about a foot or fifteen inches, they are cut off. From their ends arise erect shoots, each of which forms a stem, so that the vine has four or five stems to climb on, instead of one.

THE vines, at three years of age, begin to produce, and they are reckoned to be in full bearing at five or six. They continue nearly in the same state for eight years more, or till they are fourteen years old. From that period they are reckoned on the decline; but the planters on *Prince of Wales's Island* cannot yet judge from experience, at what rate, or in how long a time they decay. Some Chinese, who have cultivated the plant on the *Malay* coast, say the vines have not arrived at their point of greatest produce till they are fourteen years old; and that from this, gradually declining, they continue bearing till near thirty.

THE first year of bearing, or at three years old, the vines do not yield more than half a *catti* each. But plants kept in good order, when in their prime, will produce three *cattis*[10]. A plantation of 3000 vines at *Súngí*

[10] A *catti* is 1⅓ lb.

Chúan [11], now in its eleventh year, has been let for three years at seventy *picols* yearly, or at the rate of 2½ *cattís* each plant. It must therefore produce as much more as will pay the tenant for his labour and risk. They are generally let, for the first five years of bearing, or from three to eight years old, at 160 *picols* per *laksha* (10,000) or at 160 *cattís* for 100 vines.

The vines yield two crops yearly. The first gathering commences at December, after the heavy rains are over; and at the same time, the vines have put out new flowers. This first collection may be finished in February. The flowers which spread in December have ripened their seeds in April or May. The second collection then begins, and ends in July. During this time, blossoms have expanded, which are to furnish the crop of next December. But, with the most careful cultivators, who gather only the bunches which are fully ripe, these two harvests run so nearly into one another, that the collection is in a manner continued without interruption, from December till August; so that there is only an interval of four months in the year, which is the season of the heavy rains.

The bunches are plucked off entire, taking care to pull only those that are ripe. They are thrown into baskets, and allowed to remain for a day. They are afterwards spread on mats, and trodden with the feet, to separate the fruit from the stalk. The grain is next winnowed, to clear it from the stalks and the lighter grains; and the good heavy grains are spread on mats, in the sun, to dry, for three days. It is calculated that one hundred *cattís* of green pepper, with the stalks, yield thirty-five *cattís* of clean and dry pepper. The collection of one day

[11] A district near the southern extremity of the island, of which the soil is found peculiarly favourable to the cultivation of pepper. The oldest vines are in this district.

from 46,000 plants of three years old, was 500 *cattis* of green, or 175 of dry pepper.

It is usual, as was before noticed, when the plantation is delivered over to the proprietor, at the end of three years, to let it to a Chinese farmer, for five years more; as the proprietor is hereby less liable to imposition, the only precaution necessary being to see that the tenant is careful of the vines during the last year, and leaves them in good condition at the expiration of the lease. This is the only way in which a very extensive plantation, or one whereon the proprietor cannot bestow his whole attention, can be managed to advantage. But, if the proprietor has time, and is careful and acute, he may render it something more productive, by keeping it in his own hands. The labour of cleaning the vines, throwing up earth about the roots, and collecting the produce of the plantation abovementioned, of 46,000 plants, was performed by sixteen Chinese workmen.

The Table at the end of this paper exhibits a calculation of the profits that may be expected in twelve years from a given space of ground planted with pepper; supposing it to sell at ten dollars a *picol*; which was the price on the field when I was on the Island [12], and then esteemed very moderate. But I understand it has lately fallen to something between eight and nine Dollars.

The whole quantity of pepper produced in that year on the Island, was estimated at something between sixteen and twenty thousand *picols*. Taking the medium quantity at 12 Dollars, which was the selling price, this article must have amounted to 216,000 Dollars. The island pepper is more esteemed than

12 In 1802.

that which comes from the *Malay* continent and *Sumatra*, and it sells for about one Dollar more per *picol*. The difference is occasioned by the haste of the *Malays* to gather the fruit before it is sufficiently ripe.

2. *Piper Betle*. Lin. sp. 40. Syst. 74. Reich. 1. 75. Willd. 159. Fl. Zeyl. n. 27. Loureir. Cochinch. 31. Burman. Zeyl. 193. t. 83. f. 2. Moris. Hist. 3. 603. Miller's Dict. No. 2. Leaves obliquely cordate, acuminate, waving, seven-nerved, smooth.

Betele Tambul sive *Betre*. Burm. Zeyl. 46.

Betre, Betelle, Betele, Betle. Bauh. Hist. i. p. 437. Ray. Hist. 1913. Acost. Arom. c. 10. Clus, exot. 176. t. 176. Dale pharm : 313.

Beetla Codi. Rheede Mal. 7. p. 29. t. 15. Bulat wœla. Herm. Zeyl. 34. 36. 66.

Sans. *Tambulí, Parn'alatá, Nágavalli*.

Hind. *Támbul, Tamból, Nágbél, Pán*.

Tamul. *Vetillay-Chuddi*.

Malay. *Síri*.

SAUMAISE has shown at length, and with considerable strength of argument, that the ancient Greek writers meant this leaf by *Malabathrum*, rather than the leaves of *Laurus Cassia*, or *Tez-pat* [13]. The Arabick and Persian Languages have no names for this plant. *Tambol* is borrowed from the Hindí by Persian Authors, who name the leaf *Bergitambol*. It is called *Pán* in Hindí, from the Sanscrit *Parna*, a leaf in general; in the same manner as it was known to the Romans under the name of *folium* [14]. The Indian writers enumerate

[13] Salmas. Exer: Plin. p. 1070.

[14] Id. ib. p. 1071, 1072.

several varieties of this plant, distinguished by the size, shape, and flavour of the leaf[15].

THE *Malays* reckon five varieties, among which are these three, *Siri Malayo*, *Siri China*, *Siri U'dang*. The specimen of which the leaf is above described was the *Siri China*. The *Siri U'dang* they say has the petioles and nerves red.

CULTIVATED, but in no great quantity. A larger quantity is imported from the neighbouring coast.

3. *Piper Siriboa*. Lin. sp. 41. Reich. 1. 76. Willd. 161. Flor. Zeyl. 29. Swartz. obs. 19. Miller Dict. No. 10.

Siriboa Rumph. Amb. 5. 310. t. 117.

Betela quem Siri boa vocant. Bont. Jav. 91. t. 91. Ray. Hist. 1913.

Malay *Baci*.

THE fruit is nearly as long as a finger, and tastes like the Betel leaf; and hence the name; *boa* signifying *fruit* in the *Malay* language. It is used as a substitute for Betel, especially at sea, where the fresh leaves cannot be procured.

3. *Piper Chaba*. H. Leaves alternate, petioled, lance-ovate, oblique at the base, with veins opposite; Spikes leaf-opposed, peduncled, somewhat conical, compact.

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[15] The Mekhzen ul Adviyeh, a treatise on Materia Medica, composed by MUHAMMED HUSAIN, brother to the NAWAB MUHAMMED REZA KHAN, enumerates the following five kinds, *Magha*, *Cingari*, *Cafiri*, *Sinhi*, *Bangla*. He thus describes the method of treating the leaves, by which they are made tender and acquire a whitish colour.—A quantity of the leaves newly gathered is put into a bag, an earthen pot, or a basket, covered with straw, and placed in a hole dug in the ground. —The straw is set on fire, and allowed to burn till the leaves are heated to a certain degree. The fire is then taken away, and the basket left for twenty-four hours in the hole, with a weight laid on it, to press the leaves gently together. It is afterwards exposed to the dews at night in the summer, or in winter kept in a warm place, till the leaves become white and tender.

Piper Longum Tsjabe. Rumph. Amb. 5. p. 333. t. 116. f. 1.

Malay. *Chábatádi.*

THIS species has been generally confounded with *Piper Longum*; but a comparison of the figure above quoted from RUMPHIUS, with that of RHEEDE's *Cattutirpali.* H. M. 7. p. 27. t. 14. will clearly evince them to be different.

THE *Piper Longum* is called in Sanscrit *Pippali,* in Hindi *Pipel,* and in Persian *Pilpili deráz.* The species now under consideration appears to be the same that is called in Sanscrit *Chavicá* and in Hindi *Chab.* All the Sanscrit medical writers, as well as vocabularies of that language, concur in stating the produce of this plant to be *Gaja pippali* or *Gaj pipel.* This name was however assigned to a very different plant examined by SIR WILLIAM JONES [16], the *Tetranthera Apetala* of DR. ROXBURGH [17]. And the fruit of a plant, very different from both, is sold under that name by the native druggists in Calcutta.

5. *Piper Latifolium?*

FRUIT like the former. Leaves alternate, deeply cordate, obtuse, nine-nerved.

Mal. *Gádú* or *Gádúkh.*

THE leaves are used as a pot-herb.

HAVING seen only a small specimen, without fructification, which I know merely by description, I cannot speak with certainty of this species.

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16 Asiat. Res. v. 4, p. 303.

17 Pl. Corom. No. 147.

Table exhibiting an Estimate of the expence and produce, in 12 years, of 100 Urlongs, planted with Pepper.

	Dr		Cr.		Balance	
	Sp.Drs	P	Sp Drs	P	Sp Drs	P
1st Year, Clearing of heavy Timber by Malays, at 5 Drs per *Urlong*, -	500	—	—	—	—	—
To the Chinese Contractor, in the course of 3 years, when he engages to deliver the plantation in full bearing, at 225 Drs per 1000 plants, - 22,500	—	—	—	—	—	—
Of this in the first year, - 8437 50	8437	50	—	—	8937	50 Dr
2d Year, Farther payment to contractor, - - - 4218 75	4218	75	—	—	—	—
Interest of 1st year, at 12 per cent, - - - -	1072	50	—	—	14,228	75 Dr
3d Year, In full to contractor, 9843 75	9843	75	—	—	—	—
22,500						
Interest in the 3d year, - - -	1707	45	—	—	25,779	95 Dr
4th Year, Interest, - - - - -	3093	59	—	—	—	—
Supposing the plantation to be let, during the first 5 years of bearing, at 160 *picols* per *Lacsha*, this will be 1600 *picols*, which may be sold, on the ground, at 10 Drs.			16,000	—	12,873	54 Dr
5th Year, Interest, - - - - -	1544	82	—	—	—	—
5th year's crop, - - - - -			16 000	—	1581	64 Cr
6th Year, Interest, - - - - - -	—		189	80	—	—
6th year's crop, - - - - - -	—		16,000	—	17,771	44 Cr
7th Year, Interest, - - - - -	—	—	2132	57	—	—
7th year's crop, - - - - -	—	—	16,000	—	35,904	01 Cr
8th Year, Interest, - - - - -	—	—	4308	48	—	—
8th year's crop, - - - - -	—	—	16,000	—	56,212	49 Cr
9th Year, Interest,	—	—	6745	50	—	—
The plants being now in full vigour, may be let for four years more at 2 *cattis* each plant, or 2000 *picols*; which is - - - - - - - -	—	—	20,000	—	82,957	99 Cr
10th Year, Interest, - - - - -	—	—	9954	96	—	—
10th year's crop, - - - -	—	—	20,000	—	112,912	95 Cr
11th Year, Interest, - - - - -	—	—	13,549	55	—	—
11th year's crop,	—	—	20,000	—	146,462	50 Cr
12th Year, Interest, - - - - -	—	—	17,575	50	—	—
12th year's crop, - - - - -	—	—	20,000	—	184,038	— Cr

IX.

Description *of an improved* Hygrometer.

BY LIEUTENANT HENRY KATER,

Of His Majesty's 12th Regiment.

Since I had the honor of laying before the Asiatick Society "a description of a very sensible Hygrometer," I have attended much to the improvement of the instrument, and am induced to think that some further account of it may not be deemed wholly unacceptable.

The principal objection to the Hygrometer described in my former paper, arose from the necessity of shortening the beard of the *oobeena hooloo* *, in order to reduce the scale, to a convenient length; this was to be obviated, only by giving the instrument a circular form, and inventing some mode of ascertaining without difficulty the number of revolutions made by the index.

ABCD (fig. 1) is a frame, made of small square bars of brass or silver; this plate is soldered to a square plate BE, the edges of which are turned up, as represented by the dotted lines, to secure the *index* from injury: on the face of the plate is engraved a circle (see fig. 4) which is divided into *one hundred* equal parts. Three holes, a, b, c, are made through the frame and plate in the same direction; the holes a & b, are of a conical form as represented by the dotted lines, and are highly polished to lessen friction; the hole at c receives a screw, one end of which is tapered, and has a *notch* cut in it with a fine saw, which may be closed by means of the sliding ring d.

The *axis* e f, is made of silver wire, very smooth and straight, and of the size of a large knitting needle; on the axis, *a screw* is formed, by twisting a smaller

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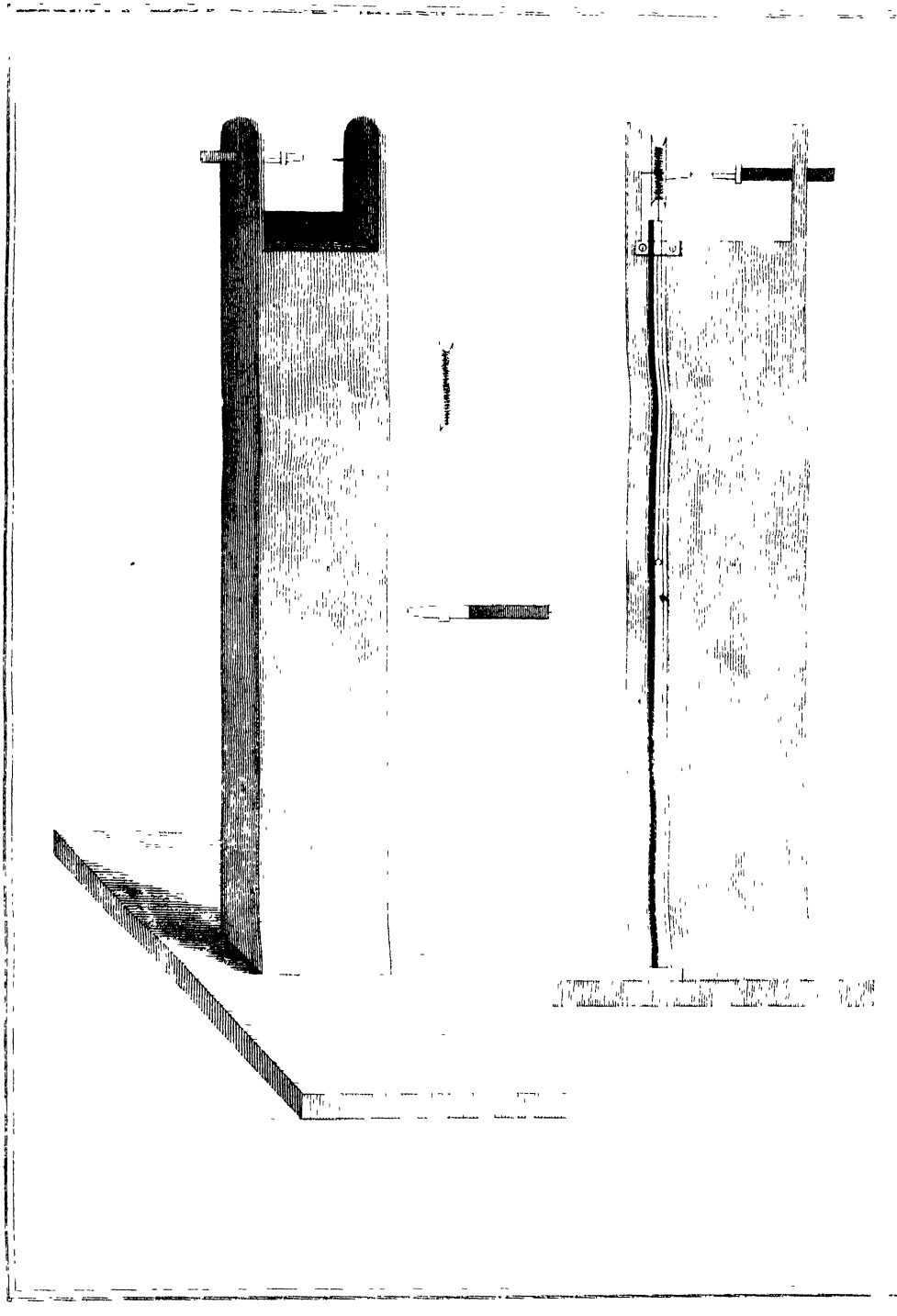
* *Andropogon Contortus.*



silver wire tightly around it *from left to right:* this screw should be fourteen or fifteen threads in length; the end of the axis, f, is divided, and is to be closed by a small sliding ring. As this is the most important part of the Hygrometer, fig. 2 represents it on an enlarged scale.

A *loop* and *drop* (fig. 3) is made of fine gold wire, of such a size as that when suspended on the screw, it may slide along it with perfect freedom by means of the revolution of the axis, but not escape from one interval to another by any other motion: should the loop, on trial, be found too large (as indeed it ought to be) it may be easily closed a little, by placing it on the screw, and pulling it gently by the drop; it will then assume an elliptical form, as in the figure. This loop is intended to register the number of revolutions made by the index, as it hangs freely from the *axis*, and advances one *interval* between the threads of the screw, for each revolution.

THE *Index*, g h, is made of fine wire, accurately balanced, and as light as possible; it fits on the end of the axis e, *and is to be placed at right angles with the commencement of the screw.* (See fig. 2.)

THE beard of the *oobeena hooloo* is represented at f d, (fig. 1.) The top of it, which is crooked, being cut off, it is first secured between the cheeks of the axis, at f, by means of the small sliding ring; the axis is then turned round till the gold loop is brought to the fifth or sixth *interval* of the *screw*, counting from the dial plate; the screw at c is then advanced, so as to receive the lower or thick extremity of the beard of the *oobeena hooloo* in the notch, where it is also confined by the sliding ring d.

THE extremes of *dryness* and *moisture* are determined in the following manner. The Hygrometer is placed in a new earthen pot, which has never been wetted, and exposed for a considerable time to as great a heat as the grass can bear without injury: when the *index* is perfectly steady, the Hygrometer is to be taken out of the vessel, and the screw at c, turned round with a pair of pincers, so as to bring the gold loop to the *first interval* of the screw on the axis, counting as before from the dial plate, (which is to be placed to the left hand) and the index to 100 or zero. The Hygrometer must now be suffered to cool gradually, during which, if the atmosphere be in a mean state of moisture, the index will make four or five revolutions; the *oobeena hooloo* is then to be continually wetted with a hair pencil and water, till the index is again perfectly steady. This will require some time, as it moves very slowly when within a few degrees of *extreme moisture*. The degree at which the index stands is now to be noted, and the number of *intervals* counted between the dial plate and gold loop, and this number prefixed to the observed degrees will give the extent of the scale.

All observations made with this Hygrometer, are to be reduced to what they would have been had the scale consisted of 1000 parts, or ten revolutions of the index. This is most convenient, as it facilitates the comparison of observations made with different Hygrometers. An example may not be thought superfluous. Suppose the scale of the Hygrometer to be 1145, or eleven *intervals* and forty-five *parts*; and that at the time of observation, there are *four intervals*, between the dial plate and gold loop, and 50 *parts* shown by the *index*; this would be written 450. Then, as 1145 : 1000 : : 450 : 393 nearly, the number of degrees to be registered.

If two of these Hygrometers, in which the extremes of dryness and moisture are well determined, be compared together, they will seldom differ *ten divisions* from each other, which is as near a coincidence as can be expected.

The *oobeena hooloo* or *Andropogon Contortus* is found in every part of the country, in the month of January, when it should be gathered, and thoroughly dried in the sun, before it is used.

This grass appears to be far superior to any other hygroscopic substance, hitherto discovered. In the Encyclopædia Britannica, the scale of Saussure's Hygrometer is said to consist of 400 degrees, or rather more than *one* revolution of the index; the Hygrometer here described makes *eleven* or *twelve* revolutions; it possesses also the advantage of being perfectly portable, cannot easily be deranged, and may be much reduced in size, if thought necessary, without affecting the extent of the scale.

X.

On Ancient Monuments, *containing* Sanscrit Inscriptions.

BY H. T. COLEBROOKE, ESQ.

In the scarcity of authentic materials for the ancient, and even for the modern, history of the *Hindu* race, importance is justly attached to all genuine monuments, and especially inscriptions on stone and metal, which are occasionally discovered through various accidents. If these be carefully preserved and diligently examined; and the facts, ascertained from them, be judiciously employed towards elucidating the scattered information, which can be yet collected from the remains of Indian literature, a satisfactory progress may be finally made in investigating the history of the *Hindus*. That the dynasties of princes, who have reigned paramount in *India*, or the line of chieftains, who have ruled over particular tracts, will be verified; or that the events of war or the effects of policy, during a series of ages, will be developed; is an expectation, which I neither entertain, nor wish to excite. But the state of manners, and the prevalence of particular doctrines, at different periods, may be deduced from a diligent perusal of the writings of authors, whose age is ascertained: and the contrast of different results, for various and distant periods, may furnish a distinct outline of the progress of opinions. A brief history of the nation itself, rather than of its government, will be thus sketched: but if unable to revive the memory of great political events, we may at least be content to know what has been the state of arts, of sciences, of manners, in remote ages, among this very ancient and early civilized people; and to learn

what has been the succession of doctrines, religious and philosophical, which have prevailed in a nation ingenious yet prone to superstition.

UNFORTUNATELY, writers have seldom given the dates of their compositions: and the *Hindu's* love of fable, and distaste for sober narrative, have been as unfriendly to the biography of authors, as to the history of princes. The lives of few celebrated persons have been written, and those, which have been composed, exhibit the same fondness for improbable fiction, which pervades the mythological works of the *Hindus*. The age of an author must be therefore sought from circumstances mentioned in his writings: and none more frequently affords the desired information, than the author's notice of his patron; who generally is either the sovereign of the country, or some person standing in such relation to the court, as gives occasion to mention the name of the reigning prince. Thus every ancient monument, which fixes the date of a reign, or determines the period of a particular dynasty, tends to the ascertainment of the age of writers who flourished in that reign or under that dynasty: and, conversely, wherever dates can be with confidence deduced immediately from an author's works, these may furnish historical information and assist the explanation of ancient monuments.

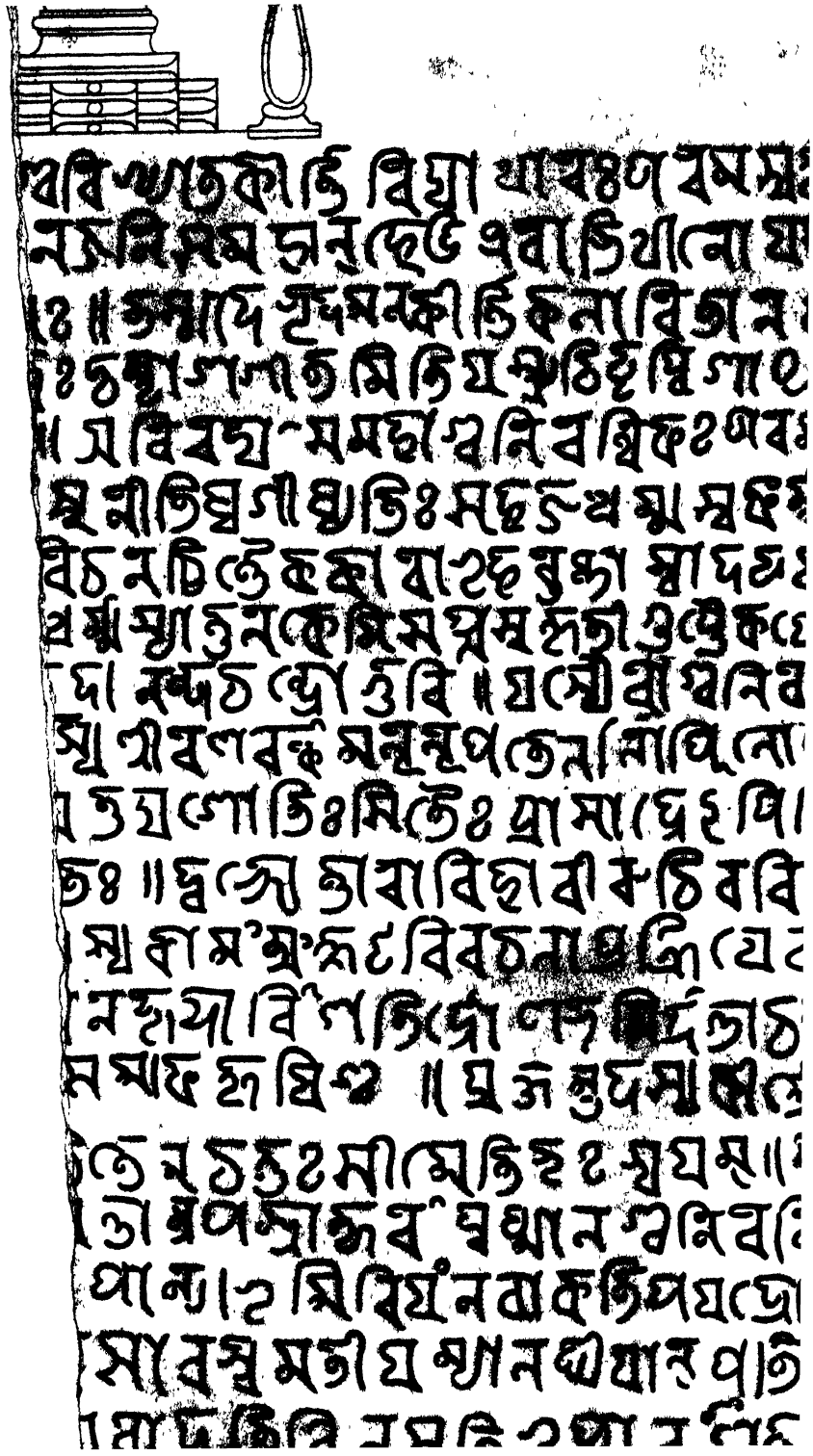
ON this account the preservation and study of old inscriptions may be earnestly recommended. It is not on a first or cursory examination, that the utility of any particular monument for the illustration of the civil or literary history of the country can be certainly determined. Even those, which at first sight appear uninteresting, may be afterwards found to bear strongly on an important point. Instances might be brought from the few inscriptions, which have been already pub-

lished. But it is not my present purpose to enter on an examination of published monuments, but to urge the communication of every inscription which may be hereafter discovered; at the same time, that I lay before the Society copies and translations of those which have been recently communicated from various parts of *India*.

It is a subject for regret, that the originals, of which versions have before been made publick, are not deposited where they might be accessible to persons engaged in researches into Indian literature and antiquities: but much more so, that ancient monuments, which there is reason to consider as important, have been removed to Europe, before they had been sufficiently examined, or before they were accurately copied and translated. I may specify, with particular regret, the plate of copper found at *Benares*, and noticed by Capt. Wilford in the present volume of Asiatick Researches (p. 108.); and still more a plate which has been mentioned to me by a learned *Pandit*, (who assured me that he was employed in decyphering it) *, and which appears, from a copy in his possession, to have contained a grant of land by the celebrated Jayachandra, when a young prince associated to the empire of his father: from this information it seems to have been particularly valuable on account of the genealogy comprised in it.

Translations might indeed be made from the *Pandit's* copy of the last mentioned plate, and from one taken by a learned native in Capt. Wilford's service, from the plate discovered at *Benares*. But my experience of the necessity of collating the copies made by the best *Pandits*,

* Sérvóru Trivedí; the same who assisted me in decyphering the copy of an inscription on Firóz Shah's pillar at *Delhi*. As. Res. vol. 7. p. 180.



from inscriptions in ancient or unusual character, discourages me from placing implicit confidence in their transcripts: and the originals are at present beyond reach of reference, having been conveyed to Europe to be there buried in some publick museum or private collection.

THE only amends, which could be now made for the removal of those interesting monuments, would be the publication of copies correctly made in fac simile. From such transcripts, provided they be executed with great care, the text may be decyphered and translated. An exact copy of the *Sanscrit* inscription on the stone at *Cintra* in *Portugal*, enabled Mr. WILKINS to ascertain the date and scope of that inscription; as well as the names, which it contains *. Similar copies of other inscriptions would in like manner furnish oriental scholars with the means of ascertaining their purport; and the publication of fac similes may, for this purpose, be recommended to those who are in possession of the originals.

I NOW proceed to describe, and, so far as I have succeeded in decyphering them, to explain, the several inscriptions on ancient monuments in stone and copper, which have been lately presented to the Asiatick Society.

I. *Inscriptions on a Plate of Copper found in the district of* TIPURA.

TOWARDS the end of 1803, a plate of copper was discovered in digging earth for the repair of the highway through the *Manamati* hills in the district of *Tipura*. It was carried to Mr. ELIOT, Magistrate of the district; and by him

* MURPHY's Travels in *Portugal*, p. 277.

communicated to the Asiatick Society. On examination, it has been found to contain an inscription declaratory of a grant of land, dated near 600 years ago.

The plate measures 11 inches in height and 9 in breadth; and is engraved on one surface only. The sides have a gentle curvature; and, at top, is an abrupt bend allowing room to a figure coarsely delineated and apparently intended to represent a temple. The character agrees nearly with that now in use in *Bengal:* but some of the letters bear a closer resemblance to the writing of *Tirhut* *.

The following is an exact copy of the inscription in *Nágari* letters, as decyphered by the aid of several *Pandits*. A literal translation is subjoined; and a fac simile of the original is exhibited in the annexed engraving.

श्री ॥ तस्मिन्नुच्चैरमलिनकुले विश्वविख्यातकीर्त्तिर्विद्याधारः परमसुकृतीमण्डनंपण्डितानां ॥ ख्या
तः श्रीमान्जनिसमहान्हरिहरवाभिधानोयस्यस्वच्छेव्यवरदनिशंमानसेधर्महंसः ॥ १ ॥ तस्माद
भूरमलकीर्त्तिकलाविलासः श्रीमानमात्यनिलकोमनुजामतेर्नुः ॥ दृष्ट्वाणीतमितियस्यटिवृद्धिणाख्या
व्रज्जाहूजीम्वयंयमानिवसंविभाति ॥ २ ॥ अविरहात्समहाम्बनिवन्धिकःपरमतत्त्वमहत्तमधिष्ठितः ॥
रुचिररोनिपुनीतिशुभीष्पतिःसहजधर्मसुकर्मठधीभवेत् ॥ ३ ॥ दानध्यानमहोदधिःप्रविमलचित्तैककार
णगृहंनम्रात्त्वादतुवामयःकनिष्ठयाधारःपरपार्थिवः ॥ धर्मस्यातुलकेलिसद्मसुकृतीगुप्तैकयोगीश्वरः सोय
श्रीधडिहवहकउदग्रदानवृचन्द्रोभवि ॥ ४ ॥ यस्यैवाम्बनिवन्धिकोयमभवत्क्षोणीन्द्रचूडामणिम्मा
श्रीरणवङ्गमहत्तमस्यपतेर्लीलातिलोकोनृपः ॥ ज्ञात्वाक्रामद्भिरिनस्तनिजगतोपत्तद्वयीभिःक्षितेःप्रासादेऽपि

* There is reason to suppose the writing, as well as the language of *Bengal* to be originally the same with the *Tirhútya:* altered, in course of time, since the separation which has been the consequence of a colony of *Cányacubya Brahmens* settling in *Bengal.*

निजसद्वंशनयनोजातानुलीनाश्रितः ॥ ५ ॥ दुर्गोद्वाणविहारोद्भवि विरचितापट्टिकेकनगाख्यायेयंधर्मस्य
मुकुलामंदविरचयापक्रियेवाभिभाति ॥ ग्रामिऽस्यैवंजखण्डेनिजसरलहृद्विशदनिद्रोण्भूमिर्न्यस्तद्रगंमा
र्गामतविमलयशः प्रसरप्रकृषिश्च ॥ ६ ॥ युक्तसत्सकोर्नेयंसर्वत्र प्रथति प्रमः ॥ दत्तादक्षिणचित्ते
नरतुःसीमिभूः स्वय ॥ ७ ॥ इंहेविधनपविभूमिपतगेयनामपचाङ्कुरंयु प्यानृत्वि षश्रिकोयमधुना
ल्वज्ञतियाचते ॥ पाद्यभूमिरियंनवाकृति पयद्रेहणएज्यस्थितिधिदैनविधंवसावसुमतीयस्या
स्तयान्पतिः ॥ ८ ॥ स हजगणमहित्रायद्यपीयंस्वभावादतिविलसनिगूढावंप जानंप्रपत्तिः ॥ विम
लकुलगुणैर्गाढमाकृष्यमाणः घकटयतिदृढंमद्नीएवएषः ॥ ९ ॥ श्रकृतपरेतीनाअद्या
१५१ णवङ्कमल्लश्रीमन्हरिकालदेवपादानांसप्तदशसम्वत्सरेऽभिलिख्यमानेपञ्चङ्गेनापि सम्वत्
१७ स्यगत्यातत्दिने २६ ॥

TRANSLATION.

1. In that * eminent and spotless family, was born, an ornament of the learned, renowned throughout the world, endowed with science, and practising good deeds, the celebrated, happy, and venerable He'n'i †; in whose pure mind, virtue ever ranges, like a swan in the limpid lake.

2. From him sprung the happy chief of ministers, who exhibits the joys of unsullied glory; a spotless moon, among mortals, and at sight of whom the

* This use of the pronoun indicates the conspicuousness of the object; as is sufficiently known without further designation.

† Here, as well as with the subsequent names, the particle *ra* is subjoined without changing the preceding vowel. This is contrary to the rules of the language, and emendations have been accordingly proposed: but I shall not disturb the text.

hare-spotted luminary ‡ appears swoln [with envy,] and distempered with alternate increase and wane.

3. That venerable officer §, ever relying on holy virtues ||, is eminently conversant with well guided morals, and conspicuous for the observance of practical duties.

4. Himself an ocean of generosity and meditation, yet thirsting to taste, by practice of austerity, that which alone confines the fleeting thoughts * ; sympathising with other living beings, an unrivalled theatre of virtue, practising good deeds, and, in private, only a contemplative saint, this auspicious D'had'i alone rose, as a luminary of joy above the earth.

5. Superior to the world was the delight of this pre-eminent sovereign of the earth, the happy Ranabanca Malla, whose officer † he was; for the deity, who has a hundred eyes ‡, is obscured, even in his own abode, by the dazzling glories of that [monarch], which traverse the three worlds, in all directions.

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‡ The moon is named *Sasan*, from a fancied resemblance of its spots to a leveret. *Pandits*, to whom I showed maps of the moon, copied from Hevelius and Ricciolus, fixed upon the *Loca Paludosa* and *Mons Porphyrites*, or Keplerus and Aristarchus, for the spots, which, they think, exhibit the similitude of a hare.

§ The term is *Aswamband'hica*, which the *Pandits* are disposed to explain as signifying "a general commanding cavalry." Other interpretations may be suggested: the word is an unusual one.

|| This, as indeed the whole of the verse, is obscure, and admits of various interpretations. In this place, more than one reading has been proposed.

* Here again the sense is obscure; and more than one reading may be proposed. The praise is evidently grounded on the union of practical virtues, with religious contemplation.

† *Aswamband'hica*.

‡ Indra.

6. 'MAY the twenty *drónas* § of land, in the village of *Ijac'hand'a*, granted to him by that generous prince, continue as long as sun and moon endure, yielding the ample harvest of unsullied praise; for it is land secure from invasion, delightful, like a pleasant painting, and appears like a crest in the assemblage of cities.

7. 'THIS land, with definite boundaries has been given by the liberal prince himself, the range of whose glory therefore extends, as is fit, in all directions.

8. 'O FUTURE kings; understand this inscription on copper, by which that officer ‖ humbly now solicits you: this land should be preserved; nor is the permanence of the realm consistent with the slightest injury: a shame on avarice! That land is, as it were, a widow, the sovereign of which is despised [for his covetousness.]

9. 'ALTHOUGH this excellence of the descendants [of that prince,] which is guarded by their natural virtues, be sufficiently apparent, yet does ME'DINÍ, urged by the multitude of the good qualities of that unsullied race, thus make it known *.

'YEARS expired of the *S'aca* king 1141 †; dated in the seventeenth year

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§ A measure of land, still used in the eastern parts of *Bengal*; originally as much as might be sown with one *Drona* of seed: for a *Drona* is a measure of capacity. (As. Res. vol. 5. p. 90.) The *Drona*, vulgarly called *Dan*, varies in different districts. It may, however, be reckoned nearly equivalent to eight *Bighas*, or two acres and two thirds.

‖ *Arwamband'hica*.

* This inscription appears not to be a grant by the sovereign; but a memorial of the grant recorded by the possessor, who must have been the heir of the grantee, and who seems to acknowledge in this place the liberality of the grantor's successors continuing the land to him.

† Corresponding to A. D. 1219.

of RANABANCA MALLA, SRÍMAT HARTICA'LA DE'VA ‡, or expressed in numerals, *Samvat* §, 17 ; on the 29th of the Sun's being in the balance.'

II. *Inscription on a Plate of Copper found in the district of* GORAKHPUR.

A PLATE of copper, containing an inscription in the *Sanscrit* language, declaratory of a grant of land, but without date, was lately found in the district of *Gorakhpur*, near the river called the little *Gand'hac*. It was brought to Mr. JOHN AHMUTY, Magistrate of the district, and by him communicated to Captain WILFORD, who has presented it to the Asiatick Society.

THE plate, which is $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and $12\frac{1}{2}$ broad, is engraved on one face only. The lines, of which there are 24, run in the length of the plate; and on the left side is a curvature, on which a semi-circular appendage is riveted, containing a flat button representing the impression of a seal. The figure is very imperfect, but seems to be intended for some animal.

WITH the plate itself, Captain WILFORD communicated a copy of its contents as decyphered by a *Pandit* in his service. On carefully comparing it with the original, I found all the essential passages, as well as the names, correctly given: a few alterations, which this comparison showed to be necessary, have been made with the concurrence of several *Pandits* from *Tirhut*, who assisted me in collating it. I preferred the aid of *Pandits* of that province, because the peculi-

‡ This prince is probably a different person from the grantor named in the fifth verse.

§ Here *Samvat* is used for the year of the king's reign. See remarks, towards the close of this paper, on an inscription found at *Amgáchhi* in *Dinájpur*.

ಕಾಲಿಗೆ ಬಿದ್ದು ಕೈಮುಗಿದು ಬೇಡಿಕೊಂಡಳು. ಆಗ ಅವಳ ಗಂಡ ಅವಳನ್ನು ಎಬ್ಬಿಸಿ ಸಮಾಧಾನ ಮಾಡಿ ಕಳುಹಿಸಿದನು. ಅವಳು ಮನೆಗೆ ಹೋಗಿ ಅಡಿಗೆ ಮಾಡಿ ಗಂಡನಿಗೆ ಊಟ ಬಡಿಸಿ ತಾನೂ ಊಟ ಮಾಡಿದಳು. ಅವಳ ಗಂಡ ಅವಳಿಗೆ ಹೇಳಿದನು: ನಾನು ಹೊರಗೆ ಹೋಗಿ ಬರುತ್ತೇನೆ. ಅವಳು ಹೇಳಿದಳು: ಹೋಗಿ ಬನ್ನಿ. ಅವನು ಹೊರಗೆ ಹೋಗಿ ಬಂದು ಅವಳಿಗೆ ಹೇಳಿದನು: ಇಂದು ಒಂದು ಅದ್ಭುತವನ್ನು ನೋಡಿದೆ. ಅವಳು ಕೇಳಿದಳು: ಏನು ನೋಡಿದಿರಿ? ಅವನು ಹೇಳಿದನು: ಒಂದು ಹೆಣ್ಣು ಕೋತಿ ಒಂದು ಗಂಡು ಕೋತಿಯ ಜೊತೆಗೆ ಸಂಭೋಗ ಮಾಡುತ್ತಿತ್ತು. ಅವಳು ಕೇಳಿದಳು: ಅದರಲ್ಲಿ ಅದ್ಭುತವೇನಿದೆ? ಅವನು ಹೇಳಿದನು: ಅದರಲ್ಲಿ ಅದ್ಭುತವೇನಿಲ್ಲ. ಆದರೆ ಆ ಹೆಣ್ಣು ಕೋತಿಯ ಮುಖ ನಿನ್ನ ಮುಖದಂತೆ ಇತ್ತು. ಅವಳು ಕೇಳಿದಳು: ಅದು ಹೇಗೆ ಸಾಧ್ಯ? ಅವನು ಹೇಳಿದನು: ಅದು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಿಲ್ಲ. ಆದರೆ ನಾನು ನೋಡಿದೆ

arities of the characters, where they differ widely, as they do in many instances, from common *Déva nágarí*, make a nearer approach to the *Tirhútíya* letters than to any other now in use. The whole inscription is indeed remarkable for the uncommon form of the consonants, and the very unusual manner in which the vowels are marked. On this account, an exact copy of the original in fac simile will be subjoined; as well as a correct transcript in modern *Déva nágarí* letters. The following version is as literal as the difference of idiom permits.

TRANSLATION.

1. 'SALUTATION to the God, who is manifested in various forms, from earth to the performer of a sacrifice *, who is an universal soul, to be apprehended only by contemplation of saints; and who pervades all.

2. 'SALUTATION to the unborn God †, who makes the world's production, its continuance, and ultimate destruction; and the recollection of whom serves as a vessel of transport across the ocean of mundane ills.

3. 'SALUTATION be to the husband of LACSHMÍ; to him who reposes on SE'SHA as on a couch; to him who is VISHNU extracting the thorns of the three worlds; to him who appears in every shape ‡.

4. 'SALUTATION be to the blessed foot of PA'RVATÍ §, which destroyed the demon MAHISHA, by whom all had been overcome; and which gives felicity to the world.

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* SIVA, manifested in eight material forms: viz. Earth, Water, Fire, Air, Ether, the Sun, the Moon, and the person who performs a sacrifice.

† BRAHMA the creator, himself not created, and therefore termed unborn.

‡ VISHNU, who reposes on the serpent *Ananta* or *Sesha*; and who has been incarnate in various shapes to relieve the world from oppressors.

§ BHAWANÍ or DURGA slew MAHISHASURA. The legend is well known.

5. 'SURROUNDED by groves of lofty canes ||, inaccessible through the range of edifices on the hill's summit encompassed by a deep ditch in which
6. fountains spring, secure by impassable defence from dread of foes, a royal abode there is named *Vijeyapura* **, which is situated on the declivity of the northern mountain, where the pain of regret is unknown, and every gratification is found.

7. 'THERE reigned the fortunate D'HARMA'DITYA, like another *Bód'hisat-wa*, a mighty and prosperous prince, whose glory spread over the four seas.
8. His son was JAYA'DITYA *, adorable like the moon, the fortune of the world, like the tree which bears every desired fruit, and satisfying thirst like a deep
9. lake: humble, though a king; though young, prudent and averse from amorous passion; though liberally bestowing all, yet ever receiving the best result of all.

10. 'HIS minister, learned, intelligent, and vanquisher of foes, the son of a mighty chieftain and counsellor CRĬTACÍRTI, was the fortunate

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|| Bamboos (Bambusa Arundinacea and other species).

** The place here described may be *Vijey-pur*, on the northern declivity of the *Vind'hya* hills, a few miles from the temple of *Vind'hyá-vásini* near *Mirzápur* on the Ganges. It is the ancient residence of a family, which claims descent from the former sovereigns of *Benares*; and is still the abode of the head of that family. But the terms of the text, *Uttaragiri catace*, rather seem to signify 'declivity of the northern mountain,' than 'northern declivity of the mountain;' and that interpretation points to the range of snowy mountains, instead of *Vind'hya* which is reckoned a tropical range.

* The name of JAYADITYA, is known as the patron of certain authors, who flourished at *Cási*, and who are considered as ancient writers. He is mentioned in the title of the *Vámana Cásicá*, and even termed the author of that grammatical work. I shall not undertake to determine whether this be the same person.

11. MADA'LI *, whose pleasing counsels obtained a ready hearing, and who was by nature eager for the reduction of enemies †.

12. 'THE village of *Dummaduná* ‡, obtained by him from the royal favor, and rich in tillage, dwellings and cattle, has been assigned by him to DURGA' §.

13. 'THE opulence of the good, who put their trust in the great, is in deed beneficial to others: the clouds gather water from the sea, and shower 14. it down on the growing crop. Rare indeed are those liberal persons, who

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* The names, being uncommon, are, in this instance, doubtful. *Srimadáli* is clearly given as the name of the minister: and either the whole of it may be his name; or it may be resolved into *Srimat Ali*, or into *Sri Madáli*. The latter is most agreeable to the prevailing practice of prefixing *Sri* to a proper name. In this inscription, the auspicious syllable is prefixed to the names of the two kings first mentioned; but is not added to the names of the writers of it, who are noticed towards the close. (v. 20 & 22.)

Critacirti may signify 'of established fame:' but, if taken as an epithet, it leaves no other term which can be assumed as the name of the minister's father.

† The text exhibits *Pracriti parabaddhacesho*. Though a very unsatisfactory reading it is here preserved, and has been translated in the most probable sense, which I am able to suggest for it.

‡ A village of this name is situated in the district of *Allahabad*, within twenty miles of *Bijeypur* on the Ganges. But the name is not uncommon; and may belong to some place nearer to the northern mountains.

§ JAYADITYA's minister, MADALI, appears to have assigned this village for general charitable uses, by consecrating it to the goddess DURGA. Such at least seem to be the most consistent reading and interpretation of the text.

distinguish not between their own dependants and strangers: how many are the all-productive trees even in the celestial grove *?

15. 'Do not imagine, father, that, in the sinful age, a general equality prevails: the sovereign defends the earth, but a weak individual guards not
16. even his house §. Birth and death, success and misfortune, are perpetually passing: why not, therefore, protect another's glory like one's own?
17. He, who bestows fertile land furnished with the means of agriculture, mounts
18. a celestial vehicle, and ascends to heaven, gladdening his progenitors. But he, who foolishly resumes land allotted to gods or priests, assuredly causes his ancestors to fall to hell, even though they had previously attained heaven.

19. 'SPRUNG from a very pure race, respectful towards gods, priests, spiritual parents and the king, a generous founder of temples, who has dug
20. many ponds; by the tenderness of his disposition an image of *Sugata* ‡, a treasure of virtues, with subdued organs, wise, and averse from unpleasing
21. discourse: such was the *Cáyast'ha Nágadatta*. *By* him was composed with

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* INDRA's garden called *Nandana*; in which five celestial trees are placed, termed *Calpadruma*, *Parijáta*, &c. The *Calpadruma* yields, as its fruit, every thing which is desired.

§ The intention of this and the following lines is to deprecate the resumption of the grant.

‡ From this comparison to *Sugata* or *Budd'ha*, as well as a previous comparison to a *Bodhisatwa*, it may be inferred, that the author, if not himself a follower of the sect of *Budd'ha*, was at least more amicably disposed towards that sect, than modern orthodox *Hindus* appear to be.

It is hardly necessary to inform the reader, that the last *Budd'ha* was conspicuous for his tender, compassionate disposition. The mythology of the sect of *Budd'ha* peoples heaven with *Bodhisatwas*: and, from this class of beings, the *Budd'has* are selected. GAUTAMA BUDD'HA was a *Bod'hisatwa* under the name of SWETACETU, before he was incarnate as SIDD'HART'HA son of SUDD'HÓDANA.

great devoutness, this praise of the minister; in apt measure and pleasing verse, elegant * and apposite.

22. 'The last three verses were written by his younger brother VIDYA'DATTA; for he himself was fearful of proclaiming his own virtues.

23. RICH and fertile is the village, obtained through the king's favour as an endowment for subsistence; and still more productive is this other village for virtuous men †.'

॥ ओं गणेशाय नमः ॥ स्तिमितदिवजमानानमन्नेवेविश्वात्मने । मुनीनांध्येनगम्यायस्वस्तयेपिनाक
मः॥ १॥ अजायजगदुत्पत्तिस्थितिप्रलयकारिणे । संसारसागरेनारायणस्तनयेनमः॥ २॥ नमो
लुलक्ष्मीनयनेशेषपर्य्यंकशायिने । त्रैलोक्यकंटकोत्खातनिष्पंवेविष्णुरूपिणे॥ ३॥ नमोस्तुविजिताशे
षमहिषासुरघातिने । पर्वतीपादपद्माय जगदानन्दहेतवे॥ ४॥ वेणुवनालीविवमाधिखरग्रामरम
णयाऽलया । निर्झरगभीरपरिखदुर्लभसारिसचासा॥ ५॥ अविदितदिग्गजदुःखासन्नावसमाप्तस
कलविक्रयसुखा॥ अस्त्यत्रगिरिकटकेविजयपुरंनामनृपधानी॥ ६॥ तत्रचचतुरोधि॥नयशाः
श्रीरुद्रदेवोमहासत्वः । श्रेमान्धर्म्मात्मोनृपतिरभूद्विसत्वइव॥ ७॥ तस्यचरणोविरेजेभाग्यैर्लोक
स्यकल्पशाखीव । दृष्ट्वनृत्तापरैःसुतोऽभवच्छ्रीजयादित्यः॥ ८॥ राजापित्रोर्विनोतोनृपाभिधोरे

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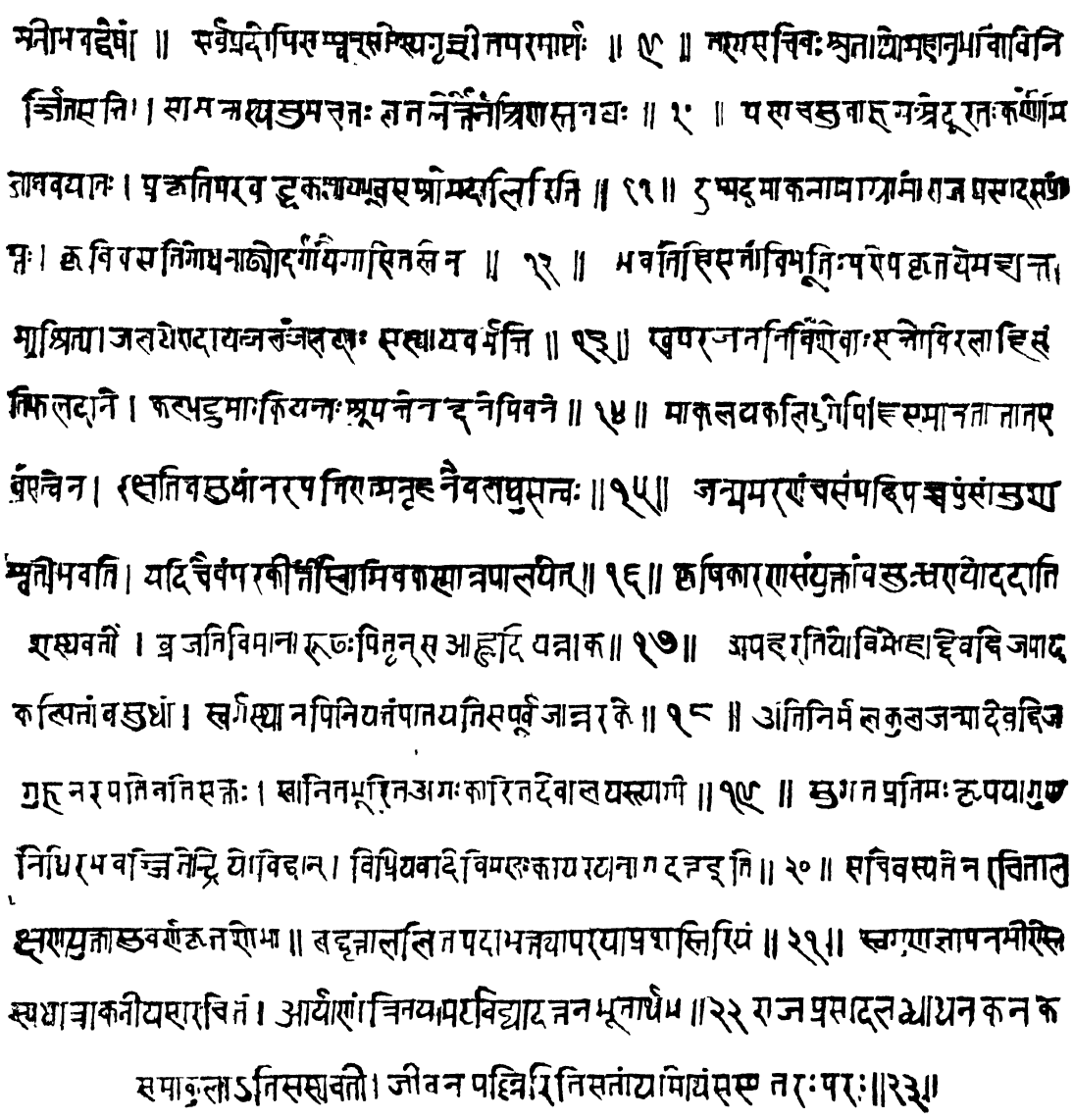
* The text exhibits *Surna critasóbhá*; which must be amended by reading either *Swarna* or *Suvarna*. The last is preferable as giving the most correct metre: either way the meaning is rendered 'elegant, as gold,' or by 'well selected words:' for *Suvarna* or *Swarna* signifies gold; and may be resolved into words, *Su* well, and *varna* or *arna* a letter or syllable.

† The last line is very obscure. If it have been rightly decyphered and explained, it may allude to some other grant held by the *Rájá's* minister, for his own subsistence.



III. *Inscription on three Plates of Brass found at* CHITRADURG.

A GRANT of land, engraved on three plates of brass, which were found at Chitradurg in the year 1800, and a fac simile of a similar grant found at the

same place, have been presented by Major C. MACKENZIE to the Asiatick Society.

THE plates, which appear to be very similar in both grants, may be described from that, of which the original has been received. They are nearly seven inches wide and as many high; but surmounted by an arch of two inches in height. The two exterior plates have been engraved on the inner side only: the middle one is so on both faces. At the edge is a rim, half a line thick, by which the inscription is secured from being effaced by the rubbing of the plates. They are held together by a brass ring, on which is a seal of the same metal representing a boar. The engraved surfaces have some appearance of having been once gilt.

THE language is *Sanscrit*, excepting the description of the lands, which is in the *Canara* dialect. The whole inscription is in *Deva-nágarí* characters: but some of the letters are formed in a very unusual manner. It contains a grant by the king of *Vidyánagar* (pronounced *Bijánagar*,) formerly the capital of *Carnát'aca*: and is dated little more than four hundred years ago. Grants, by kings of this dynasty, are not uncommon in the *Dekhin*; and may be of use in determining the dates of their several reigns. These princes were enlightened patrons of science: especially HARIMA'RA and BUCCA RA'YA sons of SANCAMA the founder of the dynasty.

MAJOR MACKENZIE forwarded a translation of this inscription made by his interpreter CAVELLY BORIA. The original is, in some instances, read differently by the *Pandits* whom I have consulted: not however making any change in the purport, nor in any material passage. The following translation

is conformable to their interpretation: and the copy, which is subjoined, exhibits the text as read by them.

TRANSLATION.

1. 'SALUTATION to GANE'SA. I bow to SAMBHU, graced with the beautiful moon crowning his lofty head; himself the pillar, which upholds
2. the origin of the three worlds *. May he, whose head is like an elephant's, the son of HARA †, the cause of uninterrupted supremacy, the giver of boons,
3. and the luminary which dispels darkness ‡, preserve us. May the auspicious primeval boar §, by whom closely embraced, the earth exults, grant us vast prosperity.

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* SIVA, or MAHADEVA, is figured with the moon as a crest. According to mythology, he upholds the creator.

This, and the two following stanzas, seem to be the same which are found, but in a different order, at the beginning of the inscription on the plates preserved at the temple of *Conjeveram:* (As. Res. vol. 3. p. 39.) with some difference, however, in the reading and interpretation.

† GANESA, figured with an elephant's head, reckoned son of HARA or MAHADEVA and of his wife PARVATI.

‡ The original is here inaccurate: it exhibits *Turat tivra timira gihiro*; which means nothing, and in which a syllable is deficient for the metre. In the fac simile of another grant, the same passage is correctly written *Varadas tivra timira mihiro.*

§ The incarnation of VISHNU, as a boar, who upheld the earth submerged by the ocean, is well known to all who are conversant with Indian mythology.

4. 'THE ambrosial moon, brother of the goddess *Ramá*, is the offspring of the milky ocean *, having a common origin with the gem *Caustubha*,
5. the all productive tree and the ever beneficent cow. In the lunar race was born a king named YADU †, by a descendant of whom [CRĬSHNA] son of VASUDE'-
6. VA, the earth has been protected. In his line arose a king named SANGAMA ‡, who abounded in weighty virtues, and shunned the society of the wicked.

7. 'THIS king had [five] sons, HARIHARA, CAMPA, BUCCARA'YA who was sovereign of the earth §, MA'RAPA and MUDGAPA.

8. 'AMONG these five graceful princes, the most celebrated was BUCCA sovereign of the earth, conspicuous for valor, as ARJUNA among the PA'N-
9. DAVAS. Therefore, did BUCCARA'YA, fierce in battle, become a fortunate prince, applying his left shoulder ‖ to uphold the burden of the mighty

---

* The story of the churning of the ocean is familiar to every one

† YADU, the celebrated ancestor of CRISHNA, was of the lunar race.

‡ The pretensions of SANGAMA to be descended from the lunar line of *Cshatriyas* or *Chandravansa* are here asserted.

§ The names of three of these princes, as well as of their father, occur in the writings of MAD'HAVA-ACHARYA, and of his brother SAYANA-ACHARYA, who were priests and counsellors of those monarchs.

HARIHARA RAJA, and BUCCANA RAJA or BUCCA RAYA, are named in MAD'HAVA's commentary on the *Vedas*, and CAMPÁ is mentioned in his grammatical works.

‖ The text appears to exhibit the negative of *Dacshina* right.

At the eight principal points of the compass, elephants uphold the world.

10. elephants posted at the quarters of the world. When his army, in warlike array, performed evolutions on the frontier of his dominions, the *Turashcas* felt their mouths parched; the *Cóncan'a*, terrified, apprehended impending death; the *And'hras* fled, in consternation, to the caverns; the *Gurjaras* trembled; the *Cambójas* lost their firmness; and the *Calingas* were quickly discomfited †.

11. 'He was a conspicuous monarch, splendid, and a supreme ruler of kings, but acting towards disobedient princes, as the king of birds towards
12. serpents; embraced by the concubines of kings, destroying hostile chiefs, defending the heroes of *Hindú Ráya*, endowed with knowledge and other qualities ‡.

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† This verse is extremely inaccurate in the original: it has been corrected with the aid of the fac simile of another grant beforementioned. It begins *Yasyadd'haya yudd'he yudd'ha range*, which is unmeaning and contains too many syllables for the metre. It should be, as in the other inscription, *Yasyadyad yudd'ha range*. A syllable is wanting in *Turushcáh*, written *Tushcáh*. Two were deficient in *Bhaya bhara bharitah* expressed *Bhava bharitah*. Both inscriptions write *Cámbojáh* for *Cambojah*. In one, *Sapari* is erroneously put for *Sapadi*.

All the names of nations, which occur in this place, have been repeatedly explained.

‡ These stanzas are very obscure: and I am not confident, that they are rightly translated. *Hindúraya* seems to be similar to the *Hindupati* of *Bundelkhand*: for so the government of that country was denominated under the chiefs, who ruled it in the last and in the preceding century.

The stanzas appear to be similar to two in the grant preserved at *Conjeveram*. viz. 25th and 26th. (As. Res. vol. 3. p. 47). But there is some difference in reading as well as in interpretation.

13. 'By that victorious king was *Vidyánagarí* made a permanent metropolis; a fortunate city, which is adapted to promote universal conquest *.

14. 'GAURA'MBICA' became his queen; a princess respectable for her virtues; as RAMA the beloved wife of CRĬSNA; as GAURÍ of S'IVA; as
15. S'ACHÍ, of INDRA; as SARASWATÍ, of BRAHMA'; as CH'HA'YA', of SU'R-
16. YA †. By the charms of her graceful gaiety, she obscured TILÓTTAMA ‡; by her happy fidelity to her husband, she excited the envy of ANASU'YA' §.

17. 'THIS liberal prince, pre-eminent among kings, begot, on that divine
18. princess ¶, a son named HARIHARA: who is become a protector of the good

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* *Vidyánagari* signifies the city of science. FERISHTAH was mistaken, when he affirmed, that it was founded by RAJA BELLAL DEO and named after his son BIJA KAY. (SCOTT's History of Dekhan, Intr. p. xi.) It is believed to have been founded by the two brothers HARIHARA and BUCCA RAYA.

† The Gods and Goddesses, to whom this happy couple is here compared, are mentioned in the text by titles, some of which are uncommon; and have been therefore changed, in the translation, to others more generally known. RAMA is probably intended for RADHA as a representative of LACSHMI.

In the original, SARASWATI is called VANI; but the fac simile of the other inscription exhibits SAVITRI. SACHÍ is, in the original, erroneously written SACHI, and *jáma* occurs at the beginning of the verse for *nama*.

‡ TILLÓTTAMA is the name of a nymph celebrated for her beauty.

§ ANASUYA is wife of ATRI, and distinguished for conjugal affection. The name signifies unenvious.

¶ The princess is here termed GAURI, which is a title of PERVATÍ; and which conveys an allusion to her own name GAURAMBICA.

and punisher of the wicked; who has obtained his wish, with the wife; who is enviable, and is devoted to the god HARIHARA.

19. 'THE tree of virtue thrives by water poured with his donations*; while he shines with the splendid glory of sixteen kinds of gift†.

20. 'In the year 1317‡; and, of the cycle, *Dhátri*; in the month of
21. *Mágha* and light fortnight; on the day of full moon; under the asterism sacred to the *Pitris (Maghá;)* on Sunday; upon the bank of the river
22. *Tungabhadrá*, which is adorned by the mountain *Hemacut'a*; in the presence
23. of the auspicious deity, VIRU'PA'CSHA§; the valiant HARIHARA¶, revered among mortals, liberal in his gifts of land, and especially attentive to venera-
24. ble priests, has graciously given, with gold and with a libation of water, to
22. the auspicious descendant of BHA'RADWA'JA and follower of the *Rigveda*, the
23. wife VĬSHNUDÍCSHITA PAT'T'ABARDHÍ, son of VA'CHESPATI surnamed
24. BHILA; and to the learned A'NANTADÍCSHITA son of RA'MABHAT'T'A, a
25. descendant of VASISHT'HA and follower of A'PASTA'MBA's *Yajurveda*, in-
28. habitant of *Ruchangi* (a place known to have been visited by the *Pándavas,)*
25. the fertile and all productive village of *Mádenahalli*, also named *Hariharapu-*
26. *ra*, situated in the midst of *Bhilichedra*, east of the village called *Arisícer*,
27. south of *Gandicehalli*, west of *Pallavacat'á*, and north of *Bhudihalli*, a place to

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* Solemn donations are ratified by pouring water into the hand of the donee.

† Sixteen meritorious gifts are enumerated in treatises on donation.

‡ Corresponding to A. D, 1395.

§ A title of SIVA.

¶ The difference of idiom makes it necessary to transpose, in the translation, some of the verses of the original.

29. be honoured by all; marked on the four sides by distinct boundaries; together with its treasures, and hidden deposites, its stones and every thing
30. which it does or may contain; abounding with objects pleasing to the eye; fit to be enjoyed by two persons; graced with elegant trees; furnished with
31. wells, cisterns, ponds and banks; to be successively possessed by the sons, grandsons and other descendants [of the grantees], as long as the sun and
32. moon endure, subject to be mortgaged, sold or any way disposed of; a village visited by assiduous and gentle priests and attendants, and by various wise persons, who are *conversant with holy rites*, and surpass in voice melodious birds *.'

A PARTICULAR description of the bounds of the village, and its land marks, is next inserted in the *Cánarà* language. After which the patent proceeds thus.

'THIS patent is of the king HARIHARA, the sole unalterable tree of beneficence, magnanimous, and whose sweet strains compose this royal grant. By his command this patent has been framed, expressed in due form, in the sacred tongue †.

'THE boundaries of the village on all sides, have been stated in the provincial dialect.

'OF original gift or confirmation of it, confirmation is superior to gift; by generous grants a man obtains heaven; by confirmation of them, an unpe-

* Some parts of this long passage are obscure and doubtful. The last stanza, with two preceding, omitting one, (that is the 29th, 30th, and 32nd) appears to be the same with three which occur in the grant preserved at *Conjeveram*, viz. 43d, 44th, and 45th. (As. Res. vol. 3. p. 51.) But there are some variations between the reading of them in this inscription, and in the copy of the *Conjeveram* plates, from which Sir W. JONES made his version of that grant: and, in a few instances, the interpretation, which I have adopted, differs from his.

† This passage may indicate the artist's name, *Vandeva*

rishable abode; for the confirmation of another's donation is twice as meritorious as a gift made by himself; and his own munificence is rendered fruitless by resumption of another's grants. He, who resumes land, whether bestowed by himself or by another, is born an insect in ordure for sixty thousand years. In this world is only one sister of all kings, namely land, which has been conferred on priests *: she must not be enjoyed nor espoused †. This general maxim of duty for kings, should be strictly observed by you in all times: so RAMACHANDRA earnestly conjures all future sovereigns ‡.'

'*Srí Virúpácsha*; or the auspicious deity with uneven eyes §.'

श्रीगणाधिपतयेनमः ॥ नमस्तुङ्गशिरश्चुम्बिचन्द्रचामरचारवे ॥ त्रैलोक्यनगरारम्भमूलस्तम्भायशम्भवे ॥ १ ॥ अ
वाप्तव्यक्षतैः स्वर्ग्यकारणैर्वारणाननः ॥ वरदस्तोत्रतिमिरमिहिरैरस्तु नन्दनः ॥ २ ॥ श्रीमान्दिवाहेाद्यः श्रियं
दिशतुभूयसीं ॥ गाङ्गालिङ्गितयेनमेदिनीयत्नमोदते ॥ ३ ॥ अस्तिकैलासभद्रस्थडुण्डमधेनुसहोदरः ॥ रणा
नुजःक्षुधानाद्यःक्षीरसागरसम्भवः ॥ ४ ॥ उदपूदन्वयेतंस्यादुर्नामपृथिवीपतिः ॥ पालितंयत्कुलीनैस्त
वाच्छुद्धैर्वेनमूलतः ॥ ५ ॥ अभूदस्यकुलेश्रीमान्भूमीशुरुगुणोदयः ॥ अपास्तदुरितासङ्गसङ्गमोनामभूप
तिः ॥ ६ ॥ आसन्हरिहराःक्ष्मीशुक्रगुरुप्रमुखाधरा ॥ गारुडोमुद्रयस्मैतिकुमाएलस्यभूपतेः ॥ ७ ॥ यत्र

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* The terms may signify "fully granted away, or properly bestowed."

† In mythology, as well as in figurative language, the earth is wife of the sovereign. With an allusion to this idea, land, which has been granted away, is here called the king's sister: and his seizure of such land is pronounced incestuous.

The expression, which has been translated espoused, (*caragrahyá*, literally, to be taken by the hand), will also signify subjected to taxation: for *cara* signifies tax as well as hand.

‡ This appears to be a quotation from some poem (a *Purána* or *Ramayana*). The whole of the concluding part of the inscription (comprised in five stanzas) seems to be the same with the close of grant on plates of copper preserved at *Conjeveram*. See As. Res. vol. 3. p. 53.

§ This signature is in *Canara* letters.

नांदृ ग्गाणांगल्यतिवुक्कभूपतिः ॥ प्रविद्धविक्रमोमधाःपाण्डवानामिवार्जुनः ॥ ८ ॥ दिक्करीन्द्रधुर
धारदक्षिणस्तम्भवत्थरः ॥ वुक्कणयस्तनः श्रीमान्नमोद्धवकर्कणः ॥ ९ ॥ यस्योद्यद्वद्वरक्षितिनरनिम
रिनस्तम्भवंमहतायेवस्त्रीभुक्ताभुरुक्तामयमरमरिनःकोङ्कणःशङ्कितायुः ॥ सोधारंधाणिधावन्त्यध
मनतयागुर्ज्जरजर्ज्जरङ्गाःकाम्बोजाःसिन्धवैर्य्याःसपदि समभवन्प्राप्तभङ्गाःकलिङ्गाः ॥ १० ॥ एजाधिप
जलिजस्योएजपरमेश्वरः ॥ माचानिरिङ्गिभूपालभुजङ्गमविहंगवह ॥ ११ ॥ एजवेश्याभुजङ्गेयःप
रराजतपङ्करः ॥ हिन्दुराजस्तुरत्राणःस्वित्यादिभिरन्वितः ॥ १२ ॥ श्रीविद्यानगरीविम्बविजयोदयशा
लिनी ॥ एलाविजयिनाथेनराजधानीकृतास्थिरा ॥ १३ ॥ तस्यगौरीम्बिकानाममहीरक्षीसमजायत ॥ माननी
यगुणाग्रावावल्लभस्यवयारमा ॥ १४ ॥ कपर्द्दिनोयथागौरीरुचीवनपुरन्दरः ॥ प्रिया महस्समाविक्षेये
वहुमणेरिव ॥ १५ ॥ विद्याराविभूमिल्लासनिरस्तनतिलोत्तमा ॥ अनसूयापिसास्यायत्पातिव्यस
म्पदा ॥ १६ ॥ अत्रीनमोमहस्यानिरसोएजशिखामणिः ॥ तस्यांहरिहरब्रह्मार्थोकुमारमुदपादयत् ॥ १७ ॥
शिष्टसंरक्षितायस्युदानामपिशासकः ॥ तस्यामात्रिविधुपाएकंम्बाख्योहरिहरेपरः ॥ १८ ॥ तस्मिन्
वाडएदानानियएसापरिशोभिते ॥ दानाम्बुधारयायस्यवर्द्धतेधर्मपादपः ॥ १९ ॥ ऋषिमूर्वाह्वितट्टे
नुगणितेधानवत्सरे ॥ प्रथमाश्विपुक्लपक्षेपौर्णमास्यांमहानिधौ ॥ २० ॥ तस्यचेपितृदेवत्येणनुवारिशसंयु
ते ॥ मुक्तमङ्गानदीनेरेहेमकूटोपएोपिते ॥ २१ ॥ श्रीविरूपाक्षदेवस्यसन्निधेप्रमदाधिते ॥ भारद्वाजस
स्तृगोत्रायवैगाएएयव ॥ २२ ॥ वाचस्पतेर्मेलास्यस्सूनवेसूनवेकृये ॥ पट्टवर्द्धनेनोवेलुदीक्षितेन्द्रा
यधीमते ॥ २३ ॥ वाधिकृगोत्रजायापत्नंव्यएणाग्रधायिने ॥ एमभट्टसुतानन्तदीक्षितायविपश्चिते ॥ २४ ॥

[illegible] ॥ [illegible] ॥ २५ ॥ पूर्वमा
[illegible] ॥ २६ ॥ [illegible]
[illegible] ॥ २७ ॥ [illegible]
[illegible] ॥ २८ ॥ [illegible]
[illegible] ॥ २९ ॥ [illegible]
[illegible] ॥ ३० ॥ पुत्रपौत्रादिभिर्भोग्यं क्रमादायन्तु तारकम् ॥ सर्वस्य धर्मनाशेपि विक्रयस्यापि
[illegible] ॥ ३१ ॥ परोतिपत्तनैः [illegible]
[illegible] ॥ ३२ ॥ [illegible]
[illegible] ॥ ३३ ॥ [illegible]
[illegible] ॥ [illegible] ॥ ३४ ॥ [illegible]
[illegible] ॥ ३५ ॥ [illegible]
[illegible] ॥ ३६ ॥ [illegible]
[illegible] ॥ ३७ ॥ [illegible]
[illegible] ॥ ३८ ॥ [illegible]
[illegible] ॥ ३९ ॥ [illegible]
[illegible] ॥ ४० ॥ [illegible]
[illegible] ॥ ४१ ॥ [illegible]
[illegible] ॥

IV. *Another and similar Inscription found at the same place.*

WITH a fac simile of the foregoing inscription, Major MACKENZIE communicated the copy of another inscription found also at *Chitradurg* and in the same year. The whole of the introductory part, containing the name of the prince, and his gencalogy, is word for word the same in both grants: excepting a few places, where the variations are evidently owing to mistakes of the artist, by whom the plates were engraved. I have consequently derived much assistance from this fac simile in decyphering the original inscription before described.

THE grant, here noticed, is by the same prince, and dated in *Saca* 1213; only four years anterior to the one before translated. I think it, therefore, unnecessary, to complete the decyphering of it, or to insert a copy or translation merely for the name and description of the lands granted, or the designations of the persons on whom they were bestowed.

CONCERNING the similarity of the grants, it may be remarked, that this circumstance is not a sufficient ground of distrust; for it cannot be thought extraordinary, that a set form of introduction to patents should have been in use; or that grants, made within the space of four years, by the same person, should be alike. I must acknowledge, however, that the inaccuracies of the original have impressed me with some doubt of the genuineness of the preceding grant. I do not, however, suspect it to be a modern forgery: but I apprehend, that it may have been fabricated while the upper *Carnát'aca* continued under the sole domination of *Hindu* princes. Still it may not be without its use, as an historical monument: since it may be fairly presumed, that the introductory part is copied from a more ancient monument; perhaps from that, with which it has been now collated.

V. *Inscription on a stone found at* CURUGÓDE *in the district of* ADONI*.

ANOTHER ancient monument, for the communication of which the Asiatick Society is indebted to the same gentleman, whose zeal for literary research, and indefatigable industry in the prosecution of inquiries, cannot be too much praised, was found by him in the upper *Carnát'aca* in 1801, and has been presented to the Asiatick Society, with the following account of its discovery and of the inscription which it contains.

'THE accompanying stone was found at *Kurugode*, fourteen miles north of *Balláry*, not far from the *Tungbhadrá*, among the ruins of the ancient town at the foot of the *Durg*; and was removed thence, in March, 1801, with the consent of the principal inhabitants, under the impression, that this specimen of ancient characters, with which it is covered, would be a desirable acquisition to gentlemen who cultivate the study of *Hindu* literature.

'THE inscription is chiefly written in the ancient *Cánará* language much mixed with *Sanscrit*, of which some of the *Slócas* or stanzas are exclusively composed. It commences with the invocation of SAMBHU (SIVA), and after introducing the grant, date, and description of the lands, concludes with several *Slócas* usually added as a formula in confirmation of such donations.

A FEW of the stanzas, said to be written in the *Prácrit* language, could not be understood by the *Sástrís* and *Pandits* at *Triplicane*, who explained the greatest part of the inscription to my *Brahmens:* by their united efforts and knowledge,

* *Adavani.*

the accompanying translation was given, in which I have every confidence after the experience I have had of the fidelity of other translations by the same hands (some of which are already communicated).

'THE inscription is useful as an historical record, if the *Raja* RACSHAMALLA, mentioned here, be the same with the sovereign of the same name mentioned in a history of *Mysore*, who flourished about the eighth century; thus agreeing in date nearly with the monument.

'THE beauty of the character was also a strong motive for removing it, as an appropriate offering to a Society, whose labors have been so successfully employed in illustrating the interesting remains of *Hindu* antiquity; and a permanent specimen of a character which appears hitherto to have escaped much notice.

'THE common *Cánara* language and character are used by the natives of all those countries extending from *Coimbatore* *, north to *Balkee* † near *Beder*, and within the parallels from the eastern *Ghâts* to the western, comprehending the modern provinces of *Mysore* ‡, *Sera* ||, upper *Bednore* §, *Soonda* ¶, *Goa*, *Adoni*, *Rachore* ††, *Canoul* ‡‡, the *Duab* of the *Kishná* and *Tung-bhadrà*, and a considerable part of the modern *Subahs* of *Beder* and *Bijápur*, as far as the source of the *Kishná* at least. Its limits and point of junction with the *Mahrattas* may be yet ascertained with more precision; but in 1797, I had the opportunity of observing, that the junction of the three languages, *Telinga*, *Mahratta*, and *Canara*, took place somewhere about *Beder*.

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* *Coyamutúr.* † *Phálan.* ‡ *Mehisúr.* || *Sirá.* § *Bednúr.*
¶ *Sundá.* †† *Ráchur.* ‡‡ *Candanur.*

'BESIDES the common character and language, another appears to have been used, denominated at present the *Halla* or ancient *Cánara*, in which this inscription is written: it has gone so much into disuse, that it was with some difficulty I could get people to read it. An alphabet will be yet communicated; as several books and ancient inscriptions are written in this character: and the remaining literature of the *Jains* in *Bálághát'*, appearing to be preserved in it, affords additional motives for pointing it out to the attention of the learned, as probably affording means of extending the field of knowledge of *Hindu* literature.

'SOME of the inscriptions, at *Cánara* and *Salset*, appear to be written in this character; and many monuments of the kind, dispersed over the upper *Carnatic*, hold out the prospect of further information.

'AMONG several manuscripts in *Cánara*, five, relating to the *Jain* religion and customs, are in my possession.

'THE name of CAVELLY BORIA, a *Brahmen*, who was highly instrumental in forwarding and facilitating the investigations carried on in *Mysore* and the Nizam's dominions, is inscribed on the edge of this stone, as a small tribute to the zeal and fidelity of a native who evinced a genius superior to the common prejudices of the natives. He first suggested the idea of removing the stone to some place where it could be useful to *European* literature; and, by his conciliatory manner, obtained the concurrence and assistance of the natives for that purpose.'

THE stone, sent by Major MACKENZIE, with the foregoing account of the discovery of it, is nearly five feet high, and three wide, and about ten inches thick. The front is covered with writing in large characters, above which is a representation of the *Linga* in the form usual in temples; it is surmounted by

a sun and crescent; and near it stands a bull, intended perhaps for the bull called *Nandi*, a constant attendant of S'IVA: this is followed by the figure of a smaller animal, of similar form. The back of the stone is half covered with writing.

THE translation, mentioned by Major MACKENZIE, is here subjoined. Not being acquainted with the character, in which the original is written, I have not collated the version; and have therefore used no freedom with it, except that of substituting, in many places, English words for *Sanscrit*, which the translator had preserved.

TRANSLATION.

ADORATION *be to the auspicious* SWAYAMBHU' NA'T'HA *or* SELF-EXISTENT PROTECTOR.

1. 'I PROSTRATE myself before *Sámbhu:* whose glorious head is adorned with the resplendent moon; and who is the chief prop of the foundation of the three worlds *.

2. 'MAY SWAYAMBHU' be propitious: he, who won immortal renown; who grants the wishes of those that earnestly intreat him; who pervades the universe; the Sovereign Lord of Deities; who destroyed the state and arrogance of the demons; who enjoyed the delightful embraces of PA'RVATÍ, to whom the learned prostrate themselves: the God above all gods.

3. 'I PROSTRATE myself before SAMBHU'; whose unquenchable blaze con-

* This is the same stanza, which begins the two inscriptions found at *Chitradurg*, and which likewise occurs in a grant in the possession of a *Bráhmen* at *Nandigul*; and in that preserved at *Conjeveram*.

sumed the magnificent *Tripura*; whose food is the nectar dropping from the beams of the moon; who rejoiced in the sacrifice of heads by the Lord of *Rácshasas* *; whose face is adorned with smiles, when he enjoys the embraces of *Gauri*.'

(THE foregoing *Sanscrit*: the fourth, which is *Prácrit*, is unexplained. Those which follow, are in *Cánará*.)

5. 'BY the consort of DE'VI, whose divinity is adored, the spouse of PA'RVATÍ, resplendent with the glorious light of gems reflected from the crowns of the Lords of Gods and demons whose heads lay prostrate at his feet; with a face ever lighted up with smiles; he is the self existent deity: may the wealth, and the stations of his saints, be ever granted to us.

6. 'THE beams of whose light, like the frequent waving of the *lotus* flower, flashes reflected from the numerous crowns of glorious Kings, of the chief of Gods, of the King of Kings, and of the Lord of Demons; who exists in all things, in all elements, in water, air, earth, ether, and fire, in the sun and moon: the renowned deity manifested in eight forms; SAMBHU'; may he grant our ardent prayers.

7. 'CHEERFULLY I bow to SAMBHU' in the *lotus* of the heart; to him who increases and gives life to all; who holds supreme command over all; who, through his three divine attributes, created and animated fourteen worlds; who ever resides in the minds of his saints.'

(THE two next stanzas have not been explained. The following is in *Halla Cánara*.)

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* RAVANA.

10. 'For ever be propitious to *Sómés'wara Dévadi*, the son of the fortunate Bhuvana Malla Víra, the protector of the world, the chief Sovereign of Kings, the pre-eminent monarch, a man of superior virtue, a distinguished personage of the noble race, the ornament of the *Chaluca* tribe, whose state be increased progressively in this world, so long as the sun and moon endure; who reigns in the city of *Calyán*, enjoying every happiness and good fortune, with the converse of good men and every other pleasure. In this country of *Cuntaladésa* *, a land renowned for beauty and for manly strength over all the sea-girt earth, is situated *Condavipattan*, placed as the beauty spot on the human face; a city favoured by the goddess of prosperity; as a nosegay of elegant flowers adorning the tresses of the beauteous goddess of the earth.

11. 'How is this favored land? In its towns are numerous groves of mangoe; plantations of luxuriant betle and fields of rice: in every town are channels of water and wells, opulent men and beautiful women: in every town are temples of the Gods and of the saints: in every town are men blessed with vigor and every virtue.

12. 'In its centre, is the mighty hill of *Curugódle-durg*, like the fastnesses † of heaven, ever famed, rearing aloft its top crowned with fortresses. In height and compass surpassing all the strong hills on the right or left.

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* *Cuntala Desa*, the ancient name of the province in which *Curgode* is situated; part of the *Ballári* or *Adoni* District. M.

† The poet indulges his fancy in describing this favored *Durg*; but in fact it is only about 250 feet high, and no ways remarkable for strength. M.

13. 'This *Curugóde* was established as the capital of his dominions by the king of *Cuntala*, who was the foe of the king of *Chóla* *; who terrified the *Gurjara*; who is the instrument to destroy the plants of *Madru*; who put *Pándya* to flight. Is it possible for the king of snakes, though possessed of a thousand tongues, to praise sufficiently the beauty of this city?

14. 'What is the description of the delightful gardens that encompass the city? They are gardens wherein are found the *Tilac*, the *Tamál*, the palm, the plantain, the Mimusops, the trumpet flower, the tremulous fig-tree, the citron, the Oleander, Mesua, and Cassia, the cotton-tree, the Carambola and Pœderia, the mangoe, Butea and fragrant *Nalicá*; and various trees, that flourish and produce through all seasons as in the garden *Nandan:* these surrounded this city of *Curugóde*.'

(The fifteenth stanza is unexplained.)

16. 'In the city of *Curugóde*, the residence of the goddess of prosperity, where are numerous temples of worship, fertile lands, happy spouses, friendly intercourse, a favorable government, every sacred decoration and zealous devotion in the service of S'iva;

17. 'The Lord of that city, a warrior unrivalled, whose name was Racsha'malla, whose breast is tinged with the saffron communicated from the bosom of beauty, whose renown is ever praised over the whole world.'

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* *Chóla Désa*, . . . The modern Tanjore country.
Gurjara, . . . Guzarat.
Madru, . . . Madura and Trichinopoly.
Pándya, . . . Marawar and Tinevelly. M.

(THE eighteenth stanza is in *Prácrit*, and not explained.)

19. 'This *Raja* RACSHA'MALLA, prince of the earth, born of so renowned a race of sovereigns, was happily possessed of valor, of victory, and of wealth.

20. 'FOR the king RACSHA'MALLA, who was lord of riches and a devout worshipper of SIVA, had for his consort SÓMALDE'VI' and begot a son named NE'RUNGALA RA'JA', husband to the goddess of renown, the bestower of wealth on the distressed, on the learned, and on the unfortunate, to the utmost extent of their wishes.

21. 'TO NE'RUNGALA RA'JA' and to his wife PACSHALA'-DE'VÍ (the source of all virtues), were happily born two sons named IMA'DI RACSHA'MALLA and SÓMABHU'PA'LA, whose renown, like the sky, overspread the whole earth.

22. 'WHAT is the description of the eldest of these princes? *Imádi* (or the second) RACSHA'MALLA RA'JA', the successor of the former, seated on the excellent throne, attended by many mighty elephants, in colour like the *Chamarí**, ruled the whole kingdom under one umbrella, possessing the wonderful power, like CHINNA GÓVINDA, of feeding tigers and sheep in the same fold.

23. 'THE king RACSHA'MALLA acquired great power: his mighty splendor and good fortune were such as drew the applause of the whole admiring world. The globe was filled with the light of his reputation. The beauty of his person

* Bos Grunniens.

is worthy of the praise even of Cupid, the God famed for beauty. He was the destroyer of sin; eminent above foreign kings, and in battle he was as VISHNU.

24. 'MAY MRĬTU [SIVA] graciously bestow eternal wealth and prosperity of empire, on the king RACSHA'MALLA, among all his chief saints.

'DURING the gradual increase of the empire of RACSHA'MALLA extending from the north, all around, even to the north, his servant and worshipper, a descendant of CASYAPA's race, manager of the affairs of TALGARA' AMARÍ, invested *with* full authority; equal in knowledge to YUGAND'HAR, the sun to enlighten the caste of *Vájínasa* [as the sun enlightens the sky;] chief of ministers, born by the blessing of the god SWAYAMBHU', the source of wealth, was BA'BARA'JU'.'

(SEVERAL lines follow giving an account of the ancestors of BA'BARA'JU', which have not been translated.)

'Such is BA'BARA'JU, who built a temple to the God SWAYAMBHU' DE'VI', while he was managing the affairs of his sovereign lord, the mighty king, the great RACSHA'MALLA, whose god was the self-existent deity.'

'THE praise of the priests of the temple.

'THEY were learned in the sacred ceremonies of holy devotion, self-restraint, in austere fast, appropriate studies, alms, remembrance, silence, religious practice, and the worship of S'IVA.

'THEY were devout in performing the ceremonies of the worship of the gods of the family. Among them, was one named BA'LASIVA A'CHAR'YA unequalled for

a good or happy genius. To this famous BA'LA'SIVA A'CHA'RYA was granted this gift with water poured into his hands.

'THE charitable donation of lands given to the good SWAYAMBHU' in the year of *Sálivâhan* 1095 * in the *Vijaya* year of the cycle and on the 30th of the month *Márgasíra*, on Monday in the time of an eclipse of the sun.'

(IT appears unnecessary to insert the description of the lands.)

'Also CHINNA GÓVINDA SÍTARA GUNDI, king of the city of *Bh'ágavat'i*, equal to the sovereign of *Bhat't'ál*, who was acknowledged for ever by the excellent VÍRACA'LÍDEVA' the mighty king of the earth named IMA'DI RACSHA'MALLADEVA. In the year of *Sálivâhan* 1103 †, of the cycle *Plava*, and on the 15th of *Cártica*, on Monday, in the gracious time of the moon's eclipse, at the time when he made over in alms *Tripura Agraharam*, granted under DA'RA'PU'RBAC to BA'LASIVA DE'VA, who repaired all the buildings of SWAYAMBHU'DE'VA who is distinguished for knowledge of the pure *Védas*, and of other religious institutions and customs of the worshippers of S'IVA, and for charity in feeding the poor.

(The sequel of the inscription is likewise omitted: it relates to a further grant made by the widow of BA'BARA'JU', at the time of her burning herself with the corpse of her husband. The concluding part of it was left untranslated, being stated to be illegible.)

THE eclipses, mentioned in these grants, do not appear reconcileable with their

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* Answering to A. D. 1173. † Corresponding to A. D. 1181.

dates. According to the table of eclipses calculated by PINGRE*, the solar eclipses, which occurred in 1172 and 1173, fell on 27th January and 23d June, 1172, and 12th June, 1173; and the lunar eclipses in 1180 and 1181, were on the 13th February and 7th August 1180, and 22d December, 1181. None of these approach to the dates of *Márgasira* or *Agraháyana* 1095 and *Cárttica* 1103. Unless, then, the era of *Sálivâhana* have been counted differently in the peninsula of *India*, from the mode in which it is now reckoned, and on which the comparison of it with the Christian era is grounded, it seems difficult to account for this disagreement of the dates and eclipses, in any other way, than by impeaching the inscription, the authenticity of which there is not otherwise any reason to question.

VI. *Inscription on a Stone found at* KURRAH.

HAVING learnt from Captain C. STEWART, (a Member of this Society), that an inscription had been remarked by him in the gateway of the Fort of *Kurrah (Kharâ)*, I obtained, through the assistance of Major LENNON, then stationed in the vicinity of that place, the stone itself which contains the inscription. It now belongs to the Asiatick Society.

THE inscription is very short; contains the date 1093 *Samvat*, the name of the prince, as also names of several places; and is written in a very legible character: yet all my endeavours to arrive at any explanation of it have been unsuccessful.

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* Published in L'art de vérifier les dates; and inserted in PLAYFAIR's System of Chronology.

Whether, it be only a fragment of an inscription (for the stone is very narrow *,) or the inscription have been inaccurately engraved (and this also is countenanced by its appearance), I shall not take upon myself to determine. At present, I can only translate the first six, out of sixteen lines, which run thus: "*Samvat* 1093 †, on the first day of the light fortnight of *As'hád'ha*. This day, at this auspicious *Catá*, the great and eminent prince YAS'APHA'LA ‡, in the realm of *Causámba*, and village of *Payahása*, commands, that ————."

संवत् १०९३
आषाढशुदि १
अद्येह श्रीमत्कटे
महाराजाधिराज
श्रीयशःपालःकौ
शाम्बमण्डलेपयहा
सग्रामेमहन्तम
नुसमादिशतियथा
यस्तेसेकीयमाद्य
रविकृष्णशासन
त्वप्रसादिष्टात्यमन्व
स्तशस्तेहाकारहिर
म्बप्रत्यादायादिकं

मस्वोपनेतव्यमिति
दशवन्वेनसहपिकं
ठालंकृत———
दुरपोत्रा———
————

* Its height is 4 feet 9 inches, but it is only 9 inches wide.

† Corresponding to A. D. 1037.

‡ It may be worth remarking, that the inscription, discovered at *Sáranát'ha* near *Benares*, dated 10 years antecedent to this, relates to a family of princes whose names had a similar termination. Asiatick Researches, vol. 5. p. 133.

VII. *Inscription on a Plate of Copper found in the district of* Dina'jpur.

In the beginning of the present year (1806,) a plate of copper was found at *Amgách'hi* in *Sultánpur*, by a peasant, digging earth for the repair of a road near his cottage. He delivered it to the nearest police officer, by whom it was conveyed to the Magistrate, Mr. J. Pattle: and by him forwarded for communication to the Asiatick Society. *A'mgách'hi,* though now a small village, is described as exhibiting the appearance of having formerly been a considerable place. Remains of old masonry are found there; and numerous ponds are remarked in the vicinity of that and of the adjacent villages. It is situated at the distance of about fourteen miles from *Budál*; where an ancient pillar stands, of which a description (as well as the inscription, which is read on it), was published in the 1st volume of Asiatick Researches, (p. 131.)

The plate is very large, being 14 inches high and 13 broad. It is surmounted by a highly wrought ornament of brass, fixed on the upper part, and advanced some distance on the plate so as to occasion a considerable break in the upper lines. The superior surface is covered with writing in very close lines and crowded characters. The inscription is completed on the inferior surface, which contains 16 lines (the upper surface having no less than 33). The character is ancient *Dévanágari*; and the language *Sanscrit:* but so great a part of the inscription is obliterated, (some portion of every line being illegible,) that it is difficult to discover the purport of the inscription. After wasting much time in endeavouring to decypher the whole of it, I have been able only to ascertain the name of the grantor, and a part of his genealogy; with the

date of the grant, which unfortunately is reckoned only by the reign, without any reference to a known era.

THE ornament, affixed to the plate, and representing a seal, contains a single line of writing, which is distinctly read, SRÍ VIGRAHAPA'LADE'VA. This name, as of the grantor, is found at the close of the inscription; and it occurs more than once in the body of the patent. Among his ancestors and predecessors, the following names are distinctly legible.

THE first prince mentioned is LÓCAPA'LA, and after him DHARMAPA'LA. The next name has not been decyphered: but the following one is JAYAPA'LA, succeeded by DE'VAPA'LA. Two or three subsequent names are yet undecyphered *: they are followed by RA'JAP'ALA,——PA'LA DE'VA, and subsequently MAHÍPA'LA DE'VA, NAYAPA'LA and again VIGRAHAPA'LA DE'VA.

So far as a glympse has been yet obtained of the purport of the inscription, it seems to be a grant by VIGRAHAPA'LA DE'VA, in the making of which NAYAPA'LA likewise appears to have had some share. It is dated *Samvat* † 12, on the 9th day *Chaitra*.

THE use of the word *Sam at* (which properly signifies a year) to denote the year of the king's reign, and not that of VICRAMA'DITYA's era, merits particular notice. In the inscription on the plates found at

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* One seems to be NARAYANA; perhaps NARAYANAPALA.

† The original seems to exhibit *Samat* but this must be intended for *Sim'at* or *Samvat*

Mongír *, containing a grant of land by a prince who appears to be of the same family, the date was read by Mr. WILKINS, *Samvat* 33; which was supposed both by him and by Sir W. JONES to intend the era of VICRAMA'DITYA †. I have always entertained doubts of that interpretation: and, among other reasons for hesitating, one has been the improbability, which to my apprehension exists, that the era should have been in use, and denoted by the same abbreviated term, so early after the time at which it commences. Eras, by which nations have continued to reckon for a series of ages, have not usually been introduced until a considerable time after the event from which they are counted: and, when first introduced, have been designated by some more definite term than one merely signifying a year. But the word *Samvat* (abbreviated from *Samvatsara* a year,) being in that inscription prefixed to a low numeral, and not expressly restricted, as is usual where VICRAMA'DITYA's era is meant, was more likely to intend the year of the reigning king (though Sir W. JONES thought otherwise ‡,) than that of a period reckoned from the birth, or the accession, or the demise, of another monarch. It appeared to me likewise, as to Captain WILFORD, on examining the fac simile of the inscription in question §, that the character, which stands in the place of the *t* of *Samvat*, resembled more nearly the numeral 1. The date might therefore be 133 instead of 33. I inclined, however, to believe the lower number to have been rightly read by Mr. WILKINS on the original plate: and consequently supposed it to

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* As. Res. vol. 1. p. 123.

† Ibid. p. 130.

‡ Ibid. p. 142.

§ Plates 1 and 2 in the 1st vol. of As. Res.

be the date of the reign of DE'VA'PALA the prince who made the grant. The date of the *A'mgách'hi* plate, which must be referred to the reign of the grantor VIGRAHAPA'LA, seems strongly to corroborate this opinion.

THE present inscription, though yet imperfectly decyphered, appears to be useful towards ascertaining the age of the *Mongír* grant. The names of DHERMAPA'LA and DE'VAPA'LA occur in both inscriptions; as that of RA'JAPA'LA does, on the pillar at *Budál*, as well as on the *A'mgách'hi* plate. Some of these names are also found in the list of princes enumerated in the *Ayín ácberí* * as having reigned in *Bengal* before BALLALASE'NA. The authority of ABU'LFAZL, on *Hindu* history, is indeed not great: but the inscription on the statue of BUDD'HA, which was found at *Sáranát'ha*, near *Benares* †, proves, that a family of princes, whose names terminated in *Pála*, did reign over *Gaud'a* in *Bengal*, near eight hundred years ago: and this is consistent with the period to which that dynasty is brought down by ABU'LFAZL; namely the middle of the eleventh century of the christian era. It appears also from the same inscription found at *Sáranát'ha*, that these princes were worshippers of BUDD'HA, a circumstance which agrees with the indications of that faith in the *Mongír* grant, as translated by Mr. WILKINS. The name of MAHÍPA'LA, mentioned as king of *Gaud'a* in the *Sáranát'ha* inscription, occurs likewise in the *A'mgách'hi* plate; and if it be reasonable to believe, that the same person is intended in both instances, it will be right to infer, that the grant contained on the plate found at *A'mgach'hi* is nearly eight hundred years old; and that the plate found at *Mongír*

* Vol. 2. p. 26.

† As. Res. vol. 5. p. 133

is more ancient by two or three centuries. This reduces the age of the *Mongir* grant to the eighth or ninth century of the christian era; which I cannot but think more probable, than the opinion of its being anterior to the birth of Christ.

VIII. *Inscriptions on Plates of Copper at* NIDIGAL *and* GOUJDA.

To the foregoing description of several monuments, which have been presented to the Asiatick Society, I shall add a brief notice of two other inscriptions, of which copies have been received.

MENTION has been already made of a grant of land, inscribed on five plates of copper, seen at *Nidigal*, in the year 1801. It was in the possession of a *Bráhmana* residing at that place: and a copy of it was taken by Major MACKENZIE, which has been communicated by him to the Society. The grant appears to be from the second BUCCA RA'JA', who was third in succession from the first prince of that name, and grandson of the king by whom the grants beforementioned were made. If the date have been correctly decyphered from the copy of this inscription, it is of the year 1331 *Saca*, corresponding to A. D. 1409.

ANOTHER inscription, communicated by Major MACKENZIE, purports to be a grant by JANAME'JAYA, the celebrated monarch who reigned in India at the commencement of the present age or *Calyuga*. It is in the hands of the *Bráhmens* or priests of *Goujda Agraharam* in *Bédnúr*; and was, with some reluctance, entrusted by them to Major MACKENZIE, who himself took from it a copy in fac simile, the exactness of which is demonstrated by the facility with which the inscription may be decyphered from that copy. The original is described as con-

tained in three plates of copper, fastened together by a ring, on which is the representation of a seal, bearing the figure of a boar with a sun and crescent. The purport of the inscription, for I think it needless to make a complete version of it, is that 'JANAME'JAYA, son of PARÍCSHIT, a monarch reigning at *Hastinápura*, made a progress to the south, and to other quarters, for the purpose of reducing all countries under his domination; and performed a sacrifice for the destruction of serpents, in presence of the god (or idol) HARIHARA, at the confluence of the rivers *Tungabhadrá* and *Haridá*, at the time of a partial eclipse of the sun, which fell on a Sunday in the month of *Chaitra*, when the sun was entering the northern hemisphere; the moon being in the *Nacshatra A'swini* *.'

HAVING completed the sacrifice, the king bestowed gold and lands on certain *Bráhmanas* of *Gautamagráma:* whose names and designations are stated at full length, with the description and limits of the lands granted. The inscription concludes with two verses; the same with two of those which occur in the plates found at *Chitradurg* †; and in those preserved at *Conjeveram* ‡.

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* Such is the deduction from the text, which states a half eclipse of the sun in *Chaitra*, on the sun's entrance into the *Uttaráyana*, or northern path, at the moment of *Vyatipáta* (which imports new moon on a Sunday in any one of the undermentioned *Nacshatras*, viz. *A'swini*, *Srávana*, *D'hanisht'ha*, *Ardrá*, *Ast'sha*, and *Mrigasiras:* the first of which is the only one compatible with the month). The words of the text are *Chaitramás crishna* [should be *crishna*] *pa[illegible]* . . . . . *carana uttáráyana san* . . . . . *vyatipáta nimitte sarya parvani ardha grása grihita* [should be *grihita*] *samaje* [should be *samaye*.]

In the places marked with dots, the letters are wanting in the original.

† See page 420 of this volume.

‡ As. Res. vol. 3, p. 52. The verses are those numbered 50 & 54.

If reliance might be placed on this as an ancient and authentick mounment, its importance, in the confirmation of a leading point of *Indian* history, would be obvious and great. Major Mackenzie, in communicating the copy of it, expresses a doubt of its authenticity; but remarks, that it can be no modern forgery, for the people themselves cannot read the inscription. I concur with Major Mackenzie both in distrusting the genuineness of this monument; and in thinking, that it is no recent fabrication.

Numerous and gross errors of grammar and orthography *, which can neither be explained by a gradual change of language, nor be referred to the mistakes of a transcriber or engraver, but are the evident fruit of ignorance in the person who first penned the inscription in *Nágarí* characters, would furnish reason for discrediting this monument, were it otherwise liable to no suspicion. But, when to this circumstance are added the improbability of the copper plates having been preserved during several thousand years, and the distrust with which any ancient monument must be received, where its present possessor, or his ancestor, may have had claims under the grant recorded in it, there can be little hesitation in

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* For example *Samaé* for *Samayé* (समए for समये) a palpable error obviously arising from the blunder of an ignorant amanuensis writing from dictation. The mistake occurs more than once; and can be accounted for, in no other manner: the syllables *é* and *yé* being alike in sound, though dissimilar in form; and the blunder being such, as no person, acquainted with the rudiments of the *Sanscrit* language, could have committed. Other instances have been remarked, almost equally strong: as *Paricshati* for *Paricshit*; *Chacravrartti* for *Chacravartti*. Short vowels for long, and vice versâ, in repeated instances; the dental for the palatial *s*; and numerous other errors of spelling; besides faults of grammar aad style,

considering this grant of JANAME'JAYA as unauthentick: independently of any argument deduced from the character, which is not perhaps sufficiently antique; or from the astronomical data in this inscription, which, however consistent with *Indian* notions of astronomy and chronology, will hardly bear the test of a critical examination.

IX. *A grant of Land by* JAYACHANDRA, *Rájá of Canoj.*

IT may be proper to notice further, in this place, the inscription of which mention was made at the beginning of this essay, as having been decyphered by a *Pandit* (SERVÓRU TRIVE'DÍ) who communicated to me a copy of it, with the information, that the original has been conveyed to *England* by the gentleman in whose possession it was seen by him. According to that copy, the genealogy of the prince, who made the grant recorded in the inscription, is as follows:

1. S'RÍPA'LA, a prince of the solar race.

2. HIS son MAHÍCHANDRA.

3. S'RÍCHANDRA DE'VA, son of the last mentioned; acquired, by his own strength, the realm of *Gád'hipura* or *Canyacubja (Canoj;)* visited *Cás'í* and other holy places; and repeatedly gave away in alms his own weight in gold He appears to have been the first king of *Canoj,* in this family.

4. MADANAPA'LA DE'VA, son and successor of S'RÍCHANDRA.

5. GÓVINDA CHANDRA, son of MADANAPA'LA.

6. VIJAYA CHANDRA D'EVA, (the same with JAYA CHAND,) son of GÓVINDA CHANDRA; is stated in the inscription as issuing his commands to all publick officers and to the inhabitants of *Náguli* assembled at *Devapalípattalá*, en

joining them to observe and obey his patent: which is recited as a grant of land to two *Bráhmanas*, conferred by him, on the day of full moon in *Mágha* 1220 *, subsequently to his inauguration as *Yuva rája* or designated successor and associate in the empire. The inscription concludes by quoting, from a *Puráṇa*, four stanzas to deprecate the resumption of the grant: and by a signature importing "this copper was engraved by JAYAPA'LA."

WITHOUT having seen the original, no opinion can be offered on the probable genuineness of this monument. But it will be observed, that the inscription is consistent with chronology: for JAYA CHAND, who is described, in the *Ayin acberi* †, as supreme monarch of India, having the seat of his empire at *Canoj*, is there mentioned as the ally of SHEHA'BUDDÍN in the war with PRĬT'HAVÍ RA'JA or PIT'HÓRA', about the year of the *Hejira* 558, or A. D. 1192: twenty-eight years after the date of this grant.

REMARKS.

A FEW observations on the general subject under consideration, will terminate this essay.

MOST of the ancient monuments, which have been yet discovered, contain royal grants of land; framed, commonly, in exact conformity to the rules delivered by *Hindu* writers who have treated of this subject ‡. That durable memorials have been usually framed to record other events or circumstances,

* Corresponding to A. D. 1164.

† GLADWIN's Translation, vol. 2. p. 119.

‡ As. Res. vol. 3. p. 50. Digest of *Hindu* law, vol. 2. p. 278.

there is no reason to suppose; and this consideration is sufficient to explain the comparative frequency of monuments which recite royal grants. It was the interest, too, of persons holding possession under such grants, to be careful in the preservation of the evidence of their right. But this circumstance, while it accounts for the greater frequency of monuments of this description, suggests a reason for particular caution in admitting their genuineness. Grants may have been forged in support of an occupant's right, or of a claimant's pretensions. It will be, therefore, proper to bring a considerable portion of distrust and jealousy to the examination of any inscription on stone or metal, alledged to be ancient, and now possessed by persons who have any claims or pretensions under the grant which it contains. But no such cause of jealousy exists, where the monument in question favours no one's pretensions, and especially where it is accidentally discovered after being long buried. It is indeed possible, that such a monument, though now casually found, may have been originally a forgery. But even where that may be suspected, the historical uses of a monument fabricated so much nearer to the times to which it assumes to belong, will not be entirely superseded. The necessity of rendering the forged grant credible, would compel a fabricator, to adhere to history and conform to established notions: and the tradition, which prevailed in his time, and by which he must be guided, would probably be so much the nearer to the truth, as it was less remote from the period which it concerned.

In the present state of researches into *Indian* antiquities, the caution here suggested appears to be that which it is most requisite to observe. When a greater number of monuments shall have been examined and compared, more rules of

criticism may be devised; and will, at the same time, become particularly requisite, should the practice arise of purchasing ancient monuments; or of giving rewards for the discovery of them. At present no temptation exists for modern fabrications, and little caution is therefore necessary to avoid imposition.

NOTE to Vol. 7. Page 180.

A PASSAGE in the preface of the *Sárngadhara padd'hati*, and another in the body of that work, which were first indicated by Capt. WILFORD *, show, that a term contained in the inscription on the column at *Delhi*, for which I proposed to substitute, with the advice of the *Pandit* who assisted me, the word '*Bahujata*' as a conjectural emendation, must be read '*Chahúnana*,' or '*Chahavana*;' being the name of the tribe to which the prince, there mentioned, belonged, and which is well known at this day under the appellation of *Chäuha*. In the preface, SA'RAGAD'HARA describes himself as second in descent from RAGHUDE'VA, a priest attending on HAMMÍR king of *S'acambhari*, of the tribe of *Chäuhan*, *Chahuvan*, or *Bahuvana* (for the name is variously spelt in different copies.) The work itself is a compilation of miscellaneous poetry arranged under distinct heads; and one chapter (the 73d) is devoted to the admission of stanzas concerning individual princes. Among them two stanzas occur, which are there cited as an inscription on a royal column of stone erected as a sacrificial pillar †; and which on comparison, are found to be the same with the two first of the stanzas on the pillar at *Delhi*. Several copies of the *Sarngadhara padd'hati* have been collated: in all of which, the term in question is written *Bahuvana*. Comparing this with the preface of the same compilation, and with the inscription itself, we may be allowed to conjecture, that *Chahuvana* is the correct reading: the *Nagari* letters ह and च्ह being very liable to be confounded.

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* Page 189 of this volume.

† एतौ नृपतिपाषाणयज्ञयूप प्रशस्तेः ॥

XI.

On the GRA'MAS *or* MUSICAL SCALES *of the* HINDUS.

BY J. D. PATERSON, Esq.

WHEN music was first reduced to a science, it is probable, that it was confined to the few scientific men, whose education and studies fitted them to understand its principles; and that the first efforts of the science were displayed in hymns to the deities: each being addressed in a peculiar mode, rhythmus, and expression.

ACCORDING to PLATO *, the *Egyptians* were restricted by their laws to certain fixed melodies, which they were not permitted to alter; he says, that the lawgivers of *Egypt* appear to have laid it down as a principle, that "Young men in cities should be accustomed to beautiful figures and beautiful melodies, and that it was one of their institutions to *exhibit in their temples* what these were, and what the qualities which they possessed; and besides these it was not lawful either for painters or other artificers to introduce any that were new, or even to think of any other than those belonging to their country." He adds, "Nor is it lawful at present to do this either in these particulars or in the whole of music. If you observe, therefore, you will find, that paintings and sculptures there, which were executed ten thousand years ago, as if they were not of such great

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* On Legislation. Dialogue 2d.

antiquity, are neither more beautiful nor more deformed than the paintings or carvings of the present day, but are fashioned by just the same art."

WHEN CLINIAS observes, that he spoke of a wonderful circumstance, he replies, "It is, however, a circumstance pertaining to law and politics in a transcendent degree, you will likewise find other things there of a trifling nature, *but this respecting music is true and deserves attention*, because the legislator could firmly give laws about things of this kind and with confidence introduce such melodies as possessed a natural rectitude: *but this must be the work of a God*, or of some divine person; just as they say there, that their melodies, which have been preserved for such a length of time, are the *Poems of Isis*."

PLATO considers this restriction as proper and necessary to prevent the introduction of sensual licentiousness and effeminacy. There appears to have been some such idea of restriction, amongst the antient *Hindus*, by the confinement of their music to thirty-six melodies: viz. the six *Ragas* and thirty *Raginis*: the forty-eight *Putras* are melodies, which seem to have been introduced in after times, when the discipline, alluded to by PLATO, had begun to be relaxed.

BUT the *Indian Ragas* and *Raginis* are fixed respectively to particular seasons of the year and times of the night or day. This is a circumstance particularly deserving remark, as it is probably peculiar to the *Hindu* music.

IT is likely, that these melodies were in former times appropriated to the service of different deities. In such case, the *Ragas* or *Raginis* would derive their appropriation to particular times and seasons, from the times and seasons allotted

by the *Hindu* ritual for the performance of the services, to which they were respectively appropriated. This appears probable: but whatever might have been the original cause of this apparent singularity, it has become so completely engrafted on the ideas of music amongst the natives of *India*, that they cannot at this day divest their minds of the prejudice. The muslemans have universally adopted it; and a performer, who should sing a *Raga* out of its appropriated season, or an hour sooner or later than the time appointed, would be considered as an ignorant pretender to the character of a musician. This restraint upon their music, which *Europeans* would think insupportable, the *Indian* considers as absolutely necessary to give a true relish to the melody. The origin of this custom seems lost in antiquity. No *Hindu*, with whom I have conversed, has been able to account for it. We may, therefore, suppose it probable, that it originated, as I have observed before, in the religious restraints to which music appears to have been subjected, when first reduced to fixed principles as a science.

Music must have been cultivated in very early ages by the *Hindus*; as the abridged names of the seven notes, viz. *sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni,* are said to occur in the *Rama Veda*; and in their present order. Their names at length are as follow:

Shadja pronounced *Sarja* or *Kharja.*
Rishabha pronounced *Rikhabh.*
Gand'hara.
Madhyama.
Panchama.
Dhaivata.
Nishada pronounced *Nikhad.*

HENCE we find, that the abovementioned abbreviated names of these notes, which are used in what we call *Solfaing* or *Solmization*, are the first syllables of their names, viz. *sa*, *ri*, *ga*, *ma*, *pa*, *dha*, *ni*. The complete scale is called *Swaragráma* or assemblage of tones; it is likewise called *Septac* or *heptachord*, as containing, or consisting of, seven notes.

THE *Hindus* place the seven notes under the protection of seven *Ad'hishthátrĭ Dévatás*, or superintending divinities, as follow:

Shadja, under the protection of AGNI.
Rĭshabha, of BRAHMA.
Gándhára, of SARASVATÍ.
Mad'hyama, of MAHA'DE'VA.
Pąnchama, of SRÍ or LACSHMÍ.
Dhaivata, of GAN'E'S'A.
Nisháda, of SU'RYA.

OF these notes, there are four descriptions: 1st the *Bádi*, which is the *Ans'a* or key note; and is described as the *Rájá* on whom all the rest depend; the 2d is *Sanbádi* which is considered as the *Mantri* or principal minister of the *Rája*; the 3d are *Anubádi*, described as subjects attached to their Lord; 4th *Bibádi*, mentioned as inimical to him *.

* The three last distinctions seem to correspond to the *Homophonia*, *Paraphonia*, and *Antiphonia* of the *Greeks*. GAUDENTIUS, in his Harmonick Introduction, explains *Paraphonia*, a mean between consonance and dissonance; where the sound, to the ear, appears consonant. H. T

THE *Hindus* divide the octave into twenty-two intervals, which are called *S'ruti,* by allotting four *S'ruti* to represent the interval which we call a major tone, three to describe a minor tone, and two the semi-tone: not as being mathematically just, but as means of representing to the eye, and to the understanding, the supposed relations which these intervals bear to each other; merely to show, that a semi-tone is half a major tone, and that the minor tone is a medium between the major and semi-tone, being less than the former and greater than the latter. Mathematical calculation is out of the question.

PERHAPS they were induced to make this division of the octave, by considering the minor tone as not divisible by two, without a fraction; and therefore made the whole number three, to represent it: for, if we divide the octave into twelve semi-tones, this will give twenty-four quarter tones or *S'ruti*; but by allowing three to represent each of the two minor tones, instead of four, there will remain only twenty-two, the number of *S'ruti* admitted.

THE *S'rutis* are personified as so many nymphs; and, in the *Sangita Ratnácara*, are thus named and arranged †.

To *Shadja* or *Sa* 4	To *Rishabha* or *Ri* 3
Tibra	*Dayávati*
Cumudvati	*Renjani*
Mundá	*Reticá*
Chandovya	

† The names, exhibited in the *Sangita Dámódara*, are quite different. They seldom occur except in the writings of authors treating on music. H. T. C.

To *Gândhára* or
Ga .... 2 { *Rudri*, *Cróḍ'há*

To *Dhaivata* or
Dha ... 3 { *Madanti*, *Róhini*, *Ramyá*

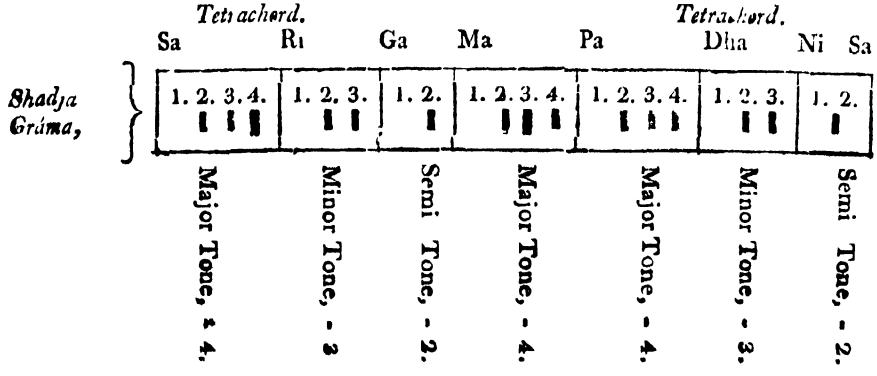
To *Madhyama* or
Ma .... 4 { *Rájicá*, *Prasarani*, *Priti*, *Márjani*

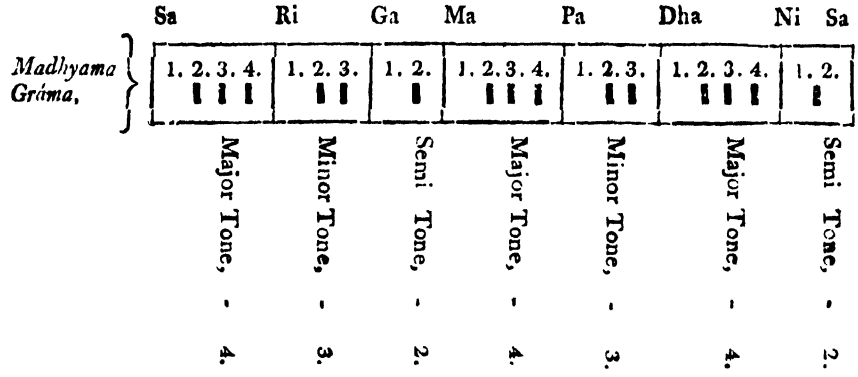
To *Nisháda* or
Ni .... 2 { *Upta*, *Cábiri*

To *Panchama* or
Pa .... 4 { *Cirti*, *Ractá*, *Dipari*, *Alápini*

THE *Hindus* have three *Grámas* or scales: viz. *Shadja-Gráma*, *Madhyama-Gráma*, and *Gándhára-Gráma*. The foregoing arrangement of the *S'ruti* is that of the *Shadja-Gráma*, which consists of two disjunct, but perfectly similar, *Tetrachords*, separated by a major tone. The *Madhyama-Gráma* is formed from this, by a transposition of the major tone between *Pa* and *Dha*, and of the minor tone between *Dha* and *Ni*; thus the technical language of *Hindu* music, *Dha* takes one *S'ruti* from *Pa*, and becomes thus possessed of four, leaving three to *Pa*.

THE two *Grámas* may be thus represented.





When the change of key requires a different modulation, the changes in the disposition of the *S'ruti* are called *Vicrĭt:* they reckon twelve such.

When a note is to be rendered graver or deeper, they say that such a note takes one or more *S'ruti* from the note immediately below it, as in the example of the change from the *Shadja Gráma* to the *Madhyama Grama*, where *Dha* is made one *Sruti* flatter than in the former scale.

If a note is to be raised, the expression is, that such a note gives one or more *S'ruti* to the note immediately below it; which operation renders the note proportionally sharper, as its distance from the note immediately below it is consequently increased; and, to that immediately above it, the distance is in the same proportion diminished.

The *Gandhara Grama* is formed from the *Madhyama Grama*; and, in the construction of it, the *Sangita Darpana* points out three changes in the scale.

1st. *Gand'hara* takes one *Sruti* from *Rĭshabha*, and becomes of three, i. e. by rendering the third note *Ga* flat, the interval between *Ri* and *Ga* is reduced to a

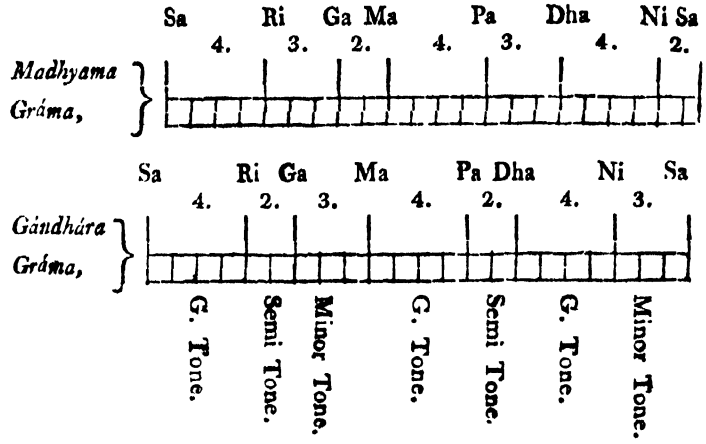
semi-tone, and that between *Ga* and *Ma* becomes a minor tone.

2d. *Panchama* loses one *S'ruti* to *Gandhara*.

I AM at a loss to know how this can take place: I rather suspect an error in the text, and would propose to substitute *Dha* the sixth note instead of *Gandhara*. The three *S'ruti* of *Panchama* make the interval between the 5th and 6th: by losing one, it is reduced to a semi-tone; but it cannot lose this one to *Gandhara*, which is the third note. There are but two methods of reducing this interval to a semi-tone: one by raising the fifth note; the other by rendering the sixth flat. But here the interval between the 4th and 5th remains unaltered. It must in this case be done by making *Dha* the 6th note flat; or, in the language of *Hindu* music, by giving one of *Panchama's S'rutis* to *Dhaivata*.

3d. *Suddhaswara* gives one *S'ruti* to *Nishada*. Here *Nishada* is rendered one *S'ruti* flat. *Suddhaswara* is not the name of a note; but is explained to me to be a term applied to a note possessing its full compliment of *S'rutis*. It may, therefore, be applied, in this case, to *Dhaivata*; for, although it may give one *S'ruti* to *Nishada*, yet it gains one from *Panchama*, and still retains four complete *S'rutis*.

IF these conjectures are admitted, and we compare it with the *Madhyama Grama* (to which these changes evidently refer), it will stand thus:



THAT the *Hindus* probably, by this division of the octave, meant nothing more than what I hane before supposed, map appear from the following table, in which the intervals, between each note and the note above it, are taken from Mr. MALCOLM's series of the octave in the two modes (as given by Mr. CHAMBERS under the article scale). This I have done, in order to compare those intervals with the *S'ruti* of the *Hindus*, and to show the difference.

MALCOLM's series of the octave.

3	5	4	2	5	8	1
9	6	4	3	8	9	2

Minor Mode
or
Gándhára Gráma.

What they are as stated by the *Hindus.*	What they ought to be if the scale was divided into 22 parts or the whole string into 44.	Proportion of the intervals between each note, and the note above it.	The difference between.
4	$4\frac{8}{9}$	$\frac{1}{9}$	1 & $\frac{8}{9}$
2	$2\frac{4}{9}$	$\frac{1}{18}$	$\frac{8}{9}$ & $\frac{5}{6}$
3	$3\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{1}{12}$	$\frac{5}{6}$ & $\frac{3}{4}$
4	$3\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{1}{12}$	$\frac{3}{4}$ & $\frac{2}{3}$
2	$1\frac{5}{6}$	$\frac{1}{21}$	$\frac{2}{3}$ & $\frac{5}{8}$
4	$1\frac{1}{13}$	$\frac{5}{72}$	$\frac{5}{8}$ & $\frac{5}{9}$
2	$2\frac{4}{9}$	$\frac{1}{18}$	$\frac{5}{9}$ & $\frac{1}{2}$

MALCOLM's series of the octave.

8	4	3	2	3	8	1
9	5	4	3	5	15	2

Major Mode
or
Madhyama Gráma.

What they are as stated by the *Hindus.*	What they ought to be if the scale was divided into 22 parts or the whole string into 44.	Proportion of the intervals between each note, and the note above it.	The difference between.
4	$4\frac{8}{9}$	$\frac{1}{9}$	1 & $\frac{8}{9}$
3	$3\frac{41}{45}$	$\frac{4}{45}$	$\frac{8}{9}$ & $\frac{4}{5}$
2	$2\frac{1}{5}$	$\frac{1}{20}$	$\frac{4}{5}$ & $\frac{3}{4}$
4	$3\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{1}{12}$	$\frac{3}{4}$ & $\frac{2}{3}$
3	$2\frac{14}{15}$	$\frac{1}{15}$	$\frac{2}{3}$ & $\frac{8}{5}$
4	$2\frac{14}{15}$	$\frac{5}{72}$	$\frac{8}{5}$ & $\frac{8}{15}$
2	$1\frac{7}{15}$	$\frac{1}{30}$	$\frac{8}{15}$ & $\frac{1}{2}$

If we revert to the *Shad'ja Grama*, we shall find it composed of two disjunct, but perfectly similar *Tetrachords*, separated by a major tone: both *Tetrachords* are expressed by the name numbers 4. 3. 2; and, if we reject the fractions of the first *Tetrachord* in the foregoing table, we have the same number: and, as they considered the 2d *Tetrachord* as perfectly similar to the first, they probably made use of the same numbers to express that similitude.

There are three kinds of characteristic melody for the structure of *Ragas*, either by the use of all, or the exclusion of one, or two, particular notes. Those *Ragas*, in which the whole seven notes are employed, are called *Hamir, huran.* Those, which exclude one particular note, and only use the remaining six, are called *Cad'hir.* Those, which exclude two particular notes, and only reserve five, are called *Oraw.* There is a passage in Dr. Burney's history of music, and one in the British Encyclopædia (speaking of the *Guglia Rotta* *, or the broken pillar lying in the *Campus Martius* at *Rome*,) by which it appears, that there is on this pillar or obelisk the figure of a musical instrument with two strings and with a neck; that, by the means of its neck, this instrument was capable, with only two strings, of producing a great number of notes; that these two strings, if tuned fourths to each other, would furnish that series of sounds called by the antients *Heptachord*, which consists of a conjunct *Tetrachord* as B. C. D. E; E. F. G. A; if tuned in fifths, they would produce *an octave*, or

* A fragment of an *Egyptian* obelisk of the highest antiquity, which had been brought to *Rome* under Augustus. It is covered with Hieroglyphics.

two *disjunct Tetrachords*. This may possibly explain the principle of the construction of the *Shadja Gráma* of the *Hindus*; and there is a similar instrument still in use, called *Dwitantri*, which I have often seen and heard: and, as far as I remember, it is tuned in fifths. It consists of a wooden body, hollowed out and covered with parchment; it has a neck and two strings, and is struck with a plectrum.

THE *Madhyama Gráma* is evidently our major mode; and, if I am right, that of *Gándhára* is our minor mode.

THE extent of the *Hindu* scale is three *Septacas*; which are thus fancifully described: the lowest or first *Septaca*, called *Mundra sthána*, is derived or produced from the navel, extending upwards to the chest, the second *Madhyasthána*, from the chest to the throat; the third *Tárasthana*, from the throat to the brain.

THE scale is denominated *Gráma* (literally village,) because there is in it the assemblage of all the notes, *S'rutis* and *Múrchhanás*, arranged in their proper places, as mankind assemble in towns and villages, and there assume their different degrees and stations.

IN considering the names given to the three *Grámas*, it appears to me, that the *Shadja Gráma* takes its name from the lowest note in that scale, as being the foundation of the first *Tetrachord*; the second *Tetrachord* being apparently formed from the first by fifths: in which case the 6th must necessarily be more *acute* than in the *Diatonic* scale; and the interval between the 5th and 6th is therefore represented by four *S'rutis* to signify, that *Dha* bears the same propor

tion to *Pa*, that *Ri* does to *Sa*. The intervals of the *Shadja Gráma* may be represented as follow:

8/9	4/5	3/4	2/3	16/27	8/15	1/2
Sa	*ri*	*ga*	*ma*	*pa*	*dha*	*ni*	*sa*

THE modulation of the *Madhyama Gráma* probably took its rise from making *Madhyama* the 5th note in the scale: in which case you will have

Ni sa ri ga ma pa dha.

OR,

Si ut re mi fa sol la.

THIS is precisely the diatonic scale of the *Greeks*; and here it became necessary to render *Dha* a comma lower in the scale, which the *Hindus* express by making *Dha* receive one *S'ruti* from *Pa*. The alteration, thus suggested, they adopted; and with it formed their 2d scale from the *Shadja Gráma*, giving it the name of *Madhyama*, probably to denote its origin.

THE *Gándhára Gráma* appears to have a similar origin; by making *Gándhára* the 5th. This will produce

Dha ni sa re ga ma pa.

OR

La si ut re mi fa sol.

WHICH is the natural minor mode of *La*: but keeping *Sa* as their first note, the *Vicrits*, or changes before mentioned, became necessary, to give it the same modulation; and it was probably called *Gándhára Grama* to denote its origin.

OF the notes and *S'rutis* I have spoken above. I shall now endeavour to explain what these *Múrchhanas* are; or rather what I conceive them to be. Each *Grama* is said to contain seven *Múrchhanas:* hence they reckon twenty-one in all.

SIR W. JONES says they appear to be no more than seven pieces of diapason multiplied by three, according to the difference of pitch in the compass of three octaves *. But the *Múrchhanas* are described to be the seven notes, each arranged in its proper station in the scale, which renders them fit to be applied in the composition of the *Ragas*, &c. It appears to me therefore, that they are the intervals of each *Grama*, which I would arrange as follows.

THE *S'hadja Grama* is composed of two disjunct but perfectly similar *Tetrachords*, separated by a major tone, and both *Tetrachords* have a major third; the *Múrchhanas* of this *Grama* I suppose to be

1st.	from Sa to Ri	1st.	2d.
2d.	—— Sa to Ga	1st.	3d.
3d.	—— Sa to Ma	1st.	4th.
4th.	from Pa to Dha	2d.	2d.
5th.	—— Pa to Ni	2d.	3d.
6th.	—— Pa to Sa	2d.	4th.
7th.	—— Pa to Sa		8 octave.

* In citing a passage from the Epick Poem on the death of SISUPALA, which is entitled *Magha*, SIR W. JONES translated *Murchhana*, "musical interval." (See As. Res. vol. 1st. p. 265.) He afterwards gave a different interpretation of it, (vol. 3d. p. 71,) as stated in the text. In his version of that passage, SIR W. JONES mistook the meaning of the term *Sruti*, (which is there translated ear, instead of quarter tone,) but he has rightly explained it in his treatise on the musical modes of the *Hindus*. H. T. C.

THE *Murchhanás* of *Madhyama Grama :*

2d. from Sa to Ri.
3d. —— Sa to Ga, greater third.
4th. —— Sa to Ma.
5th. —— Sa to Pa.
6th. —— Sa to Dha, greater sixth.
7th. —— Sa to Ni.
8th. —— Sa to Sa.

Múrchhaná of *Gándhára Gráma :*

Sa to Ri.
Sa to Ga, minor third.
Sa to Ma.
a to Pa.
Sa to Dha, minor fixth.
Sa to Ni.
Sa to Sa.

THE *Múrchhanás* are all personified, and diſtinguiſhed by names *, viz.

THOSE of the *Shadja Gráma* are :

1ſt. *Uttara mundá.*
2d. *Uttarayita.*
3d. *Réchaní.*
4th. *Sud'haprajaya.*
5th. *Sancita.*

* This liſt is apparently from the *Sangita Retnacara.* The perſonified *Murch'hanas* have other names in the *Sangita Damodara.* H. T. C.

6th. *Chacranta.*

THOSE of *Madhyama Grama*, are:

1st. *Saubiri.*
2d. *Harina.*
3d. *Culopantâ.*
4th. *Sudha mad'hya.*
5th. *Marghi.*
6th. *Purvi.*
7th. *Rishica.*

THOSE of *Gaudhára Gráma*, are:

1st. *Mandrá.*
2d. *Vis'ála.*
3d. *Sunuc'hi.*
4th. *Chitra.*
5th. *Rohini* or *Chitravati.*
6th. *Suc'ha.*
7th. *Alapa.*

THE use of these *Múrchhanas* is, in my opinion, to teach the learner to rise an octave by tones and semi-tones; and to descend again by the same notes; and to rise and fall by greater intervals, directly, by omitting the intermediate notes; in ſhort the practice of solmisation.

APPENDIX.

ON the institution of the Asiatick Society, it was determined, that, in publishing the Researches of the Society, mere translations of considerable length should not be admitted, except of such unpublished essays or treatises as might be transmitted by native authors.

IN modification of this rule, it was agreed, at a meeting held on 2d July, 1806, that the Society do publish, from time to time, in volumes distinct from the *Asiatick Researches*, translations of ſhort works in the *Asiatick* languages, and extracts and descriptive accounts of books of greater length, which may be offered to the Society and appear deserving of publication.

As this publication may be expected gradually to extend to all *Asiatick* books, of which copies may be deposited in the library of the Society, and even to all works extant in the languages of *Asia*, the series of volumes will be entitled Bibliotheca Asiatica, or a descriptive Catalogue of *Asiatick* books with extracts and translations.

ORIENTAL scholars are invited to communicate to the Society such translations and descriptive accounts of *Asiatick* books, as they may be disposed to give to the learned world through this channel of publication.

THE
ASIATIC REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1919

THE DISTRICT*

By Sir J D. Rees, bart, k c i e., c.v o, m p

The District is not my choice I was invited to attend a Conference at which subjects would be allotted to those who were honoured with an invitation to lecture, and not being able to be present, I succeeded to The District as a sort of residuary legatee. My colleagues evidently preferred other subjects Nevertheless it is a good subject, of which many of those I see present have more experience than I have had, though I myself served a good many years in different Districts, and I believe I shall do best by selecting one more or less typical of Southern India—Madura to wit.

It is chiefly Hindu, it is large, it contains hills and plains and features at once diversified and representative of an ordinary District in Southern India. Moreover, I was myself at different times in charge of most of it, and have served in Districts and States bordering upon it to the South and to the West. The area of Madura is 8,700 square miles. Its climate is hot and dry It contains plains stretching from the slopes of the Western Ghauts to the sea, and it has hills on its western and south-western borders marching with the Native State of Travancore, surely one of the most beautiful and interesting areas on this planet. Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff, when he was Governor of Madras, used to say that the Resident in Travancore was the most fortunate man in the world, and

* Read before the School of Oriental Studies.

it certainly was in my time upon every score a most enviable appointment.

The District is, of course, the unit of administration, though it is subdivided into areas under charge of officers subordinate to the collector and magistrate, but still possessed of considerable powers. Indeed, like his chief, the collector for the district, the sub-assistant or deputy collector, is head of the revenue organization, and also the supervising magistrate and the controller of the police within his own division. The collectors and the subordinate collectors between them manage registration, alteration and partition of revenue holdings, settlement of revenue disputes, the management, under certain circumstances, of private estates, loans to agriculturists, and famine relief. All the orders of the Government are conveyed through the collectors or sub-collectors to the people. It is true that other services exist, with separate staffs for public works, irrigation, factories, industries and so on, but the collector and magistrate really is the chief influence behind these special departments, which in practice can hardly ignore his opinion or advice.

The great river of Madura is the Vigai, and there are others of less importance, including the sacred and euphonious Amarávati Some of the latter are subterraneous streams, or run wholly dry in the hot weather, but become raging torrents, sweeping everything before them, in the rains. Not that the rainfall of the District is heavy, indeed it is not upon an average more than thirty inches in the year. The fall is so much heavier in the hill tracts that this average means a very low rainfall in the plains.

Here, as all the world over, conditions suggest the truth of the saying of the author of the Georgics that the Father of Heaven did not will that the way of the cultivator should be easy.

"Pater ipse colendi haud facilem esse viam voluit"

But neither here, nor anywhere else, has any cultivator been found satisfied with any season.

In the hills, which are really considerable mountains, with peaks rising to 8,800 feet, a famous botanist collected 1,500 different species of plants in fifteen days, and to jump from flowers to fauna—tiger, leopard, bear, wolf, bison, ibex, and deer of all sorts, may be found in the forests, besides pythons, hamadryads, whip snakes, cobras, and interesting insects which counterfeit their surroundings by protective colouring and shape in a manner marvellous to contemplate

The history of this District is exceptionally rich, and the Pandya kings of Madura were descendants of the famous Pandava brothers, about whom the Indian Iliad the "Mahabharata" was written. Early in the fourteenth century, Mohammedans raided Southern India, and subsequently the Nayaks became rulers of the country, which they administered by entrusting portions of the kingdom to local chiefs known as Poligars, who possessed the high justice and low justice, and the right to do injustice, in fact, all powers of all descriptions, provided they paid their fixed tribute to their suzerain and never failed to supply the military force they were under an engagement to find for the royal army. The greatest king of the Nayak dynasty, Tirumala, is well remembered by his splendid palace in Madura city, which is the largest in the Madras Presidency, save and except Madras itself Like Akbar in Northern India, Trimul Nayak affected a sort of eclectic toleration in religious matters, and very much encouraged the Jesuits. Of the Christian population of upwards of 100,000, about nine-tenths are to this day Catholic Since Francis Xavier began the series, there has been a long succession of famous Roman Catholic missionaries, including Robert de Nobili, John de Brito, and Beschi, who wrote Tamil prose and poetry as well as any Tamil man. The Tamil language—of which, by the way, I was Official Translator for many years to the Madras Government—is a very finished and perfect tongue, and with the addition of the Sanskrit words, which have been plentifully adopted, it is not inferior, as a vehicle for conveying human thought and

speech, to any, or at any rate to many, of the world's languages. There was a time when hopes ran high of making all India Christian, but the conspicuous success of the Jesuits aroused jealous criticism in Rome. The missionaries of the order were said to be trifling with idolatry because they wisely recognized caste, and, proceeding along the line of least resistance, studied the psychology of the people they set out to convert, or at any rate to Christianize Their detractors triumphed and the loss was that of the cause of Christianity in India. To this day, however, the Roman Catholics, who are true missionaries, are far more successful than any other sectaries in dealing with the natives of the country, although, of course, in the neighbouring district of Tinnevelly, the Church Missionary Society, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel have succeeded in creating native Christian churches, numerically at any rate, and perhaps in other respects, of very great strength

The American Congregational Mission has for some unexplained reason settled in Madura, and has large numbers of stations. It is, however, chiefly industrial in character The Germans, save for the not very extensive operations of the Lutheran Mission, have left the District alone Of the total area of Madura, the greater part is zamindari—that is to say, the property of landlords who pay a fixed contribution to the Government Of the portion held by small tenants directly from the State, officially called ryotwari, 65 per cent is arable, of which the far greater part is occupied and cultivated Rice, of course, is freely grown, but it is worth mentioning that this grain is the diet of the upper classes, and that less luxurious staples form the food of the poor This is fortunate, for rice predisposes towards diabetes and the like complaints from which the sedentary and superior classes so severely suffer The ordinary native of the Madura District is a wiry, strong fellow, a little fine-drawn in appearance, but not lacking strength and vigour. Here let me say, as one who studied the native languages and associated a great deal with the

people, that I believe Sir William Hunter's famous statement that the majority of the people in India never know what it is thoroughly to satisfy their hunger, to be absolutely contrary to the fact. Volumes have been written upon this text, and it has been exploited by all the detractors of British rule, though it has no authority other than that attaching to one individual opinion Sir W Hunter well knew the Secretariats and the Headquarters of Governments, but perhaps never was there any Indian civil servant who had associated so little with the people of India as he, and I rather think he had no Indian language at command, other than a little Hindustani I feel pretty confident that few of those who have been accustomed to associate with the Indians will agree with the sweeping statement to which he stands committed

Eleusine, sorghun, pennisetum, are among the other largely cultivated cereals, and cotton, gingelly, and castor oil, occupy about 15 per cent of the total area cultivated We all know that "tobacco is an Indian weed," as stated in the Bacchanalian song, and it flourishes in Madura, being manufactured in the second town of the District, Dindigul

From 1876 to 1878 there prevailed a great famine in Southern India, which resulted from the failure of crops for three successive seasons. At one time as many as 95,000 persons were daily in receipt of relief, and the Government expended upwards of £70,000 in feeding them. It must be noted, however, that "famine" really means failure of crops, and that such do not now result in much actual mortality, the surplus produce of one, being easily brought by rail or sea to supply the deficiency of another, District. The use of the word famine is rather unfortunate and leads to the wholly erroneous impression that the people are suffering from, instead of being saved from, hunger and death. Since 1877 a most complete and efficient system of prevention and relief has been elaborated, and it is most unfortunate that the United Kingdom so little appreciates the really splendid administrative triumphs of the Indian

Government in practically defeating the greatest enemy of the Indian cultivator

The Madura District is famous for the great irrigation project known as Periyar, whereby a considerable river flowing on the western side of the watershed of the ghats or backbone mountains of the peninsula, is held up by a lofty dam and precipitated through a tunnel hewn in rock into a river-bed below the eastern side of the watershed

I have ridden through the lake and looked up upon the tall trees before the floor was submerged, when a scene occurred like that described by Horace —

> "Piscium et summa genus hæsit ulmo,
> Nota quæ sedes fuerat columbis
> Et superjecto pavidæ natarunt
> Æquore damæ."

The discharge of the River Periyár is equal to half the average flow of Niagara, and liable to sudden and heavy freshes. The dam is 160 feet high, 1,240 feet long, 144 feet wide at the bottom, and 12 feet wide at the top The lake covers more than 8,000 acres, and has a maximum depth of 176 feet, and the discharge through the watershed consists of a cutting 5,700 feet long, with approaches of almost equal length. The tunnel is 12 feet wide by 7½ feet high, and was blasted through solid rock by machine drills.

In constructing this magnificent work, the Government was of course greatly aided by the Maharajah of Travancore, whose consent had to be obtained for diverting the river from His Highness's fertile and evergreen dominions to the arid and thirsty plains of Madura. Works of the same kind, though none of equal importance, were constructed by Governments of pre-British days in remote places described on the survey maps as "high wavy mountains covered with impenetrable forest," and such may be truly described as—

> "Imperial works, and worthy Kings."

As to minerals, the Vigai is no Pactolus, though it has auriferous sands, but we do not find here the gold-bearing

quartz of the Mysore plateau or the mica and monazite deposits of Travancore, of which the Germans well-nigh possessed themselves, but of which we have now dispossessed them.

There are few arts and manufactures, but Madura has its silk weavers, and vegetable dyes are made. Weaving, as everywhere, declines, but there is a cotton-spinning mill, and of course the great cigar factory at Dindigul. Cotton is the chief export, but the high hills send down large quantities of tea of extremely good flavour, not much inferior to the leaf of Assam. Messrs Finlay, Muir and Co, of Calcutta (Messrs James Finlay and Co of Glasgow), invested upwards of a million in the Travancore high range in opening out tea estates, and this produce is conveyed down a ropeway and along the road to the South Indian Railway at Ammayanaikanur, which long but pleasing name is simple if resolved into its elements, Naikanur being the village of the Nayak kings.

It is well-known that when Ravana, the demon king of Ceylon, carried off Sita, wife of Rama, the monkeys, who still form a very large army in the Travancore-Madura Hills, came forward to recover the lady, who was a very unwilling victim They marched under their General Hanuman, the monkey king, constructed Adam's Bridge from India to Ceylon, and crossing over recovered the ravished bride.

The South Indian Railway, of which I have had the honour to be a Director for many years, not to be outdone, has constructed a branch from Madura to Mantapam on the coast, and a bridge from Mantapam to Paumben, on the Island of Rameshvaram, whereon stands one of the most sacred temples in India The railway crosses the island, and from the terminus on its eastern extremity a ferry boat takes passengers to Munaar for Ceylon The Government of the latter island, owing to its different financial and fiscal system, has not seen its way to co-operate with the South Indian Railway administration as completely as might have

been desired in effecting this Indo-Ceylon system of communication Several other railway extensions are projected, and as the finances of India are now, as they were when Sir Michael Hicks-Beach said so in the House of Commons, in a far more prosperous condition than those of the United Kingdom, we may fairly hope to see some of them made. There are upwards of 1,200 miles of roads in the District, of which half are metalled. Most of them rejoice in magnificent avenues, locally attributed to Queen Mungammal, the lady who after a long and prosperous reign was so imprudent as to fall in love with her prime minister, who is said to have been so ungallant as to have locked her up for the rest of her life.

The people of Madura are among the most litigious in the world, but they regard litigation as the Irishman regards political opposition, as sport and occupation. The retired minister of a Native State, who settled on the bank of the sacred Cauvery River, bought a property to which was attached a notorious lawsuit When asked why he had not chosen another estate, he replied that he looked to that law-suit to supply him with interest and amusement for the remainder of his life, and was more attracted by it than by the amenities of the house and lands.

Among the castes of Madura, of course comes first that of the Brahmin, and reading the latest official publication of the District dated 1906, and writings of my own of earlier date, which I have studied as a penance to refresh my memory, I find that the latest authority says what is said in every one of my papers, namely, that the influence of the Brahmins in social matters is slight. Indeed, neither at weddings nor funerals is their presence required, but various castes employ priests of their own communities, and a Brahmin is no more a priest than Mr. Taylor makes clothes, Mr. Mason builds houses, and Mr. Barber shaves chins in our own community.

The Kallans are a most interesting class whose caste occupation is theft. They refused to pay tribute in the

time of the Nayaks, arguing that heaven sent the rain, their own cattle did the ploughing, they themselves carried on the cultivation, and they did not know for what they should make any payment! They are not ashamed of theft, and here again they argue that every class steals the official takes bribes, the lawyer counsels litigation for the sake of fees, the publican waters the liquor, the grocer sands the sugar, and why should not the Kallan commit the more manly so-called crimes of robbery and cattle theft? They thieve according to a regular system and carry on a regular or regularly irregular system of protection, so that where any one of them is employed as a watchman no thefts occur. Of course some people call this by the ugly name of blackmail, but the Kallan is satisfied that there is no harm in it, provided the fees are earned by the protection There are castes of shepherds, weavers, carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, merchants, washermen, potters, and so on *ad infinitum*, and very interesting it is to see the potter "thumping his wet clay," and turning out beautifully shaped utensils with his fingers and a flat board only for his assistance. There are also puliyars, besides various other castes.

It is not true to say that pariahs and puliyars have no caste, or indeed that the pariahs are the lowest caste, nor have I observed in Madura, nor on the other side of the hills in Travancore—said to be the most caste-ridden part of India—that the lower resent the attitude of the upper castes towards them, or that it is true that the former are habitually or indeed at all ill-treated.

While on the subject of caste it is difficult to refrain from reference to the agitation now being conducted in Madura and Madras against the proposals of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report on the ground that they will, if carried out on lines suggested, lead to the establishment, or at least to the aggrandizement, of a Brahmin oligarchy. The Maharajah of Mysore, a non-Brahmin ruling prince, lately pointed out to an anti-Brahmin deputation that it is impossible to penalize

those who have made the best use of the opportunities afforded by the educational system we have given India, and have rendered themselves more than competent to retain in the future the positions they have always held, under all the rulers of India, of an aristocracy of intellect no less than of birth and position Would critics rule out of Government appointments in England graduates of Oxford, Cambridge, London and other Universities? Would they deprecate the employment of boys educated at Eton, Harrow, the City of London and other public schools? True, these birds of a feather may have a disposition to hang together, but would you pass them over in favour of other less capable classes? It would be impossible Neither can they advance the cause of democracy in India by announcing as an inducement a *carrière ouverte aux sans talents* Moreover, some class must predominate in the early days of any democracy, as the Whig magnates did here. By degrees, however, democracies become democratic, and that will no doubt happen in India as elsewhere Meanwhile, if any class is to predominate at present, the best endowed intellectually is the best fitted to lead, and will, on the whole, be more readily accepted by the people—being also that which comes at the head of their social and religious system —than any other, however loudly such may exclaim, and however deftly they may try to turn the present political situation to their own advantage

Turning to the land revenue administration, the Poligar system, to which I have referred, became in course of time the present zamindari system, but the land revenue in other tracts was under the East India Company retained under the management of the officers of the Government. Late in the eighteenth century, however, a system of settlement was introduced which, with various alterations and improvements, has existed till the present day. Soils and irrigation sources are classified, and villages are divided into groups in accordance with facilities for getting produce to market, and for other considerations. Money assessments are cal-

culated on the estimated value of the calculated out-turn of standard grains on wet and on dry land A price is fixed for commuting the money value of the estimated out-turn of different classes of soil From these commutation prices the gross value of the out-turn of an acre of the different varieties of soil is calculated From such value a deduction of one-fifth is made for vicissitudes of seasons, for unprofitable fields, channels, banks, paths, and so on, and a further very considerable deduction, based upon experiment and enquiry, to meet the cultivation expenses That which subsequently remains is assumed to be the net yield per acre, and a half of this is taken to be the value of the Government share of the crop, and the money assessment per acre. The average assessment per acre on dry land is Rs 1-1-8, and on wet land Rs. 4-1-9, and less than 1 per cent. in the latter case pays the highest rate It must not be forgotten that under native Governments at least a half of the gross, not the net, produce, was taken by the State, and sometimes as much as three-fifths, and the lightness of the assessments is proved by the high selling price of wet land

There are five municipalities and six local Boards besides the chief local Board of the District, and smaller towns are managed by unions, which have power to levy a house tax The police force, which is under a District Superintendent and his assistants, is composed almost entirely of Indians, and the most unmeasured condemnation is bestowed upon this body by the friends of the National Congress, who seem to forget that its members are, in their way, representative Indians, and probably possess the virtues and faults of the population from which they are drawn For my part, I do not think they deserve more than a very small fraction of the abuse to which they are subjected, and at any rate they have done their duty well and lost their lives in bringing illegal associations to justice and arresting political and other offenders. It is not for their faults that they are unpopular.

As to education, Madura is a literary district, and 7 per cent. of its population can read or write. This may not seem very high literacy, but on the other hand a great deal of misapprehension exists on this subject, and the ordinary cultivated or ordinary native of India is perfectly capable of voting for a person to represent him on the Reformed Legislative or other Councils. There are no less than 1,890 educational institutions in the District, of which upwards of 1,200 are public, primary, secondary or State schools

Finally, I should not omit from this very brief survey of an Indian District the fact that there are forty-one medical institutions and two hospitals, at which 3,500 in-patients and upwards of 435,000 out-patients are annually treated, and in which 16,000 operations are performed. Hospitals are popular, but town and village sanitation is very much disliked.

An account of an Indian District would be very imperfect at the present moment without some consideration of the probable effect upon it of the proposals of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report It may be said that Lord Ripon's attempt of 1882 resulted in local government, but not in local self-government, and Lord Hardinge's Government in consequence in 1915 proposed to make an effective advance by appointing non-official chairmen to municipalities, by granting elected majorities, and by giving further powers of taxation and general financial control It also recommended endowing village panchayats with certain powers, certain jurisdiction, and certain revenues, though I read in some quarters that the proposals of these two great functionaries, the Governor General and the Secretary of State for India, systematically ignore the feelings and the institutions of the masses of the people, in fact, they propose in their report to make the panchayat more of a living force than, so far as any authoritative evidence goes, it ever was before in the chequered history of India, and to go beyond the recommendation of Lord Hardinge's Government. Now, no one dare suggest that the panchayat, or council

of five, is other than indigenous in, and peculiar to, India, and racy of her sacred soil

The very ably-conducted and powerful Indian journal, *The Pioneer*, to which in my time I have contributed many columns, published last month an article from a correspondent, in which it was said that the fact that the inhabitants of India are sunk in abysmal ignorance and poverty is indisputable But it is highly disputable, and depends on the standard of comparison adopted If such a comparison be made with the "proletariat of this country," to quote the expression used, no analogy exists or can be established Again, what is the "social degradation" in which the Indian is said to have been sunk for centuries? Is it really true that these civilized and humane people are "under the thumb of the more advanced members of the community?" Does the Brahmin, for instance, really dominate the agriculturist and the labourer? I assert that he does not. If the former do not "flock to the poll" they will be very like the voters in more advanced Western communities, but to suppose that Brahmins are priests, and that the Indian masses are priest-ridden, is really ludicrously remote from the actual facts, though statements to this effect are made without contradiction at meetings of the Indo-British Association and its Indian analogue, the Non-Brahmin Association of Madras.

In regard to the existing local and municipal Boards, everything has hitherto since their constitution by Lord Ripon been sacrificed to efficiency, and the official element has in fact governed their proceedings In some provinces more has been done in the direction of election, but local magnates do not care to face the unpopularity of the levy of taxes or of the insistence upon sanitary regulations, nor do they like, and small blame to them, the rough and tumble of an election. But the Centralization Commission recommended that the collector and magistrate should continue to be President of the District Board and up till now he occupies that position, and very generally is also chair-

man of the subordinate local Boards. In the Report it is suggested that if further subordinates are appointed, petty corruption and petty oppression will cease to disfigure official business. It may be so, but I think there must indeed be many and large reforms in the hearts of the people, more than in their institutions, before such practices, in which the people really *ex animo* acquiesce, can be abolished A new spirit must also be developed before local bodies will take the interest in local business which is usual (if indeed it is usual) in England. The cultivator is naturally a Conservative, but the leaders of the Intelligencia have of late shown a strong desire to improve primary education, and place it within reach of the masses. Such education is practically in the hands of local bodies and a great responsibility will rest upon them in future in respect of its development, and everywhere comes into consideration the question of the provision of the necessary funds. Any and every effort to increase taxation will be so unpopular as even to lead perhaps to political and administrative reaction But while on this subject I must protest that it is quite unnecessary for a cultivator to be literate in order to vote. He is usually an extremely sensible and practical person, and can, I think, cast as valuable a vote as any member of the Indian community. The great difficulty will be to get men of good position to work the rural and local Boards. It is not quite clear that such will largely value independence from outside control, or so much as is assumed on their behalf, the exercise of complete popular control. It is probable the collector-magistrate will continue, and it is evidently intended that he should continue, freely to help with his advice and experience those who are occupied in the political education of the people. I believe myself that the extension of the franchise will discover the existence of a sensible articulate and practical element in the agricultural community. And I believe it will be possible to work well enough with substantial elective bodies in both municipal and rural Boards.

Whether officials can conveniently sit on the Boards without a vote is more doubtful, and perhaps their expert advice might be made available without placing them in the Board Councils but not of them, and obviously a low franchise must be adopted if such bodies are to be really representative of the rate and tax payers. This is a matter of great difficulty, and I believe myself these classes are very indifferently represented to this day in this country I do not myself see any objection to elected chairmen When I was Under-Secretary to the Government dealing with the budgets of local bodies, now twenty-five years ago, there was in Madras, at any rate, an ample supply of men who were equal to this position Where possible, elected chairmen should I think be called upon to run their Boards without a special Executive Officer irremovable without the sanction of Government, who would inevitably overshadow his nominal chief It is difficult to see what danger of any sort can result from endowing nearly all local Boards with substantial elected majorities, and giving every power of taxation within the limits laid down by law True, this may lead at first to inefficient administration It will almost certainly be less efficient than that which at present exists, but nothing can be done, no advance can be made, and the policy of Government—the announced, declared and by Parliament approved policy of Government—cannot be carried out at all, unless this risk is run and freely run Even in my day in India I realized most thoroughly that the efficiency on which we so prided ourselves was not only not popular, but was really unpopular, and that there was much to be said for adopting Lord Melbourne's famous principle of letting things alone. I believe it is the besetting sin of the Service to which I had the honour to belong, and the traditions of which I highly prize, that it is very unwilling to let anything inefficient alone. The Indian Civil Service, the merits of which are handsomely admitted in the Report, are a *corps d'élite*, and the utmost consideration should

be given to those already in it, whose position and prospects will undoubtedly be greatly altered, if not considerably impaired, by the vigorous adoption of the present policy of Government. I do not believe that they will show any opposition to what Government has decided to be its settled policy. To do so would be a total reversal of their traditions. But while the finances of India are far more satisfactory than the finances of England, it is at least fair to claim that the pecuniary and indeed other claims of the existing members of the Indian Civil Service should be dealt with in the most generous manner

This question fairly arises on my theme, outside which lie contemplated changes in provincial administration, in regard to which, however, in my opinion, similar conclusions might well be, and I think will eventually be, reached

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

ANNUAL MEETING

THE Fifty-Second Annual General Meeting of the East India Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S W , on Monday, June 16, 1919, the Right Hon Lord Reay, K T , G C S I., G C I E., P C , LL.D , presiding.

The following, amongst others, were present The Right Hon Lord Pentland, G.C S I., G C.I E., P C., H H the Thakur Sahib of Limbdi, The Chief of Ichalkaranji, Sir Arundel T Arundel, K C S I., and Lady Arundel, Sir Mancherjee M Bhownaggree, K C I E , Sir Krishna G Gupta, K C S.I , Sir Prabashankar D Pattani, K C.I E., Sir Duncan James Macpherson, C I E , Sir Herbert Holmwood, Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Charles Armstrong, Mr T J Bennett, C.I E , M P , Mr Henry Marsh, C.I E , Brigadier-General H A Iggulden, C.I E., Lieut Colonel S H Godfrey, C I E., Lieut. Colonel W H Burke, I M S , Colonel A S Roberts, Lieut -Colonel F S Terry, Mr S S. Thorburn, Mr J B Pennington, Mr Stanley Rice, Mr F H Brown, Capt H Wilberforce Bell, Mr G O Wm Dunn, Lieut S H Kurtkar, R A F., Lieut D L Patwardhan, R A F , Mr J P B Jeejeebhoy, Mr G M Ryan, Mr E Abbott, I C S., Mr K. P Kotval, Mr K Gauba, Mr F S Tabor, Miss H S Inman, Mr F J P Richter, Mr M Sorabji, Mr E. H Tabak, Mr and Mrs James Macdonald, Mrs Jackson, Mis F R Scatcherd, and Dr John Pollen, C.I E , Hon Secretary

The following letters were read from members expressing their regret at being unable to attend the meeting

June 15, 1919

DEAR DR POLLEN,

I am sorry to say that I will not be able to be at the Annual Meeting of the East India Association to-morrow afternoon as I must be at a committee over which I preside, which will be sitting all afternoon. In great haste,

Yours very sincerely,
(Signed) CARMICHAEL.

June 15, 1919

MY DEAR POLLEN,

I should certainly have attended the Annual Meeting of the East India Association, but am sorry to say that distance makes it impossible With best wishes that it will go off well

I am, yours sincerely,
(Signed) F S P LELY

The Report of the Council for the year 1918-19 was agreed to be taken as read.

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and Gentlemen, in moving the adoption of the Report, you will agree that we are met here to-day under very auspicious circumstances, it being our first annual meeting since the war has ended in a (thank God!) brilliant way Our deepest gratitude is due to our forces on land and sea, and not in the least degree to those contributed by our Indian Empire The cordial relations existing between all parts of the Empire and India have been consolidated, the position which India has now acquired by having its own official representatives at the Peace Negotiations has given it a place in the Empire which is novel, and which it fully deserves. Another fact we cannot overlook is the war in which we are at present engaged in Afghanistan It has elicited in a very remarkable degree the loyal feelings of all classes of the Mohammedan community of India The great chiefs have offered their troops, and any other means at their disposal, to the Government of India. We may conclude that the feelings of the Mohammedan community towards the British Raj are, as they always have been, of the most cordial loyalty On our part we must take into account those matters on which the Mohammedan community are sensitive. The British Delegates at the Peace Conference will no doubt be watchful. The Peace Treaty will require, whatever the conditions are, the ablest statesmanship that can be placed at our disposal for its execution A great deal has been left, and it could not be otherwise, to future arrangements, which, as I say, will be of a very delicate nature In international matters the knowledge of the historical relations which have existed between various countries and various races is all important

I now turn to the affairs of our Association In the first place you will have noticed the continued increase in our membership, which is most satisfactory, more so than on any former occasion.

In the next place I wish to congratulate Mr King, the Clerk of the Council, who has always been a valuable assistant to the secretariat, and his wife, Mrs. King, who has efficiently carried on his duties during his absence, on his return to his duties.

I now have to pay a tribute of respect to those whom we have lost by death. In the first place I must mention Sir Roper Lethbridge, our Vice-President, who was a member of the Council for thirty-five years I need not go into Sir Roper Lethbridge's various merits, because in the April number of the ASIATIC REVIEW you will have read the very interesting article written by a member of our Council, Mr Buckland. The next name on the death-roll is that of Sir Ratan Tata. The Tata family have played such an important part in the industrial records of India that his loss at a comparatively youthful age is very much to be deplored, also on account of his great generosity in supporting various good objects. As I am alluding to the industrial conditions of India, and the part that Sir Ratan Tata played, I must add that I am of opinion that the industrial development of India ought now to be taken in hand, not in a desultory way, as has been the case hitherto, but very firmly (Hear, hear) Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree has insisted for years that the prosperity of India

depends on the creation of new careers by increasing Indian industries I need not go into details, but you have only to look at the vast imports into India of articles which could just as well be made in India. As long as this continues we cannot be surprised that pauperism in India is greater than it need be if the great resources of India are properly worked We must send to India able representatives of our industries You want a special staff of experts to start the movement, and I am confident that if it were once started India would enjoy considerable prosperity as compared with the present lethargy The next name on the list is a name familiar to many of us, a man who was beloved by all those who knew him, Sir Andrew Fraser (Hear, hear) Sir Andrew Fraser until the last moment of his life was engaged in some good work for India He was devoted to India The next name is that of the late Bishop of Calcutta, the Right Rev G A. Lefroy Dr Lefroy was an interesting and charming personality We also regret the loss of Mr G Winnington Ingram, I C S., a brother of the Bishop of London I should like to add one name, which is not on the list of our own members, that of a lady who has played a very remarkable part in Kathiawar, the Maharani of Bhownagar When the war began she published a history of events of the war in order that India might have the benefit of accurate news We all know how much inaccurate news there was during the war, and it was a very patriotic act on her part to issue a true record of events

We have had a great number of very interesting lectures during the past year There has never been any difficulty in getting lecturers, which is due to the efforts of Dr Pollen I may mention specially Mr Devadhar's paper, "Mr Gokhale's 'Servants' Society' and Its Work" We are pleased to hear that Mr Devadhar has established a society in Poona which has for its purpose the education of women, so that they may be good nurses and good teachers. He is one of those Indians who devote their lives to the welfare of their own compatriots, and who do it in the most disinterested and quiet way

I have to mention that Sir John Rees has been co-opted a member of Council in place of Sir James Wilson, on account of Sir James Wilson taking up his abode in Edinburgh. Sir James has been a very active member of the Council He has presided on many occasions, and we have to offer him the expression of our deep sympathy in the loss of his only son in the war Sir Roper Lethbridge also lost his only son

I have further to mention that the Marquess of Crewe has accepted the Vice-Presidency of the Association.

We have to welcome Mr Stanley Rice, who has been appointed Joint Hon Secretary, and at the same time I am sure I am speaking in your name when I say how much we regret that we have even to part with half of Dr. Pollen. We do not part yet with the whole of Dr Pollen, but in order that we should not part with the whole of him it is necessary that we should part with half, because Dr Pollen is inclined to do more than he ought to do, and the time has now come for him to limit his great energy It is impossible, and you will not require me to do so, to state exactly what this Association owes to Dr Pollen Dr Pollen has devoted himself

completely to it. I have acted with many honorary secretaries, but I may say that I have never acted with anyone whose sole object in life was, as is the case of Dr Pollen, to promote the interests of the Association of which he is secretary (Applause.)

I cannot leave this subject without saying how much indebted we are to Mr Pennington for his constant aid in the office. I beg to move this resolution "That this meeting, in cordially welcoming Mr Stanley Rice as Joint Honorary Secretary, desires to record its most grateful thanks to Dr Pollen for his unwearied services on behalf of the East India Association from the time of his succession to Mr Arathoon as Hon Secretary in December, 1907, since which date the roll of members, now over 500, has increased eightfold." (Loud applause)

Sir ARUNDEL T ARUNDEL, in seconding the motion, said that Dr Pollen, whose services as Hon Secretary during the last twelve years had been of such signal value to the East India Association, must now be assisted in that office, and he thought the manner in which this end had been achieved—by securing the services of Mr Stanley Rice—could not be improved upon

Sir MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE suggested that Dr Pollen should be enrolled as an honorary member of the Association. Usually it was for the Council to make the appointment, and he knew the Council would be unanimous in accepting the suggestion, but it would be a special compliment if it had the approval and sanction of a general meeting like the present (Cheers.) Fortunately, the time was not yet when the Association would have to express in full measure the appreciation of the great services of their Secretary, for they were to have Dr Pollen still, and he hoped for many years, with them But, meanwhile, it was fitting that some tangible mark of their sense should be conveyed to him, and he therefore proposed, if the President and the meeting would permit it, that to the resolution be added words giving effect to the suggestion that Dr Pollen be appointed an honorary member (Cheers.)

Sir ARUNDEL T ARUNDEL said that this suggestion had been discussed by several members of the Association, and they had looked up the rules and found it was necessary for the Council to appoint an honorary member He ventured to ask the Chairman, as President of the Annual Meeting of the members, who create the rules, whether he had not power temporarily to suspend the rule, so that the meeting could do what he was sure the Council would unanimously agree to do—elect Dr Pollen an Honorary Life Member of the Association

The CHAIRMAN said that he personally would have made the proposal to elect Dr Pollen an Honorary Member of the Association if the rules had given him the power However, he now felt he could not restrain the enthusiasm of the meeting, and he thought the resolution might be put, and then the Council could set the matter right afterwards by going through the regular process.

The resolution as amended was put to the meeting and carried unanimously

Dr. POLLEN, in thanking the meeting for their kindness, while dis

claiming having done anything more than any other secretary had done for the Association, accepted with great gratitude the high honour which had been bestowed upon him. He said he had tried to serve the Association because he knew that the Association was doing its best to serve India, and he believed that the Association from the first had been working on the right lines in allowing the Indians to speak for themselves on all possible occasions, and to discuss freely, and without hindrance, any subject affecting the well being of India. He did, however, take credit to himself for certain things which he had been able to affect during his service in India. In every department in which he served he had succeeded in stamping out the evil known as "the anonymous petition" He never encouraged anything in the shape of a confidential report, though, of course, at times officials were obliged to make them He had himself always refused to make any confidential report except in the form of a demi official letter to the powers concerned He had endeavoured to bring the same spirit into the work of the Association, and they had no confidential reports—no whisperings—no anonymous petitions! They had encouraged open and free discussion of all matters affecting India in a loyal and temperate spirit He thanked the Chairman and Sir Arundel Arundel for the very laudatory remarks made about him and his feeble efforts to serve the Association, and the meeting for the kind way in which they had received them He was specially grateful to Mr Pennington, Lord Reay, and Sir Arundel

Mr BENNETT, in seconding the adoption of the Report, said that looking back to some of the earliest papers which had been read before the Association one was reminded of the very important part which the Association had taken in the development of thought in India and concerning India, and in the encouragement of progress in that country He had in mind a paper dealing with the question of municipal government in Bombay, which was read in the early years of the Association by, he believed, the late Sir Pherozesha Mehta When one thought of the municipal development in Bombay, of the extension of municipal liberties, and what had happened since, and when one remembered that in those early days the claims to municipal self-government in India were advocated by the Association, one realized what an important part it had played in the advancement of India. Every phase of Indian life had been dealt with by the Association, and therefore they must feel that they had been associated with a very worthy and a very useful institution, and he hoped it would prosper long He was very glad to see Lord Reay in the chair, because his presence recalled the great efforts which he made many years ago in Bombay in the interests of technical education and of the industrial development of India, which were so largely in their minds to-day Lord Reay was one of the pioneers of education in India, who prepared the way for its industrial development

The CHAIRMAN said he was very glad to see Mr Bennett at the meeting, and still more glad to see Mr Bennett was in the House of Commons. It was of the utmost importance now that very important discussions with reference to India were taking place that India should be well represented

in the House of Commons. Mr Bennett recalled an important legislative enactment whilst he was Governor of Bombay—namely, the Municipal Act Very few amendments had been made in it, and he believed that when the Municipal Act for Calcutta was passed the Bombay Act was considered a good precedent.

Sir HERBERT HOLMWOOD, in proposing the re-election of Lord Reay as President for the coming year, said they never had had and never could have a better President They were encouraged in asking him to help them in the coming year by the very noble effort he had made to come to the meeting in spite of the condition of his health and the difficulty he had experienced in getting there.

Sir MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE, in seconding the resolution, said the Association was highly privileged in having had Lord Reay as its President for many years past, and they all hoped he would continue in that position for many years to come. (Cheers.) His connection with the Association was a guarantee alike to English and to Indian members that the interests of India would be the fundamental object of all their activity, for he was trusted and regarded throughout that country as one of her truest well wishers His lordship's presence that evening and the statesmanlike speech they were favoured with again showed how, in spite of physical difficulties and of his numerous avocations, Lord Reay had taken the keenest interest not only in the Association's work, but in all the important questions affecting India which were just now so copiously engaging the minds of people there and here They all felt they could not have a more eminent, sincere, and influential President than Lord Reay (Applause)

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN, in thanking the meeting, said that he thought the time had come for him to be demobilized, but as the meeting wished it, he would continue to do what he could to further the objects of the Association

Sir KRISHNA GUPTA proposed the re-election of the following members of the Council, who retired by rotation The Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, C.I.E., Sir Arundel T Arundel, K.C.S.I., George Owen William Dunn, Esq., Henry Marsh, Esq., C.I.E., M.I.C.E., Sir Henry Proctor, and N C. Sen, Esq., O.B.E.

The Hon Sir P D PATTANI seconded the resolution, which was put to the meeting, and carried unanimously

THE FIFTY-SECOND ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE Council submit the following Report on the Proceedings of the Association during the year 1918-1919, the last year of the great World War

It is satisfactory to be able to place on record the fact that the activities of the Association, in spite of the difficulties, delays, and obstructions arising from war conditions, continued unabated, and were even extended During the last year—the most trying year of all—the membership has materially increased, although the deaths and resignations were more numerous than in previous years. Seventy-three new Members were elected, and this, after deducting deaths and resignations, which numbered thirty-six, leaves a net increase of thirty-seven

Fortunately, there was no unavoidable delay in granting demobilization to the Clerk of the Council, H. G King, who was able to return to his post from France early in January, 1919, and was thus just in time to relieve Mrs. King, who had acted for him in his absence on military duty, and whose health had broken down.

Amongst the deaths, the Council has to deplore that of one of its Vice-Presidents, Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E., who had served for more than thirty-five years as a Member of Council. Mr. C. E. Buckland, C I E. (a Member of our Council), kindly drew up an account of the many services which Sir Roper had rendered to India.

This appeared in the April number of the ASIATIC REVIEW, and received the express appreciation of Council.

The Association has also to deplore the loss of Sir Ratan Tata, one of the Captains of Industry in Bombay, and of Sir Andrew Fraser, K.C.S.I., formerly Lieut.-Governor of Bengal, and of the Right Rev. G. A. Lefroy, D.D., Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

During the year the Most Hon. the Marquess of Crewe, K.G., was appointed a Vice-President of the Association, and the Council had the pleasure of congratulating two of its members, Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., on his unopposed re-election, and Mr. T. J. Bennett, C.I.E., on his election to Parliament.

The history of the Association (entitled "The Jubilee of the East India Association") was completed during the year, but in view of the high cost of printing and of paper its publication has been postponed for the present.

Owing also to the increased cost of paper and printing, it was considered equitable to revise the arrangements with "East and West, Ltd.," in payment for the printing work of the Association and the supply of the ASIATIC REVIEW to its Members.

The lease of the offices having expired, the landlords intimated their intention of raising the rent, but on being interviewed by the Hon. Secretary they agreed to continue the tenancy at the present rate if the Association would accept a lease for a term of five years. It was finally agreed to continue the existing tenancy at the present rent for three years with the right to sub-let, it having been found impossible, owing to the continued requirements and requisitions of Government, to secure suitable premises elsewhere in this neighbourhood.

Mr. Stanley Rice, I.C.S., who has recently retired on completion of his service in Madras, has been appointed by Council Joint Hon. Secretary to the Association.

Papers on the following subjects were read during the year

May 10, 1918—"An Interpretation of Westminster for Indian Students," by Victor Branford, Esq., M.A. John C. Nicholson, Esq., J.P., in the chair.

July 1, 1918—"The Mediævalism of India, or the Dualism of Hindu Life," by "Cassandra" (Stanley Rice, Esq., I.C.S.) (read by J. B. Pennington, Esq.) Sir Frederick William Duke, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., in the chair.

July 30, 1918—"India in France," by J. D. Anderson, Esq., I.C.S. (retired). The Right Hon. Lord Reay, K.T., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., P.C., in the chair.

October 28, 1918—"India: A Democracy," by S. S. Thorburn, Esq., I.C.S. (retired). Sir Valentine Chirol in the chair.

November 25, 1918—Debate continued on the above paper. Sir Roland K. Wilson, Bart., in the chair.

January 13, 1919—"Self-Supporting Schools for India," by J. B. Pennington, Esq., I.C.S. (retired). Mark B. F. Major, Esq., in the chair.

February 10, 1919—"Mr. Gokhale's Servants of India Society and its Work," by G. K. Devadhar, Esq., M.A. Sir Richard Amphlett Lamb, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., K.-I.-H., in the chair.

March 24, 1919—"The Salvation Army Work among the Criminal Tribes of India," by Lieut.-Colonel James Bedford (of the Salvation Army International Headquarters). Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., in the chair.

April 28, 1919—"Indian Literature: Past, Present, and Future," by Kanhayalal Gauba, Esq. Sir Roland K. Wilson, Bart., in the chair.

A very animated debate followed the reading of Mr. S. S. Thorburn's paper on "India: A Democracy," and as several Members wished to speak in connection with

the proposed reforms in the administration of India, the discussion was continued at an adjourned meeting.

The paper read by Mr. G. K. Devadhar on "Mr. Gokhale's Servants of India Society and its Work" was heard with much interest, and Lord Willingdon (lately Governor of Bombay and now Governor of Madras) bore witness to the beneficial nature of the work of the Society.

The following have been elected Members of the Association during the year

Sir Harvey Adamson, K.C.S I, LL.D
Mahbub Alam, Esq
Maulvi Muhammad Ahmed, Esq, M A., LL.M (CANTAB), PH.D
Bhupendra Nath Basu, Esq
S H Bode, Esq.
Amiya Charan Banerjee, Esq
S B Billimoria, Esq, M B.E., J P.
Jitendra Nath Banerjee, Esq.
Sir James Bennett Brunyate, K C.S I., C.I E.
Hugh Byard Clayton, Esq, I C.S
Ernest Lionel Francis Cavendish, Esq
The Most Hon the Marquess of Crewe, K.G.
Henry Reynell Holled Coxe, Esq, I C S (retired).
Colonel Arthur Henry Dopping Creagh, C.M G, M.V O.
F Joseph Conway, Esq
P K. Dey, Esq
Gopal Krishna Devadhar, Esq., M.A.
Nasserwan C Daruwalla, Esq, M.A.
Lieut.-Colonel Sir Hugh Daly, K C.S.I., K C.I.E.
S. M. Edwardes, Esq., C V.O., C.S I.
Sir Archdale Earle, K.C.S I., K.C.I.E.
Reginald Edward Enthoven, Esq, C.I E., I C.S.
Mrs. Giffard.
Kanhayalal Gauba, Esq.
Hamendra Prasad Ghose, Esq
William Robert Gourlay, C I.E., I.C.S.

Edward Hopkins, Esq
Herman Anderson Haines, Esq.
The Rev. S. Harris.
Henry Joseph Randolph Hemming, Esq.
The Ven Archdeacon Hutton.
D. B Jayatilaka, Esq, Barrister-at-Law.
Lady Jacob.
S Kasturi Ranga Iyengar, Esq
Brigadier-General Herbert A Iggulden, C.I.E
James George Jennings, Esq C.I E.
S. H Kirtikar, Esq
Lieut. Sabherun R Kapoor, I M S
Raghunath Pandurang Karandikar, Esq.
The Hon Khan Bahadur Nawab Muhammad Muzammilullah Khan, O B.E.
Herbert Louis Leach, Esq
His Excellency Sir George Lloyd, G C I E.
Arthur Lucas, Esq, I C S. (retired)
S N. Majumdar, Esq.
Lady Scott Moncreiff
Ellis S Manmasseh, Esq
K. P. S Menon, Esq
Mrs. H A. Marshall.
Professor David Samuel Margoliouth, M.A.
Major John Hanna Murray, C I E., I.M S.
James MacDonald, Esq.
S. Modak, Esq.
Lady Northcote, C I
Lady Pinhey.
Archibald J. Pugh, Esq, O.B E.
H. R. Perrott, Esq, I C.S.
John Mervyn Pollen, Esq
Miss Puckle
Horace Arthur Rose, Esq., I C S. (retired).
Nassim Reuben, Esq.
C. V. L. Rao, Esq.
K. Surya Narayan Row, Esq

Jaysen Ramdas, Esq.
Sir John David Rees, Bart., K.C.I.E., C.V.O., M.P.
Percival Stanley Pitcairn Rice, Esq., I.C.S. (retired).
Sachindra Nath Sen, Esq.
M Sorabji, Esq
Parameswa Sabbarayan, Esq., Zemindar of Kumaramangalam.
Bimala Kanta Sarkar, Esq
Bata Krishna Sinha, Esq
Welborn Owston Smith, Esq
H.H. the Mehtar Shuja-ul-Mulk, K.C.I.E., Mehtar of Chitral.
Miss Cornelia Sorabji.

The following have resigned membership during the year

A. H S Aston, Esq
G Adams, Esq
Henry Deacon Allen, Esq
M. O Abassi, Esq
Charles Alfred Bell, Esq., C.M.G., I.C.S
Sir Edward Chamier.
Mohini Mohan Dhar, Esq
Aswini Kumar Datta, Esq
Khagendra Nath Dutt, Esq
Rustomji Faridoonji, Esq
Madhusudan Sen Gupta, Esq.
Sander Gutmann, Esq
J Sykes Gamble, Esq., C.I.E
Balchandra Krishna Gupta, Esq
E. B. Harris, Esq
N L. Hallward, Esq.
A. B. Malik, Esq.
F. St. George Manner-Smith, C.I.E.
Colonel J. B. Meade.
John MacIver, Esq., I.S.O
Gerald McDonald, Esq.

Maung Po Sa, Esq., I.S.O.
H. N. Sen, Esq.
W. H. J. Wilkinson, Esq.
J. M. N. Wadia, Esq.

The Council regret to announce the death of the following Members.

Rai Bahadur Gokul Chand
Arthur Forbes, Esq., C.S.I.
Sir Andrew H. L. Frazer, K.C.S.I.
G. C. Winnington Ingram, Esq., I.C.S.
Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E.
The Right Rev. G. A. Lefroy, D.D.
Maharaja Ranajit Sinha, Maharaja of Nashipur.
Charles Russell, Esq.
Sir Ratan Tata
Rai Bahadur Kashinath Keshav Thakur, I.S.O.
Sir Alexander Pedler, C.I.E.

Sir J. D. Rees, Bart., K.C.I.E., C.V.O., M.P., has been co-opted a Member of the Council in the place of Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., resigned.

The following retire by rotation

The Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, C.I.E.
Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I.
George Owen William Dunn, Esq.
Henry Marsh, Esq., C.I.E., M.I.C.E.
Sir Henry Procter
N. C. Sen, Esq., O.B.E.

These gentlemen are willing, if re-elected, to continue to serve, and it is open to any Member of the Association to propose any candidate for election to Council.

The Council cannot conclude this brief report without again placing on record their deep appreciation of the never-failing and most helpful interest Lord Reay continues to take in the affairs of the Association.

The Accounts show a balance of £449 17s. 2d., as compared with £415 0s. 5d last year. There are no debts or outstanding dues of any kind.

BALANCE SHEET, APRIL 30, 1919

ASSETS.				LIABILITIES.			
Investments in India Government Promissory Notes for Rupees 92,400	£4,248	0	0				
Library and Furniture	300	0	0				
War Loan	305	2	3				
Balance of Bank and Cash Account	464	12	1½				
	£5317	14	4½	General Fund Balance carried forward	£5,317	14	4½

Examined and found correct.

G O WM DUNN, Member of Council
F R SCATCHERD, Member of Association.
J POLLEN Hon Secretary

May 21, 1919.

RACES OF THE PANJAB AND NORTH-WESTERN FRONTIER PROVINCES MANNERS AND RELIGIONS

By Sir James Douie, K C.S I

On the map of the world there are certain points which are obviously of immense importance as gates to something which lies beyond Such are the Straits of Gibraltar, the Dardanelles, the Suez Canal, and on land the Brenner Pass in the Alps, and the passes through the Hindu Kush to the north of Kabul, which Alexander's Greeks and the Turks and other dwellers in Central India traversed to reach the road to India through the valley of the Kabul River On a larger scale we find countries which have played a great part in history, because age after age it was necessary for traders and warriors to pass through them in order to reach more distant goals Servia, Asia Minor, Palestine, and the Panjab, all fall into this class The racial problems of such land tends to be both intricate and interesting

Invasions of India, with rare exceptions, have come from the north and west, and all the invaders had to cross the Panjab till a nation appeared on the scene whose possession of sea-power enabled it to outflank the mountain defences by landing on the coast. The Greeks in 326 B C., the Sakas and Yuehchi in the first Christian century, the White Huns in the sixth century, the Arabs in the beginning of the eighth century, all penetrated into the Panjab and ruled part of it for longer or shorter periods. Successive Turkish invasions from the tenth to the sixteenth century swept over the Panjab to reach the richer lands beyond. To mention the best-known names, Mahmud of Ghazni, Chingiz Khan

Timur the Lame, and Baber, opened the road which finally brought Akbar to Delhi, and through Delhi to the empire of Northern India. It seems unlikely that all these invasions passed without leaving some considerable mark on the racial composition of the province

The area with which I am dealing consists of the Panjab and the North-West Frontier Province with the independent tribal area included within the British sphere of influence. It had in 1911 a population of 27,000,000, of which 20,000,000 were in the British districts of the Panjab and 4,000,000 in the Panjab Native States. Since the outbreak of plague in 1896 the population has ceased to expand. Notwithstanding the almost complete absence of large towns, the density per square mile is nearly equal to that of France There are over 44,000 villages, and the business of the people is agriculture. The typical holding is that of the peasant landowner tilling from four to ten acres with his own hands with or without help from village menials Including such menials, usually paid for their services by a share of the crop, the agricultural population may be taken as 75 per cent of the whole Neglecting those castes whose numbers do not amount to 1 per cent., we get the following classification

Landowning Tribes	50 per cent
Artisans and Menials	24 „ „
Hindu Traders	6 „ „

The second group includes blacksmiths, carpenters, weavers water-carriers, potters, barbers, and oilmen, and the large population of untouchables, sweepers, and leather-workers, who together account for 10 per cent of the people.

We must, before giving details, pause to consider what we mean by caste or tribe. A tribe is a body of persons united by real or assumed descent from a common ancestor, and subject to common rules of conduct as regards the important things of life—marriage, eating, drinking, and smoking. These rules are most fully observed in the east—that is, in the part of the province which properly forms

part of Hindustán The real Panjabi is less bound by traditional rules than the inhabitant of any other Indian province Strictly speaking, you should only marry a woman belonging to your own tribe, but not belonging to your own tribal subdivision or *got*, which we may translate by clan Mr Ponsonby Jones cannot wed Miss Smith or Miss Robertson, and he must keep clear of all the Ponsonby Jones' maidens The restrictions go further, but I need not trouble you with refinements Broadly, you can marry any Jones who does not belong to the two or three clans to be avoided because of previous blood relationship The social rank of tribes is largely determined by their attitude to widow remarriage Marriage with full ceremonies, including the perambulation of the sacred fire, is only contracted with a virgin, and the highest tribes in the social scale can only wed in that way But most agricultural tribes recognise widow remarriage by a form known as *Karewa*, and the widow is expected to marry one or other of her late husband s brothers, and as a rule weds the youngest. The equivalent in England of the two forms of marriage would be found if the parish priest would only read the service in the case of an unmarried girl, while the merry widow had to be content with the registrar. Again, your tribal custom may force you to marry your daughter only into a clan equal or superior to your own, while your son may marry beneath him It is an awkward rule, for in some tracts it has led to the prevalence of female infanticide Certain tribes can eat and drink together without contracting ceremonial defilement Thus in Karnal Jats, Gujars, and Rors, being practically of equal rank, could take food one from another, but none of them could accept it from any of the menial castes, and certain tribes are so impure that their mere touch pollutes food In the same district a Hindu would throw his meal away if a Muhammadan's shadow fell on it. Everybody in India is familiar with the fact that at railway stations separate water-carriers and standpipes are

required for Hindu and Musalman passengers. I was once inspecting a new water-supply in a decaying market town in the west of the province. There were two stand-pipes back to back with their spouts pointing in opposite directions. I asked the people if they were quite satisfied with the arrangement, and was told there was a risk of water squirting from the one side to the other and so spreading defilement. They, therefore, suggested that a wall of partition was desirable. You must be careful about borrowing another man's pipe. If you put down your *hukka* in the field you should see that a bit of rag is attached to it—blue for a Musalman and red for a Hindu The leather-worker should tie a strip of leather, and the sweeper a string, on his pipe.

All this seems to fit in with the notion that caste is immutable, but descent from a higher to a lower caste is not difficult. A Rajput clan which adopts widow remarriage at once loses its status, and henceforward will be regarded as a subdivision of the Jats. Some of the Rajputs of Hoshyarpur sunk still lower by taking to growing vegetables, and ranked henceforth with Arains. Artisan tribes may be found with proud Rajput clan names, which may possibly indicate remote Rajput descent. The expert gipsy blacksmiths, who wander about the east of the Punjab living in curious little tents and refusing to even enter a house, tell you that they are descendants of the Rajputs of Chitor, who left it after the famous siege, and are under a vow never to come under a roof till Chitor is recovered. The claim may or may not be true, but it illustrates my point Carpenters, blacksmiths, and even barbers, of Sirsa were, till quite recent times, Jats or Rajputs. It is difficult, but not impossible, for a family nowadays to attain to higher tribal rank. I think it could still be done if it is wealthy and persevering. Formerly the progress was evidently much easier. A hill Raja gave a man a step in rank by making him a Rajput just as a Western King makes Jones a knight or a peer and describes him as his trusty and

well-beloved Jones. Nowadays in India the first steps would be to seclude your women, forbid widow remarriage, and, by paying a good sum, to induce a man of a higher tribe to break his rules and bestow his daughter's hand on your son

Of course, among Muhammadans there ought to be no caste distinctions, and one of the attractions of the creed for low-caste converts is the prospect of getting rid of social disabilities. A cynical proverb runs somewhat as follows

> "Last year I was a sweeper, this year I am a Shekh,
> Next year, if prices go up, I shall be a Saiyyid"

That is a very exaggerated statement, for it would be a long time before a converted sweeper family could persuade people to accept it as descended from the Prophet's son-in-law, but converts constantly call themselves Shekhs, though the true Shekhs with any claim to Arab descent are high-born people

We have seen that 50 per cent. of the people belong to landowning tribes Classifying in fractions of 100 the component parts of this group, we find that about 13 per cent. are Hindu or Muhammadan Rajputs For reasons already given, we may reasonably suspect that the ancestors of some of the Rajputs of to-day had no hereditary right to that title. Sir Denzil Ibbetson doubted whether there was any racial difference between the Rajput and the Jat, the distinction being in his view social rather than ethnic "I believe," he wrote, "that those families of that common stock whom the tide of fortune has raised to political importance have become Rajputs almost by virtue of their rise, and that their descendants have retained the title and its privileges on the condition, strictly enforced, of observing the rules by which the higher are distinguished from the lower castes in the Hindu scale of precedence, of preserving their purity of blood by refusing to marry with families of inferior social rank, of rigidly refraining from widow marriage, and of refraining from degrading occupations."

He thought the progress of elevation had been suspended after the establishment of the Moghal Empire stopped the foundation of petty kingships

It is usual to describe Rajputs as bad cultivators, but that is by no means true universally They are sorely hampered by caste rules, which forbid the employment of their women on field work, and the prohibition of widow remarriage is a severe handicap. The widow is a burden to herself and to her late husband's family The Rajput peasants of Karnal were wise enough to defer the marriage of their daughters to an age at which they could at once start married life. Among other agricultural tribes, boys and girls are married as children, but this involves no abuse, for the ceremony is only a binding betrothal, and the little bride returns very shortly to her father's house, and remains there for one, three, five, or seven years

The Dogra Rajputs of the low hills are excellent soldiers, brave and faithful in war and well-behaved in cantonments

There are three Jats for every Rajput in the province, and they account for 40 per cent of the landowning tribes We need not trouble about theories that have identified them with the Getae or described them as Indo-Scythians from the Oxus Valley I am not sure that anyone has a clear idea of who the Scythians were. We may accept as probable Sir Denzil Ibbetson's opinion that Jats and Rajputs belong to the same racial group, and that the distinction between them is mainly one of rank This, however, must be understood of the true Jats of the Eastern and Central Punjab. The Jats of the South-West Panjab are a miscellaneous collection of Muhammadan peasants and camel owners whose racial affinities it would be a hopeless task to disentangle

The Jat is a typical son of the soil with the virtues and faults of the small farmer. Strongly built, he is hard-working and brave, democratic and individualistic, a good agriculturist and a first-rate fighting man, slow-witted and grasping. When his passions or greed are aroused he can

be very brutal. I have heard of vengeance being wreaked, not only on men, women, and children, but on the very cattle of the hated household. The Sikh Jat has an unfortunate taste for strong drink, indulgence in which is often the accompaniment, if not the cause, of violent crime, but he drinks at fairs and festivals, and I should say that anything like soaking was rare He has found an outlet for his exuberant energy in the army and the police within and without India. Failing that, he not infrequently seeks excitement in dacoity or gang robbery A band of fifteen to thirty men, armed with bludgeons, guns, and swords, swoops down on an unfortunate village, terrorises the inhabitants, and ransacks the house of some well-to-do moneylender or retired native officer The brutality shown is often extreme As soon as the loot is divided, the band disperses to dissipate the proceeds in drink and gambling

Epidemics of dacoity occur from time to time, and give much anxiety to district officers and much exciting and dangerous work to the police. This class of crime is so characteristic of the Panjabi's nature and habits, and especially of the nature and habits of Sikh Jats, that it may be worth while to say a little about the outbreak of it which occurred in 1897, and especially of the exploits and end of one celebrated leader—Sundar Singh He was, if I recollect rightly, the son of a small country squire, but birth is by no means a necessary qualification for a dacoit leader A band of dacoits is the most democratic institution with which I am acquainted I think one of the famous captains in 1897, named Jabru, who was brought to bay in the Lahore district and shot dead by a police officer, was a sweeper.

When the outbreak began in 1897 I was in charge of the Gurdaspur district. Two large bands from the Amritsar district raided some of my villages. I fortunately had at my disposal two exceptional officials—one a Jat Sikh and one a Hindu Arora of the trading class Their courage, energy, and patience, were rewarded by the capture

of practically all the members of the two bands. Sundar Singh was brought before me to have his statement recorded. Physically he was a splendid specimen, and one felt that, if he had enlisted, he might have become a distinguished native officer Soon after he managed to escape from the lock-up. He took cover in the territory of the Raja of Kapurthala, and was a danger to honest people on the other side of the Bias in Amritsar But an appropriate ending to his career of adventurous crime was not long delayed The police watching in one of the border villages heard that he was coming with his band along the canal bank. They turned the Jat Sikh peasants out to dispute the passage. One big Jat Sikh challenged Sundar Singh to single combat. They had a Homeric fight with pole-axes in the presence of spectators who no doubt enjoyed themselves greatly It was hinted to me that the honest man got some unsportsmanlike help. At any rate, our poor friend Sundar Singh was mortally wounded and carried to hospital, where he died game, refusing to give up the names of his accomplices

I may tell you the story of another fight, in which both the combatants were honest men, as illustrating the manly spirit and land-hunger of the Jats of the Central Panjab. I was giving out land for settlement on one of the new Government canals. I had allotted the main grants, and had two plots left for which three men had equal claims. One of them I gave to the oldest man The other two were very young peasant farmers—one a tall, finely-made Hindu Jat; the other a Jat Sikh, much smaller, but a broad-shouldered sturdy fellow. I told them they must wrestle for the remaining plot. The villagers formed a ring, and a long bout was followed with keen interest. Finally the Jat Sikh flung his tall opponent on his back, and leapt up into the air to proclaim his triumph. Probably that was the fairest decision I made in the course of a long Indian career. It is worth while to spend time and effort in safeguarding the interests of a manly peasantry of which

these people were ordinary specimens, and the English in the Panjab, while they have no doubt sometimes made mistakes, have consistently striven to promote their welfare.

I have spent so much time over the Jats, the most characteristic product of the Panjab, that I must dispose of the other tribes very briefly. Gujars are of the same social standing, and, like the Jats, would regard vegetable-growing as beneath their dignity That distinguished but somewhat fanciful archæologist, General Cunningham, was convinced that the Gujars were descendants of the Yuehchi who conquered the Panjab in the first centuries of the Christian era I have small doubt that Gujar is simply the Sanskrit *gochara*, or cowherd, and that the Gujars were shepherds and cattle-keepers in territories dominated by Rajputs. That is still the occupation pursued by many of them in the hill country, where they are specially numerous.

Next we have a group of peasant farmers of lower social rank—Arains, Kambohs, Sainis, Malis, and Malliars—who are sometimes described as market-gardeners Often this merely indicates that they have no objection to growing vegetables, and an Arain by no means confines his attention to *la petite* culture, and is quite as good a wheat-grower as the Jat. Collectively these people embrace 12 per cent of the landowning group.

Then we have the group which includes a large part of the Muhammadan peasantry of the north-western districts and Shahpur, the best known tribes being the Awans, Tiwánas, Janjuas, and Ghakkars. It is from them that our regiments draw the excellent fighting material usually described compendiously as Panjabi Musalmans They are often excellent horsemen, and I have known them turn out to give you an exhibition of tent-pegging on a bare country road. The Awán is numerically the principal tribe and socially ranks high His home in the Panjab is the Salt Range and the plain country to the north of it.

After Pathans they are by far the largest element in the North-West Frontier Province. The Musalman peasants of the north-western districts of the Panjab are not conspicuous examples of the domestic virtues They are strict teetotalers, and the prevalence of violent crimes among them rather discredits the idea that the Jat Sikh's predilection for similar forms of excitement is due to his love of strong drink

As a priestly caste the Brahman is held in little esteem in the plains of the Panjab except in the eastern districts, which really belong to Hindustán. Racially and linguistically the Panjab stops at the Ghagar The Brahman is usually a cultivator like any other, and in the hills not a few of them are grain-dealers and moneylenders. The Muhiál Brahmans of the north-western districts formerly furnished many good officers to the army

It remains to discuss the two non-Indian races, the Biloch and the Pathan When the North-West Province was severed from the Panjab, the Biloch tract in the south-west, with its strong tribal organization under chiefs or tumandárs was spared. The Biloches are comparatively late-comers, who speak a language closely akin to Persian. They say they are descendants of the Prophet's uncle Hamza, and that their original home was Aleppo. When they left Syria they settled in Persia, and Firdausi, in a passage of the Sháhnáma, remarks that a part of that country was black with them. They tell a naive story of their exodus from Persia. The King demanded for his zanana sixty Biloch girls, one from each section of the tribe. A mésalliance of this sort was not to be borne, so they adopted the expedient of dressing sixty boys in girl's clothes and sending them to His Majesty. Later it appears to have struck them that the deception might be discovered, and they trekked eastwards

The Biloches are a frank, manly race, free from fanaticism, and ready, as a rule, to follow their chiefs. They are, or were, very lax in religious observances. I remember a

jirga at which trans-border Khetrans and our own Biloches were present When the time for prayer arrived, the former prostrated themselves to a man, while our Biloches, with one or perhaps two exceptions, sat like statues. When one old chief sent his son, whose youth had been rather stormy, to Mecca (with, I may remark in passing, excellent results), my Biloch *munshi* pointed out the folly of a young man going on the Hajj instead of waiting till he was an old man, and could do nothing but pray in the mosque

Politically and numerically the Pathans are all-important in the North-West Frontier Province, where they account for 38 per cent of the population In addition, in the independent tribal territory included in our political boundary there is a population of a million and a half consisting of Pathans and their dependents. Cis-Indus there are a good many Pathans in the Attock district The Pathan is a democrat and often a fanatic, more under the influence of the *mullahs* than of the *maliks*, or headmen, of his tribe He has not the frank, straightforward nature of the Biloch, is relentless in pursuit of revenge, and is not free from cruelty, but he will not war on his enemy's womenfolk or children, and he is a faithful host to anyone whom he has admitted under his roof. When he has eaten the Sarkar's salt he is a very brave and dashing soldier, but when he has taken his discharge, he will cheerfully help his tribe to fight against us, and appear at the powwow, or *jirga*, assembled to arrange terms of peace with British medals on his breast.

Aroras are the traders of the South-West Panjab and of the Frontier The business of the Frontier Arora sometimes takes him into distant and dangerous places. His environment has given him grit, and our Government has obtained some of its best officials from this class. The grain-dealers and business men of the Central and North-West Punjab are Aroras and Khatris. In the north-west the Khatri is not infrequently a landowner and a good fighting man. In the east the place of the Arora and Khatri is taken by the Bania, and in Kangra by the Sud

and the Brahman. Khojas and Parachas are Muhammadan traders.

Among artisans, goldsmiths, masons, blacksmiths, and carpenters take the first rank. It is a curious fact that some of the Sunars (goldsmiths) in the Punjab are followers of the curious Muhammadan sect of the Khojas, which regards the Aga Khan of Bombay as a divine personage The untouchables, Chamars, or leather-workers, and the Chuhras, or sweepers, account for 10 per cent. of the population. Officially they are classed as Hindus; but the Chamar has to have his own special Chimarwa Brahman, with whom the ordinary Brahman could not associate, and the sweepers worship Lál Beg The sweeper who embraces Islám becomes a Musalli The Sikh Mazhbis, who are descendants of sweeper converts, have done excellent service in pioneer regiments. In his avoidance of untouchables the Hindu of the Panjab has never gone to the absurd lengths of the Madrasis, but it is rather misleading to class as Hindus large bodies of persons excluded from the greater temples and whose touch is defilement.

Seven languages are spoken in the Panjab and North-West Frontier Province, two of which, Pashtu and Bilochi, belong to the Iranian group. Of the five Indian languages Rajasthání, or the speech of Rajputana, is spoken by three-fourths of a million of people on the southern border, and Páhari by a million in the hills. Western Hindí is the mother-tongue of nearly four millions in the eastern districts between the Ghagar and the Jamna. The language of the Central Panjab is Panjábí, spoken by over fourteen million people. In the west Lahndi, though sometimes called Western Punjábí, may claim to be a distinct language with a strong non-Sanskritic or Pisácha element. It is the mother-tongue of four and a quarter millions in the Panjab and of the majority of the inhabitants of two of the five districts of the North-West Frontier Province.

The infiltration of English words into the speech of the people produces uncouth results for refined ears; but to

object to this outcome of racial contact is ridiculous in the case of Englishmen, whose own language borrowed largely, and to its great advantage, from Scandinavian and Norman French, and has enriched its vocabulary in later times from the most distant quarters. "Tren late hai, lekin singal down hogaya" is quite comforting and intelligible to the weary traveller. And I do not see why one of the most distinguished and popular of Panjab officials should resent the description "Bahut affable hai, lekin handshake nahin karta." At any rate his many friends recognize the accuracy of the picture.

You will expect me to say something of the racial affinities of the inhabitants of the Panjab I have no claim to be an expert on such questions, but I shall state the late Sir Herbert Risley's views These rest on a scientific basis, though the evidence may be insufficient to bear the whole weight of the general conclusion reached At any rate, they cannot be brushed aside like some of the wild guesses to which I have referred His theory was derived from measurements of heads and noses, and, if we had enough of these, a very careful analysis would be the best foundation on which to build—far more trustworthy than the language test, which is now admitted to be of very secondary importance Sir Herbert maintained that the inhabitants of Rajputana, nearly the whole of the Panjab plains, and a large part of Kashmir, whatever their caste or social status, belonged, with few exceptions, to a single racial type which he called Indo-Aryan The Biloches and Pathans obviously did not form part of this group, and he classed them as Turko-Iranians. The people occupying the hills in the north-east and the adjoining parts of Kashmir were of Mongol extraction, a fact which no one will dispute. Between the Ghagar and the Jamna the type was Aryo-Dravidian, as in the adjoining province of Agra.

Of the Indo-Aryan type Sir Herbert Risley wrote: "The stature is mostly tall, complexion fair, eyes dark, hair on face plentiful, head long, nose narrow and prominent,

but not specially long" He believed that the Punjab was occupied by Aryans, who came into the country from the west or north-west with their wives and children, and had no need to contract marriages with the earlier inhabitants. The Aryo-Dravidians of the United Provinces resulted from a second invasion or invasions, in which the Aryan warriors came alone and had to marry with the Dravidian women belonging to the race which forms the staple of the population of Central India and Madras. I find it difficult to believe that Aryan invaders either exterminated or expelled the previous inhabitants A conquering race has generally been able to impose its language and laws and institutions, but I doubt whether it has often been tempted, except perhaps from misguided religious zeal, to kill women and children or even the whole adult male population Slaves were very valuable chattels It seems reasonable to think that the untouchables, at least, belong to an aboriginal stock And the more race problems are studied the less importance is attached to purity of blood. Strong races like the French, the Italian, or our own, are of extremely mixed origin. Why should we suppose that the only invaders who left a deep mark on the Panjab were prehistoric Aryans? It seems hard to believe that later invaders—Sakas, Yuehchis, and White Huns—completely vanished to reappear, according to Sir Herbert's theory, as the Mahrattas of Bombay, leaving no traces of their blood in the Panjab If such traces there are, we should perhaps look for them among some of the tribes on both sides of the Salt Range, such as Gakkhars, Janjuas, Awans, Tiwanas, Ghebas, and Johdras, who are fine horsemen, not "tall, heavy men without any natural aptitude for horsemanship," as Sir Herbert described his typical Panjabi.

In the North-Western Provinces the people, with insignificant exceptions, profess Islám. The last census of the Panjab showed the proportions of the adherents of the different religions as follows

Muhammadans	51 per cent.
Hindus	36 „ „
Sikhs	12 „ „
Other (chiefly Christians)	1 „ „

The strength of the Muhammadans is in the districts west of the Bias and of the Sutlej below its junction with the Bias. In all this western region there are few Hindus apart from the shopkeepers and traders. On the other hand, the hill country in the north-east is purely Hindu, except on the borders of Tibet, where the scanty population professes Buddhism In the early centuries of the Christian era, Buddhist monasteries were scattered over the province Probably the iconoclastic raids of Mahmud of Ghazni gave the *coup de grâce* to a creed which had degenerated into a childish veneration of relics. I doubt whether, any more than Brahmanism, it was ever in a real sense the religion of the village folk. While Hinduism is the predominant faith in the south-east, quite a fourth of the people there are Musalmans Sikhs nowhere form a majority Their stronghold is the eastern part of the central plain, where they number in the five districts of Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Ferozepore, Jalandhar, and Ludhiana from 20 to 43 per cent of the population

The decrease of Hindus in the last census amounted to nearly 15 per cent Their birth-rate is lower, and their death-rate higher, than those of the Musalmans, and their losses by plague in the central and some of the south-eastern districts have been very heavy A change of sentiment on the part of the Sikh community has led many persons to record themselves as Sikhs who were formerly content to be regarded as Hindus A quarter of the Hindus are untouchables, who can only be described as Hindus by courtesy. The village Hinduism of the east of the province is very remote from Brahmanism. The peasant may know the names of the great gods of the Hindu triad, but he does not raise temples to them If there is a Shivála in the village, it has been built by a

Hindu shopkeeper. In a vague sort of way, I think, the Karnal peasant believes in a supreme being The name of Parameśvar (the supreme lord) is often on his lips, and he thinks that rain and hail, wind and storm, fulfil his word He refers the success or failure of his crops to the will of Parameśvar. But the powers he is really concerned to propitiate are the malignant godlings, whom, it is interesting to know, are mostly females, such as the goddesses of smallpox and the other pustular diseases The sainted dead, such as Guga Pir, probably originally a snake god, and Lakhdáta, or Sultán Pir, are also favourite objects of worship. The shrines of this curious pantheon are put up outside the village, and, except in the case of Guga and Lakhdáta, are generally very insignificant structures It is worth while to quote a passage from the Karnal district gazetteer which represents Denzil Ibbetson's view of the subject, and I note in passing its bearing on the ethnological problem

"It is a curious fact," he wrote, "that most of the malevolent deities are worshipped chiefly by women and by children while at their mother's apron. Moreover, the offerings made to them are taken, not by Brahmans, but by impure and probably aboriginal castes, and are of an impure nature The primeval Aryan invaders must have intermarried, probably largely with aboriginal women; and it is a question to which enquiry might profitably be directed whether these deities are not, in many cases, aboriginal deities."

Hinduism, as you see, has always been, and is to-day, a most elastic term The Census Superintendent, my friend Pandit Hari Kishn Kaul, himself a high-caste Hindu, wrote: "The definition which would cover the Hindu of the modern times is that he should be born of parents not belonging to some recognized religion other than Hinduism, marry within the same limits, believe in God, respect the cow, and cremate the dead" There is room in its ample folds for the Arya-Samajist, who rejects idol-worship and is

freeing himself from caste prejudices and marriage restrictions, and the most orthodox Sanatan-dharmist, who carries out the whole elaborate daily ritual of Brahmanism, for the ordinary Hindu shopkeeper, equally orthodox by profession, but whose ordinary religious exercises are confined to bathing in the morning, for the followers of the village religion of the eastern districts, which I have just described, and for the childish idolaters of Kulu, who carry their local godlings about to visit each other at fairs, and would see nothing absurd in locking them all up in a dungeon if rain held off too long

Notwithstanding heavy losses by plague, Sikhs have increased by 37 per cent A great access of zeal has led to many more Sikhs becoming Kesdhárís. Sajhdárís, or Múnas, who represent one-fifth of the Sikh community, were in 1901 classed as Hindus. They are followers of Bába Nának, cut their hair, and often smoke. When a man has taken the *pahal*, which is the sign of his becoming Kesdhárí, or follower of Guru Govind, he must give up the *hukka* and leave his head unshorn The future of Sikhism is with the Kesdhárí He has no love for the reformed Arya-Samaj Hindu. Theoretically, he ought to have, but religious likes and hatreds don't depend on theories

The conversion of the Western Panjab to Islám was evidently the result of missionary effort, and the great saints, like Bawa Farid, were also probably preachers of the faith. Nowadays Muhammadanism in the west has become largely the cult of dead saints and of reverence paid to the custodians of their shrines. A man's *pir*, or spiritua director, may be the guardian of some little saint s tomb in a village, or of some great shrine, such as those at Pak pattan, Multan, and Taunsa Sharif. The *pir's* holiness may be more official than personal.

In the eastern districts conversion to Islám was political, and Hindu and Muhammadan peasants live peaceably together in the same village. The Musalmans have their mosque for the worship of Allah, but were, and

are probably still, not quite sure that it is prudent wholly to neglect the gods. An influential Muhammadan Rajput, when I reproached him with the interest he displayed in a slab covered with graven images, which I found in the bed of the old *Ghaggar*, was quite unabashed, merely remarking, "Why, our fathers made them!" On the other hand, a Hindu peasant sometimes mixes up the two creeds I have known a headman belonging to a purely Hindu tribe exclaim "Allah!" with great devoutness when my horse stumbled, and, when asked why, he explained that Allah and Rabb were one, apparently taking Rabb as an orthodox Hindu name for the Deity The Musalmans of the Western Panjab have a deep-rooted dislike for the Sikhs, dating from the period of the political predominance of the latter

I fear we must conclude that so far the result of education has been to accentuate religious differences and animosities Both Sikhs and Muhammadans are gradually dropping ideas and observances retained in their daily life after they ceased to call themselves Hindus It is a natural and, from their point of view, a healthy result of enlightenment, but, unfortunately, at the present stage it means a decrease, and not a growth, of charity

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, June 16, when a paper was read by Sir James Douie, K C.S I, on "Races of the Punjab and North West Frontier Provinces Manners and Religions," Sir Duncan Colvin Baillie, K C S I, in the chair The following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present The Right Hon Lord Pentland, G C S I, G C I E, P C, H H The Thakur Sahib of Limbdi, The Chief of Ichalkaranji, Sir Arundel T Arundel, K C S I, and Lady Arundel, Sir Louis William Dane, G C I E., C S I, Sir Frederic Fryer, K C.S I, Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggree, K C I E, Sir Krishna G Gupta, K C S I, Sir Prabashankar D Pattani, K.C.I E, Sir Duncan James Macpherson, C.I E., Sir Herbert Holmwood, Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Charles Armstrong, Mr T J Bennett, C I E, M P, Mr Henry Marsh, C I E., Brigadier General H A. Iggulden, C I E, Lieut Colonel S H Godfrey, C.I E., Lieut -Colonel W H Burke, I M S, Colonel A S. Roberts, Lieut. Colonel F S. Terry, Mr W Coldstream, K I H, Mr S S. Thorburn, Mr J B Pennington, Mr Stanley Rice, Mr F H Brown, Capt H Wilberforce Bell, Mr G O Wm Dunn, Lieut. S H Kirtikar, R A F, Lieut D L Patwardhan, R A F, Mr J P B Jeejeebhoy, Mr G M. Ryan, Mr E Abbott, I C S, Mr K P Kotval, Mr K Gauba, Mr I. S Tabor, Miss H S Inman, Mr F J P Richter, Mr M Sorabji, Mr E H Tabak, Mr and Mrs James Macdonald, Mrs Jackson, Miss F R Scatcherd, Mrs Beauchamp and friend, Mr and Mrs G D Robertson, Mrs R E Candy, Mrs Llewellin, Lieut -Colonel C M Dallas, C S I, Miss Douie, Miss Duffin, Khan Bahadur Khalifa S Hamid Hussain, Mrs. Garling Drury, Mrs. E F Kinneir Tarte, Mr Q A. Rohaman, Miss Swainson, Miss E R Sykes, Mrs F Pollen, Mr T de C Arbuckle, Mr C D Kalkatni, Mrs Walsh, Mr D Keith, Mrs. White, Colonel Lowry, Major-General Count Tcherep-Spiridovitch, Mr G Shelley, Lady Kensington, Mr J W D Johnstone, Mr C V L Rao, Mr Mir Anwaruddin, Miss E. Roberts, Mrs Salwey White, Mrs. Tracey, Mr H R Cook, Miss Beck, Miss Webster, Miss Kramer, Miss Lefroy, Mr H J R Hemming, Mrs Creagh Osborne, The Rev Dr. Stanton, Miss Gaskell, Mr and Mrs Khalid Shelnath, Mrs. Wigan, Mr D B. Jayatilaka, Mr S Bahadur, Mr F H. Hamilton, Mr Charles Bartley, I C.S, Mr F C Channing, Mrs Grant Govan, Mr and Mrs N C Sen, Mrs Collis, Mr F B Patel, and Dr John Pollen, C.I E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen, my knowledge of Punjab castes and tribes is somewhat limited. It began with an intimate friend-

ship with a few Sikh families who had been settled as Government Grantees in the United Provinces. For no one whom I have met in India have I had greater admiration than I had for the head of one of these families. Later on I had a somewhat wider acquaintance with the Punjab during a cold weather spent in camp in the canal colonies. Such experience as I have had of the Punjab has been sufficient to inspire me with very great admiration for the Punjabi There is no doubt that the rigorous climate of the Punjab—rigorous in cold, rigorous in heat—and the arid though fertile soil, out of which rich crops are compelled by unceasing labour, breed a virile population The population of the Punjab would be regarded as fine in any part of the world

I do not think it necessary to dilate on the qualifications of Sir James Douie to address you on this subject. He has been a Settlement Officer, Settlement Commissioner, and Financial Commissioner in the Punjab, these appointments involving a very much closer knowledge of the people than the ordinary executive work demands No one is better qualified to speak on this subject than Sir James Douie, who left the Punjab after a full period of service, carrying with him not only the respect, but the affectionate regard of the people amongst whom he served The subject of his paper is one which at any time would be of great interest, but at the present time it is of special interest as the character and relations *inter se* of the Indian castes have a most important bearing on the reform proposals which are now before the British Parliament.

(The paper was then read)

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen, we must all acknowledge our debt to Sir James Douie for his most interesting and instructive paper The only remark I have to make by way of criticism refers to the ethnological theory which he has to some extent adopted It seems to me that a purely topographical definition of the extent of the Aryan blood in India must be misleading, and I think an examination of the statistics on which that theory is based confirms my impression Statistics based on average measurements of groups so little homogeneous as the so-called Rajput or Chatri or the Baniya castes combine figures which vary widely, and represent not a type but an arithmetical average drawn from varying types Even among Brahmins, who probably more than any other caste have maintained their separate identity, there have been included various groups of outsiders The only way in which statistics of ethnological measurements can, in my opinion, give an indication of Aryan descent is by following up much more closely the homogeneous subdivisions of the various so-called castes.

Sir LOUIS DANE said he did not profess to be an ethnologist, but had been interested in hearing the various theories of the ethnology of the Punjab He agreed it was extraordinarily difficult to draw a hard and fast line as to who were Aryan and who were not. On the hills bordering on Thibet, where he had been for a great many years, there were certain portions of the valley that were distinctly Buddhist, and there was no doubt whatever of their Thibetan origin Thirty years afterwards certain portions had become Rajput, and the probability was that they were of mixed

descent from Aryans and Thibetans. Sir James Doune had referred to the origin of the Baluchis and the Pathans He was very glad to see that Sir James had abandoned the idea that a tribe necessarily belonged to the race to which its language belonged. They all knew quite well that many nations had had to adopt a language which was not their language of origin, it was the language of the country in which they had happened to be when it was conquered by somebody else As time went on they were more disposed to believe in the authenticity of the old myths and stories than was formerly the case. A good many of them would remember being told that there had never been such a thing as the War of Troy or the Minoan civilization, but now it had been conclusively proved that there had been such historical phases The late Ameer of Afghanistan had impressed upon him that the Pathans, or the Afghans, were the Lost Tribes He said they had migrated from the south-west. If one looked at the features of a great many of the Pathans it was hard to believe that they were not Semitic. The same thing was true as regards the Baluchis. They had heard that the Baluchis came from Syria. He thought this was exceedingly probable, though at what period they migrated was not known No doubt in the course of their trek they incorporated a great many of the indigenous people that they turned out. It was ridiculous to suppose that any nation entering a country would necessarily exterminate all the inhabitants, they were far too valuable as workers for that to be done. The Jews were directed to exterminate certain clans, but they did not succeed in exterminating even the particular clans which they were directed to exterminate. In his opinion, when the invasions of India came from the north west, the strongest infusion of the invading races had been left in the Punjab, and it gradually weakened as it extended to the east and the south That was the reason why more people of the Aryan type were found in the Punjab than to the east and south. He was very glad to see from the latest Indian papers that all the races of the Punjab had presented addresses to his eminent and courageous successor, Sir M O'Dwyer, in which they practically said "We have some grievances against you, but when it comes to invasion from Afghanistan the matter is different, our quarrels are those of our own household, and the Government may rely upon all of us to stand out in defence of the Punjab against any invader from the north west" The part which the Punjab had played in the war was known to them all, more than three-quarters of the total number of recruits had been obtained from that province, and even a larger proportion of the recruits for the labour battalions He hoped that a great many of those who had been demobilized would return to the colours, and do what their leaders said was their duty—fight on behalf of the Indian Government against any invader, and so remove the memory of the recent unfortunate disturbances, in which happily the peasants—some 85 per cent. of the population—did not take much part In conclusion, he desired to express his deep regret at the death of their very loyal and trusted ally, His Majesty Habibullah Khan, the late Ameer of Afghanistan. He had the honour of negotiating with the late Ameer the

treaty of March 21, 1905, which the Ameer had so loyally observed up to the time when he was murdered Throughout the war the position of the Ameer had been a most extraordinarily difficult one. He had been repeatedly urged by all the fanatical elements in Afghanistan to throw in his lot with the Turks and the Germans and invade the Punjab The prospect that had been held out to him was a most brilliant one. Early in 1915 the British had only two regular divisions in the Punjab, and a few scattered brigades and 33,000 Indian Defence Volunteers in the rest of India. It used to be common at one time to smile at the Volunteers, but the war had proved their worth and value, and as an old Punjab Volunteer he rejoiced at the honour in which they were now held If the British had not carried the war into Mesopotamia he did not believe that the Ameer could possibly have stood against the pressure that had been brought to bear upon him to join the Germans and the Turks, who could easily have reached Afghanistan through Persia. But for the courageous will and loyal attitude of the Ameer India might have been invaded from the north by an army of 500,000 men, against which the Indian Government at first would have been able to place only a few regular divisions and 33,000 volunteers In these circumstances he felt bound to take the opportunity, when speaking of the races of the Punjab and the North-West Frontier, to refer to the eminent services of that distinguished and deeply regretted Pathan, who had stood by his engagements and had saved the Empire from tremendous loss in money and lives (Hear, hear)

Sir Frederic Fryer said his connection with the Punjab was somewhat limited, because, although he originally served in the Punjab, he had spent a great part of his career in Burma As far as his recollection went, what had been told them by Sir James Douie with reference to the races of the Punjab and the North-West Province was entirely accurate During his term of service in the Punjab he had spent a considerable time on the frontier, and was, therefore, familiar with the Baluchis and the Pathans, particularly with the Baluchis The Baluchis were distinct from the Pathans In those days the Baluchis and the Pathans were always at war with one another When the Punjabis went to Burma, as a great many of them had done, to enlist in the military police, they had forgotten a great deal of their religious differences, and it was common for Muhammadans, Sikhs, and Hindus to marry Burmese women, and when they left the army or the military police, many of them settled in Burma He did not know what their descendants would be, whether they would be Burmans, Muhammadans, Sikhs, or Hindus, but he knew that they had settled down comfortably in Burma, and were able to make a very good living there. He thought it was a desirable thing that they should settle in that country The remarks of Sir James in reference to the spirit that the Punjabis were showing were very gratifying. (Applause.)

Mr Coldstream said he wished to bear testimony to the accuracy of the description given by Sir James Douie. The Punjab was a country rich in ethnological problems. He did not suppose there was any part

of India, perhaps even of the world, so rich in that respect. The races known as Sudh, Girth, Kunet, were each a considerable study And the province contained many virile and martial stocks For instance, in the Western Punjab the town of Tiwana and in the east the town of Kala'naur each sent a large number of their young men into the cavalry regiments

In proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman and the lecturer, the CHIEF OF ICHALKARANJI said that the Chairman said that he did not know much about the Punjab, but as he had lived on the borders of that province for many years he seemed to have a good knowledge of the country, and they are all really very thankful to him for his able conduct in the chair this afternoon As regards the learned lecturer, he was quite a master of his subject, and as we attentively listened to his able paper we were convinced that the statements and the very valuable information given therein were reliable and convincing. The speaker further remarked that as the Aryans had made their home and chanted their inspired hymns of the Vedas on the banks of the sacred rivers of the Punjab, all people of Aryan descent in India can well call themselves Punjabis Referring to the theories about the untouchable class, the Chief differed from what fell from the learned lecturer, and was inclined to support the idea that many clans of the depressed class were of pure or mixed Aryan descent. He referred to the Puranas, wherein, in describing the descent of kings and Rishes, it is stated that certain of their offspring became Chandals, one brother became a Brahmin, another a Kshatriya, and yet another, having fallen, became an outcaste or a Chandal Manu and other lawgivers also state mixed marriages as the origin of the untouchable classes Looking in this way to the status of the untouchables would materially help to the satisfactory and speedy solution of the depressed class problem In conclusion, he asked the audience to pass the vote of thanks with acclamation

MR N C SEN, in seconding the resolution, said he thought there was much ignorance which prevails on the subject of the "Races of the Punjab," and a deeper study should be made of it. They had learnt much from the interesting and illuminating lecture that evening He would like to point out how often Englishmen mentioned in connection with the war names of the Sikhs and Gurkhas as being the finest fighters, when there were many others, not only in the Punjab, but elsewhere in India.

Dr POLLEN, in supporting the vote of thanks to the Lecturer and Chairman, said they were deeply indebted to both The Chairman had at once responded to his request to preside at the meeting, and he had brought to bear upon the paper a unique knowledge of the province over which he had ruled, and he had been able to throw a great deal of light upon the races so closely connected with the adjoining province of the Punjab.

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously

The Chairman and the Lecturer having thanked the meeting, the proceedings terminated.

THE FUTURE OF INDIAN WOMEN

By Mrs N C Sen

I have been asked to speak on the future of Indian women. I don't pretend to be a prophet or rather a prophetess, nor an authority on this subject either But I find this Indian women question is very interesting to the English public, so I have often spoken on it in my humble way, and others have spoken too on it I think the reason of the eagerness to know about us on the part of the English public is because we Indian women are not quite familiar figures to them yet, they still have some doubt about us, that is why we are asked now and again to render an account of ourselves, and justify our claim and existence to the world. Many of your missionaries and some other sojourners from this country have sometimes tried to depict our pictures, but invariably have failed to do so correctly Perhaps without meaning any harm, perhaps with the best of intentions towards us, for which we must feel grateful Now I must tell you that we Indians have benefited a great deal by the missionaries, they have felt for us, worked for us, and, perhaps, some of them, have died for us, but with due respect and gratitude for all their well-meaning efforts I must say, speaking in general terms, they have failed to enter into our hearts, because they have looked down upon our religions and civilization, they have not troubled to study them, they do not think anything can be worth existing beside Christianity and Western civilization. They have pitied us in ignorance, and no self-respecting nation with a great past such as we have had likes to be pitied

So much for the missionaries, and some of the well-meaning Western people who go out to work for and amongst us without taking any trouble to know us. Now

before I deal with our future, I think I ought to tell you something of our own and our country's past, and also of the present.

The Indian nation, or rather the majority of the races of which the Indian nation is composed, is very ancient, and was once highly civilized. Perhaps to most of you here it is no news, as most of you know India quite intimately Our ancient literature stands as a living proof Our civilization began as long ago as something like 5,000 years, as you all know If India was not situated in the unfortunate East, if her climate was not tropical, if the sons of her soil possessed fairer complexions, if the blazing sun did not scorch them, we should have been understood far better by the West, although I think it ought to be easy for the people of this country to understand us, and it ought to be easy for us to understand them, as we both come from the same Aryan stock But I find it is difficult for the West to understand any people of another religion than Christianity, as I have said before when mentioning the missionaries Missionaries are sent out after all by the benevolent people of this country to save our souls from eternal condemnation But while I am of opinion that they could apply their money to greater advantage to many of their needy country men and women, I must take this opportunity of thanking them for being the instruments to encourage education (it was the missionaries who sowed the first seeds of western education in India, for which we can never be too grateful), and to give relief in times of famine and when epidemics break out—in our country we have yet to learn much from your workers in the cause of humanity The majority of our educated and well-to-do people have not done their duty very much by their poorer and ignorant classes in the past, or rather last 150 years, if they had done so there would not be room for outsiders to come and work there. But now we all realize our responsibility to our country. In many things you and we can join hands and both derive benefit, but we must no longer sit idle and dream of a

bright future—we must work for it and make our future worthy of our past. But, whether the West would recognize it or not, we *had* a great past, we had kings who were personified justice, kindness, and love itself to their subjects, like King Ramchandra, King Harist Chandra, King Yudhistenra, King Asoka, etc I daresay you all here know the wonderful stories about them We had high moral standards for every phase of life, both domestic and public Any or every means were not fair, even in love or war, in those days. Conscience was not blunted, and hearts were not cold. Women were not debarred from pursuing culture and taking part in the work of the world

I am going to quote you from a poem by a woman poet of medieval India. I am sorry I cannot give her name, but you may find it in the book called "Nationalism," by Rabindra Nath Tagore (the English translation which I give you was rendered by him) You will see through these verses that life in its thousand aspects was realized as one whole and grand phenomenon by our cultured women of the past, they were as deep thinkers as any of your modern philosophers

"I salute the Life which is like a sprouting seed,
With its one arm upraised in the air, and the other down in the earth,
The Life which is one in its outer form and its inner sap,
The Life that ever appears, yet ever eludes,
The Life that comes I salute, and the Life that goes

"I salute the Life that is revealed and that which is hidden,
I salute the Life in suspense, standing still as a mountain,
And the Life of the surging sea of fire,
The Life that is tender like a lotus, and hard like a thunderbolt

"I salute the Life which is of the mind, with its one side in the dark and the other in the light,
I salute the Life in the house and the Life abroad in the unknown
The Life full of joy, and the Life weary with its pain,
The Life eternally moving, rocking the world into stillness,
The Life deep and silent, breaking out into roaring waves."

I will now quote you from one of our sacred scriptures a simple prayer uttered some thousands of years ago by a

woman sage, Maitrayee by name, which prayer has been introduced into our Brahmosamáj, or Indian theistic churches for our daily prayer

"Lead me, O Lord, to the Truth from all untruth,
Lead me to light from dark
Lead me to Immortality from Death,
Be revealed to me, O Thou Self Revealer,
Show me Thy blissful countenance, and keep me under Thy Eternal Protection"

This sage realized the fruitlessness of worldly treasures, she thirsted for the Eternal One, and so when her husband — great sage and philosopher, Yajnavalkya — gave up worldly pursuits and went to seek and realize Truth, she would not stop at home either

We have many instances of such renunciation of the world by great women thinkers as well as men Only about three hundred years ago Mirabai, the queen of one of the Rajput kings, left her palace and her people to become a nun and devote her life to the cause of God and humanity Her name is well known all over India, and her memory is cherished as a great treasure and with love by rich and poor alike The sacred songs composed by her have become as common property of all lovers of God and devotees in India. To renounce the world does not mean that you sever all connection with the world, you only sever the small connections, and in reality you become one with the whole world and the universe It is a glorious right, and few only can achieve it

From all this you will realize that we, the people of the East, had a standard of education (when the East was in a position to have a standard) that was marvellous in its result Thousands of years have come and gone, but the mark that old education, that old civilization, has left cannot pass away

Now by education people mean mostly a means by which one is able to read and write some Western language (English generally in the British Empire), to have a fair

knowledge of the past and present histories of the Western world (the Eastern world does not count very much); to acquire Western habits, customs, tastes, manners, and so on The West sets the standard, and the East has either to accept it and try to reach its level or sink into nonentity —for about the last 150 years it has been so. In old India philosophy, science—both spiritual and material—literature, art, music, medicine, and various other branches of knowledge were developed to a very high degree, some of them were as high as they are now in the West, and some were even more developed "Nothing is new under the sun" is a saying, and that nothing was unknown to our wise men and women of the past is our belief Even the wireless messages and aeroplanes were mentioned in some of our ancient books. Their spiritual achievements have been marvellous and have been unexcelled. The aim of education was to form the character, to build it on a firm basis, to help to develop the individuality—not to mar it. Living examples and ideals were in front of every student, and one's life's work was to bring oneself up to that ideal. Thus education in old India was a living education, it did not always depend on learning languages and grammars, although the Sanskrit (which literally means "reformed") language, the spoken and written language of old India, is one of the most perfect languages in the world, and is the root language of Aryan languages in many lands There were both a learned class and an illiterate class in ancient India, but the illiterate man was not always considered uneducated as he often received moral and practical teaching by word of mouth from the learned ones. Even now in remote villages in India one sees the peasant men and women gathering round their village *pundit*, or bard, of an evening or afternoon to hear him read some holy scriptures or recite some noble stories of the past. And they not only derive the knowledge of high ideals from all this, but their mode of living is also regulated by them. Through their ignorance they often suffer from many inconveniences and succumb to

many virulent diseases, and yet by habit and for the sake of their religion they are much cleaner than most people of that class in most parts of the world They would rather go without their daily meals than their daily ablutions, every stitch of clothing that they wear must be washed every day, every nook and corner of their little huts must be swept and scrubbed daily, every pot and pan, cup and plate, must be spotlessly clean before they can be used again If this can be said of our lower classes, the standard of life of our upper classes may well be imagined. The upper class, or the learned class, divided their lives into four periods, the first was solely devoted to learning, either in a hermitage or in one's parental home Men and women had the same education, women were on the same footing with men, and were sometimes even higher, and were not, as a rule, inferior to them in intellect As early as Vedic times we see women helping to compose laws, writing scriptures, thinking out many philosophical problems, and discovering many truths In connection with this I shall mention Maitrayee and Gargee, the names of two great women sages, but there had been scores of them Those who take any interest in this subject will do well to read some Sanscrit books, or translations of them, regarding the women of ancient India. There were women who surpassed men in astrology and mathematics, like Khana and Lilabati, there were women who fought in battle for the sake of their country and their honour, side by side with their men, and died heroic deaths rather than surrender, there were women who led armies in the field and proved themselves worthy leaders. Names of women like Durgavati, Karnavati, and Ahalyábai are to be found in Rajput and Mogul history, and also in the history of British India of early last century. There were women who went through lifelong trials and persecutions for the sake of their faith and their loved ones, as Sita, Shaibya Damayanti, Droupadi and some others did, there were women whose iron will even conquered death—those who know the story of Savitri will admit that it was so.

Sita, Savitri, Arundhati, Maitrayee, Gargee, and many such others inspired hundreds and thousands through their noble examples, and they gradually became the very flesh and blood of the whole womanhood of India. They are still so to a great extent, the high ideal of womanhood of ancient India is still alive—our old and medieval literature is full of ennobling and inspiring stories of wonderful men and women These works of literature have helped a great deal to keep those exalted characters alive in our minds. Writings like the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, Srimat Bhagavat Gita Puranas, etc, have been immortal through ages, and are imperishable

India was not rich only in noble-minded men and women, but she was materially very prosperous too, in fact, her fabulous wealth was a common byword at one time, which made her a centre of attraction time after time, and brought her many visitors from many foreign lands—foreigners that came to love India in the end, for it has been always impossible to resist her charms, foreigners that became Indianized in time. In India you will see many races and religions now, many grades and degrees of civilization and culture residing side by side. There is room for all in India's bosom as there is room for all in God's world. "Live and let live" has always been the motto of India, and that is why India has escaped death The glories of Egypt and Rome and other ancient empires belong to bygone days—only a few monuments have survived to tell their tale, but India's past is linked with her present. Through many vicissitudes she has passed, she is the better for them all and not the worse She has gathered in her bosom a rich harvest in these thousands of years, and, if she looks forward to a future worthy of her past, she is surely justified in doing so

India may be helpless to-day, but certainly not hopeless Her spiritual and material resources are not exhausted. She can still produce men like Rabindra Nath Tagore, one of the greatest living poets and sages of the world.

Mr Gopal Krishna Gokhale, the noblest statesman India ever had, who was the uncrowned king of the people of India and loved by all, high and low alike Had he only spared himself a little, and had not worked for his beloved Motherland as hard as he did, he would have been amongst us to-day, and would have steered us out of all difficulties and turmoil in India. Then we have Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose, one of the cleverest scientists of the twentieth century, and we have Lord Sinha, the pride of all India and the marvel of the present generation, if I am permitted to say so in the presence of our chairman, and scores of other noble-minded men in Hindu, Muhammadan, Parsee, and other communities in India, who have given and are giving the best that is in them for the cause of their native land And we have women too, who are "doing their bit" and carrying on the old tradition, well-known women of remarkable talents, women with high literary ability, women with admirable philanthropic activities, women with great capacity to rule and manage big states—women like Pundita Ramabai, Sarojini Naidu, Kamini Sen, Swarnokumari Ghosal—women like Her Highness the Begum Saheba of Bhopal, and late Maharani Swarnomoyee in Bengal I could name many others if I had time In Bengal alone, the place I come from, there have been, and are, numbers of women of such intellect that would do credit to any civilized country in the West We have lady novelists, scholars, editors, poets, graduates, doctors, nurses, teachers, and last, but not least, lady land-holders, who are known as better managers of their estates than the majority of men land-holders, and we have one or two lawyers too, although they are not allowed to practise in the courts, which, in my opinion, is very unfair, especially in India, where most of the high-class ladies of both Hindu and Moslem communities are still in *purdah*, and consequently are not well defended in the courts when they are faced with some law-suits.

Women all over the world have always been ready to sacrifice themselves for men—to sink their very indi-

viduality. Men have often taken advantage of it; they have often treated them as mere playthings, and sometimes as tools to serve their worldly purpose. I am extremely sorry to say all this, but who can deny my charges as not true?

I mentioned a little time back two ladies' names in connection with astronomy and mathematics. One of them —Khana, the great woman astronomer, whose wise sayings are still often quoted in many parts of India—sacrificed herself by cutting her tongue off to save her father-in-law, a well-known astronomer in the court of great King Vikramaditya, and one of the famous nine gems of that king, from the humiliation of being outshone by a woman —his own daughter-in-law—when the king sent for her, hearing of her wonderful genius, to be the tenth gem in his court Her father-in-law, Baraha Misra, was himself indebted to her once by her solving a great problem for him which he was given by the king to solve, but he repaid her by having her tongue cut out. This is but one little instance of women's self-sacrifice in India. Who does not know about the Sati system that prevailed less than a hundred years ago in many parts of India! It was not an ancient custom, and it was perhaps very barbarous, and yet it showed women's courage and self-sacrifice. Women, it seems to me, have been allowed to exist more or less just for the convenience of men all over the world, especially for the last few centuries No doubt they are often made a fuss of, especially if they are fortunate enough to have good looks, fortunes are often spent on them, but that cannot atone for the limitless injury that has been done to the growth of their mental and intellectual faculties.

A great Chinese lady of modern China advised her countrywomen once to "refuse to adorn themselves with paint and powder or trick themselves out in seductive guise, and to realize that every human being has his or her own countenance given to them by God." We women of all nationalities and countries can learn much from the

above. We have to learn yet to live our natural life, find out our true mission and be true to it, and work out our own salvation. The educated woman's scope and field of work in India are growing larger and larger every day—there are women who take a keen interest even in politics, as they did in olden time. Thirst for knowledge has made many women overcome the hardest barriers And while we have so much left on the intellectual side, the material side is not dead either India's mines are not quite empty yet of all their gold and diamonds, India's soil is still productive, although famines occur very often, but they are, I am afraid, more or less due to mismanagement Indian weavers still devise fine patterns in rich colours with their deft fingers—only they are not much encouraged now I am sorry to say—but they defy all efforts of Manchester and Birmingham to copy them Indian artisans still make things that are eagerly sought after by travellers and treasure-hunters from the outside world

And India is not devoid of heroism and bravery Like the "chips of the old block," India's fighting classes have indeed done very well, and have proved their mettle over and over again in the recent war

With all these fine materials India cannot be called poor India has no occasion to despair Indian women require less pity than women of many Western countries

Everywhere, in every country, there are good and bad, wisdom and ignorance, east end and west end, upper class and lower class, corruption, stagnation, deterioration, and also new reform India is no exception to this rule. We have there the highest spiritual conceptions, side by side with the grossest form of superstition, but, while vice may seem large, and occupy a big space, virtue is always more solid and lasting, and in reality outbalances the former

Indian women were held in high regard for their fine characters in olden time, fine characters are only a result of fine education—fine living-education, I should say Manu, the first law-maker in ancient India, gave advice to men

that "the daughters should be brought up with just as much care and education as the sons, and given in marriage to learned and refined men" He also said, "Where women were respected and honoured there dwelt prosperity and blissfulness, and God Himself dwelt there" Men in olden time not only respected and honoured women, but often took their advice, help, and guidance as well, women were co-thinkers and co-workers with their men

Even now, in most of the families of India, one sees that women have more voice in all family matters than men Men are only the bread-winners, but women are the distributors of bread Women, the mistresses of the households, generally the mothers, or grandmothers, or aunts, reign supreme with absolute power—and that absolute power is mainly composed of love, consideration and self-denial These noble virtues of the elders help the young ones to mould their characters

Our women have centuries of civilization, moral teaching and sublime ideas running in their veins, so with all the facilities of the present generation they are sure to do well, and move forward to a bright future They are not only going to reign supreme in their own households in future, but going to join their men in the outside world as in olden time The barrier is broken now, the veil is removed They are feeling the pleasure of sunshine and fresh air beating on their faces, they have heard the call of the mother earth and the blue sky, they are no longer separated from the rest of the world

A time is coming when every land and every nation will be given its due, and I feel there is something more going to happen, it seems a new light is dawning over the world, a new golden era already approaching, fast piercing through the sorrows and bitterness of the recent world-wide war, and the present unrest and turmoil in every country. God is not merciless, men in ignorance court disaster and destruction, but God in His wisdom is always healing and building anew. Many people already can see how busily

His hands are at work, how fast He is drawing His countries, the East and West, the North and South together It seems He is going to make them all contribute their best for the foundation of the coming age, and women's tender care and common sense are vitally required to help heal all wounds, and bringing humanity to new life and strength to be worthy of it It seems as if all countries had been working, more or less, for their own individual interest—each, while working, was ignoring the others, as it were—and consequently working against the others

None of us (of the East or the West) must be ungrateful, none of us must deny the truth that in the past we have been indebted to each other for many things, none of us should try to be superior to another—for whose are the East and the West? They all belong to God the Invisible, Immortal, Eternal King, and He belongs to them, to us all We deny Him, violate His divine right, when we divide His Kingdom and divide ourselves, His creatures We cut Him, as it were, into pieces and put barriers between them, and make Him smaller and smaller and lose sight of Him altogether when we find fault with the ways and religions of others, when we feel no sympathy, tolerance, and good-will towards our fellow-beings

But a time is coming when all may claim their right and come to their own, when man and woman, black, white, brown and yellow, will be given the same chance and the same opportunities all over the world, when all the barriers will crumble down, when God will brook no more denials of Him, and will reveal once more to the world as He has done many a time in the past, that *His* laws are supreme over all the others, and that *His* decree is final

The East received from Him the leadership of the human race in the early ages of the world, and it was *His* will again that the West should have a chance But it seems that He *Himself* is going to take up the leadership in future, and is going to raise and bring all His countries to one level. We shall all have to give up something, we

shall all have to meet each other half-way. Even education will have to be re-organized; it will have to bear the stamp of the East just as much as of the West in future, it must no longer ignore other civilizations outside Europe.

The remote past was a golden age for the women of India, there's no doubt about it. They were then free, and had every chance to work out their own salvation The struggle began in the Middle Ages; they, the women, became simply properties of their men, they almost lost their identity, although now and again some women, in spite of all obstacles made their personalities felt in even the dark Middle Ages.

Our position to-day is much better than it was fifty years ago, and yet we are still more or less at the mercy of our men We have the consolation, however, that we are not the only women in the world who have been suppressed and ignored by their men-folk. We are dictated to about our duties in life by men, as if they had more woman-instinct than we had, and knew what was good for us and what was not. We never attempt to dictate to them, for we know they know what is best for them—at least, they ought to know—but we are ready to advise and help them as much as we can, for our happiness is inseparable from their success in life. What we want is to have sympathy and facilities to develop our inner nature to its full capacity We have got a firm foundation in our past, we can build up on it if we are not hindered from doing so. Men and women can always help each other, can be companions, instead of being a stumbling-block to each other I know I am shocking most of our men as I say this; they say we want to be suffragettes, they say we are becoming Anglicized. But they forget: we only want our birthright; we only want to follow in the footsteps of our ancient women-leaders, and we do not despise the Western culture, because we know there is much good in it, and we are much benefited when we imbibe it, and we believe all cultures and fruits of noble thoughts are the property of the whole

world, and no progress-loving people can afford to leave out any of them, for it would be to their own detriment if they did. Our women in olden times were not married before they were full-grown women, they often chose their husbands and were equal to them in culture and education, in some communities in India they have discarded early marriage, especially the Brahmosomaj and Aryasomaj But the standard of the education for the women is not quite fixed yet Some say we ought to be given education just enough to be fit companion of our husbands What a great concession! Some say women in India ought not to have professional and higher education, and condemn those who have them already They say it makes the women undomesticated, which I think is utter nonsense Nothing to me is menial in the way of housework and attending to the comfort of my family, and I know it is not so to the majority. To most of the women in our country and also in this it is not so—even to those who are placed very high up in rank and position There may be a few exceptions, but one ought not judge by exceptions.

Some, again, argue that women are very seldom unprovided for by their men relations in our country, so there need not be any professions open to them, but provision ought not to be the only aim of a profession To be a doctor or a nurse or a teacher, lawyer, or a judge, is to be of service to one's own country and fellow-countrypeople, it is giving life a broader outlook Of course, every woman would not be required to go out into the world to earn her living, but they can all do some useful work outside their domestic sphere. They can learn to feel for their country and the world at large, feel themselves to belong to it, and, what is more, education ought to be for the sake of education first, and then for anything else. By education I mean having full chance to develop oneself—both mentally and physically.

We have had many champions of women's cause in the last eighty years, such as Raja Rammohin Roy, great

Pundit Ishwar Chandr Vidya Sagar, Brahma Naudu, Keshul Chandra Sen and others, to whose memories we, the modern Indian women, always shall be highly grateful for paving the path of advancement for us during that time, but I am sorry to say there is still much to be done before we are on the same footing with our men in the outside world as their comrades and co-workers. They themselves haven't got much footing in their country's affairs yet, but a beginning is about to be made, we rejoice in it, and want to take a share in it. Most of the educated women do feel for their land just as deeply as our men do they want to serve their mother-country, to live for her, to die for her. A small portion of our men are going to get the franchise now, some of our educated women, with the help of some leading women of this country, approached and asked the authorities to grant the franchise to our women also—at least, to some specially qualified ones. I am sorry to say our appeal has been in vain But we are not going to be disheartened, we are going to manage ourselves as best as we can to shape our destiny, which won't be unworthy of our past, I am fully confident of it We have some great supporters amongst your women They feel for us, not only because they are women, but because they have been our fellow-sufferers for centuries as well

We appreciate their good-feeling, and avail ourselves of their kind help on our onward path to realize our national life. No nation can be called perfectly civilized till its whole body is given every chance to develop. Its women-portion is just as essential as its men-portion—perhaps more so—for they have been given the divine right of motherhood of the nation. "The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world," and really makes or unmakes the nations and builds or destroys the empire The early teachings that are instilled in the baby minds take firm root invisibly, and bear fruit in later life and for generations.

We have to be worthy mothers to our sons and daughters

if we want to do our duty by our beloved country And in order to be able to do so we must be given a fair chance, and must have the co-operation and sympathy of our men, and also of the men and women of this country, as we all belong to the same empire We all must extend a sympathetic and helping hand to each other if we want to keep harmony and peace in it and wish prosperity to it.

We have to forget these misleading lines of Kipling

> "Oh East is East, and West is West,
> And never the twain shall meet
> Till earth and sky stand presently
> At God's Judgment Seat"

But did not the West meet the East when it accepted Christianity? East and West have met over and over again They are almost part and parcel of each other now They have imbibed each other's spirit, and been benefited by it. It is only the surface, the outer husk, we find fault with—like colours, habits, customs, etc Let us forget them and take a dip within We shall there see only one human nature as the fundamental basis of all Some of my greatest friends are British women We never feel any barrier between us when we open our hearts to one another We never see anything else but the true worth of one another, for we look into the souls and the spirits

If we always could look into the souls and spirits of our fellow-beings, all misunderstandings, all doubts, would gradually disappear from the face of the earth, everybody would regard everybody else as a brother or a sister soul out on the path of life to serve an eternal purpose, only some of them are already highly evolved, while the others have yet to go through many stages

But the final goal is certain for all

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held on Monday, July 21, 1919, at the "Vogue" Restaurant, 3, Victoria Street, Westminster, when a paper was read by Mrs. N C Sen on "The Future of Indian Women." The Right Hon. Lord Sinha, Under-Secretary of State for India, in the chair The following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present Sir Manchersee M Bhownaggree, K C.I E., Sir Krishna G Gupta, K C S I , Sir Abbas Ali Baig, K C.I.E., C S.I., and Lady Baig, Sir Duncan James Macpherson, C.I E., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Herbert and Lady Holmwood, Sir Daniel Hamilton, Mr T J Bennett, C.I E , M P , and Miss Bennett, Mr N C. Sen, O B E., The Hon. Sardar Khan Bahadur Rustomji Jehangir Vakil, I S.O., Mr Bhupendranath Basu, General Chamier, Commander Noel A Marshall, R N., Lieutenant S H Kirtikar, R A F , Professor D S Margoliouth, Lady Cecilia Roberts, Lady Hughes, Lady Burt, Lady Jacob, Mr W Coldstream, K -I-H , Mr J B Pennington, Mr F H Brown, Mr F Grubb, Mr P Phillipowsky, Mrs Annie Besant, Mrs Sarojini Naidu, Mrs Patrick Villiers Stuart, Mrs. Garling Drury, Mr Henry Edmonds, Syed J Iman, Thakur Shri Jessrajsinghji Seesodia, Mr W K Dutt, Mr F H Cavalier, Mr G Singh, Miss Gould, Miss Dunlop Smith, Mrs. Drake, Mrs. E. F Kinneir Tarte, Mrs Williams Ashman, Mr and Mrs. H. S Lawrence, Captain Davis, Mrs Jesson, Mr and Mrs W F Westbrook, Miss Westbrook, Mr. J Conway, Miss Cooper, Mrs Jackson, Mrs. Bhola Nath, Mr V S. Ram, Miss Blair, Mrs Hondret, Mr N N Ghosh, Mrs Dunderdale, Mr J P B Jeejeebhoy, Miss Thakur, Mr Daruwalla, Mr Umrigar, Mr Malik, Mr M S Master, Mr H R Cook, Mr Duncan Irvine, Mr F J P Richter, Mr S M. Pal, Mr M Yasin, Mr B. Field, Dr Josiah Oldfield, Mrs. Hall-Simpson, Miss R Chatterjee, Professor Bickerton, Mr J Banerji, Mr K. N Das Gupta, Mrs. Walter Gates, Mr Sagar Chand, Mr A H Chowriyappah, Mr T G F Palmer, Mrs Collis, Miss Ethel Cooper, Miss Scatcherd, Miss Dove, Mrs Arnold, Mr A Q Malik, Mr S Rau, and Mr Stanley P Rice, Joint Hon Secretary

The paper was read.

Mr RICE read out a letter from Dr. Pollen expressing regret for his absence and speaking in warm terms of the paper, with which he was in full sympathy. Mr Rice added that while he fully concurred with the lecturer on the broader lines, he took exception to the writer's attitude regarding the relative position of men and women He thought it was the other way about. The women were supreme in all matters of the household and of family life, and in a conflict of opinion the man had to give way The women might remain in the background, but their influence was, none the less, very great.

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen, as I understand it, the main thesis of this paper, apart from the position of women in ancient India,

is to draw attention to one of the burning topics of the day—namely, whether women in India should have a vote. It so happens that at the present moment I am sitting on a Committee which has imposed upon it the task of deciding that among other questions, and therefore I feel, perhaps wrongly, that I am in a somewhat embarrassing, if not difficult, position It may be that Mrs Sen has been "preaching to the converted" so far as I am concerned, but assuming that my position on this Committee partakes of a judicial character, I think I should be following the traditions of that office, if I were to invite discussion, listen to it, and then make up my mind, though not speak it on the present occasion. Therefore I propose to ask some of the distinguished ladies and gentlemen to offer their views on the many questions which are discussed in Mrs. Sen's admirable paper I think I am voicing the feelings of you all when I say that we are extremely indebted to Mrs Sen for the very able and interesting paper with which she has favoured us (Applause)

Professor BICKERTON said that for thirty years he had been teaching mixed classes of men and women, and had come to the conclusion that if either should be excluded from anything that demanded judgment it should be the men. He had been able to detect that there was a distinct difference in the character of the intellects of men and women, that while men were decidedly more pioneering, inventive, reckless, and go-ahead, women were emphatically higher in their capacity of judgment He therefore thought that no action should ever be taken by our reckless pioneers until it had first been submitted to the women (Hear, hear)

Mrs. ANNIE BESANT said she was one who believed that men and women were not identical with but complementary to each other, and that they should not be rivals in life, but comrades helping each other mutually Sometimes in dealing with questions of women's franchise, and women's public life especially, the attempt seemed rather to have been to ignore the difference between them than to emphasize it Whether they looked at the physical organization of the woman or her mental equipment, she ventured to think that a careful study of the matter would lead them to place the position of women as citizens rather on the ground of difference than of identity Men and women brought to the common life of the nation a different quality, and therefore a different kind of service. She had once heard George Bernard Shaw say that men should make the laws and women should administer them, and there was a good deal of truth in that remark The genius of man appeared to be rather in the direction of investigation, or, as Professor Bickerton had said, pioneer work, while the genius of women seemed specially to lend itself to the carrying of principles into practice Looking into the qualities to be found in both sexes, such, for instance, as courage, they would find that courage on the woman's side more often arose out of emotion than intellect, and that it was contented to express itself in the form of enduring devotion, whether to the individual or to a great cause, than in the form of voluntarily fighting on behalf of it. She believed that in woman—perhaps by reason of the fact that up to the

present time her life had not been so much engaged on public matters—they would find a grasp of the ideal more frequently than they would find it in man. She was therefore naturally the inspirer Turning to the difference which had come about during the last 150 years, which was a marked date in Indian history inasmuch as it covered the time when the British rule became predominant, they would not up to that time find much difference between the opportunities of educational advantages given to boys and girls. What had caused the severance between the men and women in their public life and comradeship in the home had been English education, which had been taken up by the men chiefly as a means of livelihood, so that the education of the women fell into the background, very much to the disadvantage of both sexes. At the present time education was open to both boys and girls, and in her opinion there would be more comradeship in the larger interests of the home than had been the case during the last century and a half, for the lack of knowledge of English had shut women out from the public life of the nation, that life being carried on in a foreign tongue instead of in the vernacular, the newspapers being generally printed in English and not in the vernacular The inevitable result had been that women had fallen into the background, had lost their natural position as the counsellors of the men, which they had enjoyed in the earlier years, and so there had grown up in India the opposite of what had happened in America In America, especially in the west, they would find the women better educated than the men. The men went out as pioneers, they went to the west comparatively young, and the women remained at home going on with their education, and so gradually they would find in the western homes the women far more cultured and more highly educated than the men. She had often asked herself what would be the result of the curious reversal in Western America of the positions of men and women, when the women were taking the lead in education, and very markedly in administrative capacity in big concerns, while the man's education being so limited his outlook on the world was narrower, as he had been more and more confined to the work of a pioneer They hoped that the Committee which the Chairman had alluded to would reverse the decision of the Southborough Committee, and would extend the franchise to Indian women (Hear, hear) They were not asking for a concession, or a privilege, but were claiming a right They were claiming the suffrage on the ground that, where other qualifications were the same, women should not be excluded on the ground of sex That was the form in which both the Bombay and the Delhi Congresses had passed a resolution in favour of women's suffrage In the Southborough Report it had been pointed out that very little argument had been brought against it, only it was felt that the time was not ripe for it. The Indian women had sent a deputation to the Viceroy and Mr Montagu, and had put before them their claim for the suffrage, and when Mr Montagu had said laughingly to a member of the deputation "But your own men will not desire to give it to you," the answer had been "We will challenge the decision of the Congress." The result was that the

decision of the Congress had been challenged, and it had now been given in favour of the women The women had spoken there quite as well as the men, and had pleaded their cause most admirably With regard to certain abuses in Indian public life, women had been lately taking a very active part in trying to get rid of them. For instance, in the case of indentured labour, while men had been struggling against it for many years women had come forward, and after many public meetings had formed a deputation to the Viceroy That was the first time the Viceroy had ever been faced by a deputation of Indian women, and he had made the promise that indentured labour should be abolished It was the women of India who had obtained the protection that the men had been unable to gain They were now taking a very active part and interest in public life Only the other day she had received a cable from the wife of one of the wealthiest merchants of Bombay, saying that they had held a public meeting and they thought it most unjust to bar them from the franchise They were exercising in Bombay the municipal franchise, and also some other franchises there, and they saw no reason why they should be shut out from the higher franchise There were women lecturers, women doctors, and highly educated women in India, and there was no reason why the franchise should be extended to men unless it was also extended to women If it were, then India would go forward with both sexes working in her public life, whereas if it were denied to women it would be difficult to bring in a special Bill for the enfranchisement of women, instead of making it part of the law with regard to franchise in the country as a whole. She had sent the Bombay resolution to the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for India, and many Members of Parliament, in the hope that if the Joint Committee did not recommend women's franchise then they would try to get the Draft Bill discussed and amended in both Houses of Parliament (Applause.)

Mrs Sarojini Naidu said that the thanks of the meeting were due to Mrs Sen for her beautiful and eloquent paper With regard to what had been said about ancient India, while other countries and civilizations had come down to them in fragments which had been discovered, and things in museums, in paintings, and in books, the Indian tradition lived to-day as fresh and invincible as it had been in the days of her glory The children of India were spiritually and physically the true descendants of those who said "Where women are honoured the gods give their blessing" (Hear, hear) Mrs. Besant had referred to the comradeship between men and women The indissoluble comradeship of men and women was required to make the perfect citizen and the perfect type of civilization of a nation. They should not be as rivals, but as complements to each other The Indian women asked for a place in the regeneration of their country They were asking for nothing revolutionary, new, or startling. She was surprised that they should be so conservative in the twentieth century as to ask for nothing more than had belonged to them in the immemorial past. When speaking at a meeting of the International Workers recently she had put this idea forward, and had been told that she

was a Bolshevik and a revolutionary, but they were asking for what they had had in the past, and nothing new, so that step by step with their men they might march on towards the to-morrow of civilization. (Applause)

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen, I do not desire to trouble you with many observations, especially for the reason I have already mentioned, but I should like to say, so far as Mrs Sen's paper is concerned, that I think she was rather hard on the men of her own country when she remarked that she thought she would be shocking most of the men in her country when she said that they only wanted facilities for themselves to develop in India to their full capacity I do not think, speaking for myself and all my countrymen present here, that there is one among us who would venture to deny to our women the right to develop themselves in the best manner possible. It would indeed be an evil day for India if that were the feeling that permeated our men in general I entirely agree with Mrs. Sen that nothing could be more insolent than the idea that women are to be educated merely that they may be fit companions for husbands and brothers Nothing, I think, can be more insolent than that idea, either in India or in any other country The idea we have in India, and I am sure it is the idea that prevails in England also, is if women are to have education, as men are to have it, it is for the purpose and with the intention that they may realize their own selves, and that they may develop to the best of their capacities. I think Mrs Sen has done a very great service to India, and also to England, in drawing attention to the glorious past and glorious traditions of our country, but I think she has done an injustice to a very eminent body of men to whom she has acknowledged the obligations of India, but also suggested that they are not able to understand India—namely, the missionaries, both men and women. I take an entirely different view from her with regard to that body of men There have been many women missionaries, and there are now, and particularly medical missionaries, to whom we owe an immense debt, for which we cannot be too grateful. (Hear, hear) I have a great many friends among them, and I know, so far from its being the case that they are unable to understand us, or that they look upon us with pity, or scorn, or contempt, I do not know of any body of Englishmen in India who look upon Indian philosophy, literature, and character, with greater regard and greater respect I am entirely in agreement with Mrs. Sen on the point that there is no case whatsoever for saying that education such as befits a woman should in any way prevent her from being what she has always been in India, the model of grace and the ideal of domesticity Mrs. Sen is an illustration of that, and although she has been trying in the last few years to imbibe the best that there is in English literature, art, and philosophy, never for a moment has she permitted herself to neglect her husband, her home, or her children.

There is one other matter with regard to which I feel I ought to say a word. Mrs. Besant, who has so identified herself with the cause of India in general, and the cause of Indian women in particular, has told us

to-day that it is since the last 150 years only that the difference that exists in the matter of education between boys and girls has made a sort of gulf between them so as to prevent our women from being as much companions as they were before those 150 years. I wonder if that is historically true? I doubt it myself I do not think more than 150 years ago, before the advent of British rule in India, our women received the same kind of education as our men did, in fact I should think, whatever might have been the case at the very earliest times in the Hindu period, and possibly in the Vedic periods, during the last 600 years before British rule, India passed through such a time, there was always imminent peril that as regards women their education receded into the background, and probably for that reason—viz, the constant state of struggle and warfare that we had to pass through—I cannot honestly think that English education has made the difference which Mrs Besant seems to think it has. On the contrary, it is my firm belief that it is owing to English education that we are coming back to our old ideals with regard to the education of women We have taken our ideas of liberty, justice, and independence, from our reading of English history and literature, with regard to our politics, I am one of those who think we have done that, and that we have imbibed the same ideals If our ideas of women's education receded into the background by reason of the troublous times through which we passed, we have taken up those ideals again in consequence of our association with the British and on the lines we have learned from them Also I doubt, with all respect to Mrs Besant, whether it is the want of knowledge of English that has shut out our women I think that it is what I consider the evil custom of seclusion behind the Purdah that has kept our women from taking the part that I hope sometime or other they will take Even the South borough Committee has held out the hope that after ten years women will have votes However that may be, I think as practical men and women it is our duty to recognize that this system of seclusion, this system of keeping women behind the Purdah, has been responsible for their intellectual lowering I was reading the other day a beautiful tribute by His Highness the Aga Khan to Indian women, and he insists with great force that if we are to act in the way we desire to do, so far as the political life of India is concerned, we must change our ideas with regard to our women altogether (Hear, hear) That our girls should receive education not only by books, but also by means of physical drill, and so forth, as we are insisting upon for our boys, that our women must be enabled to have, as they are entitled to have, better development in the same way for their minds and their bodies, and that is impossible unless we set them free by taking down the veil that keeps them from the outer world. Those are things that we must not forget, and although it is always good to be reminded of the ancient glories and traditions of India, we cannot afford to ignore what exists in the present. (Applause.)

A vote of thanks to the Chairman and Lecturer having been proposed and carried unanimously, the proceedings terminated

A SUPREME COURT IN INDIA.—I.

INDIA'S Supreme Court is at present located in London It is the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, a Board on which sit some Judges with experience of India or some knowledge of her history and traditions But valuable as the Privy Council's services to India have been, the increasing volume of litigation in India, the ever-increasing number of Judges, and the multiplication of conflicting rulings which inevitably ensues when many Judges and several courts exercise concurrent jurisdiction, are all factors indicating that India's Supreme Court should be located *in* India, and not in London, and that its members should possess, if not actual experience of India, at least a special knowledge of Eastern laws, religions, and ideals. "Great consternation," said Dr T W Arnold, C I E., in his Rhodes Lecture (1918-19) on Religious Endowments in India, "was excited among the land-owning classes in Muhammadan India when the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in 1904, under the impression that it was interpreting Muhammadan Law, declared that under that law a perpetual family settlement, though expressly made as *waqf*, is not legal and valid merely because there is an ultimate gift to the poor" Act VI of 1913 had to be passed to reaffirm this right of keeping family estates intact.

If anyone interested in the civil administration of India doubts whether it is expedient to standardize speedily the decisions of the High Courts of India, and to base its case-law upon accurate and scholarly knowledge of things Indian, instead of building upon such scraps of information as the litigants can bring into court as evidence, he might

do worse than read some of Mr. Sripati Roy's "Customs and Customary Law in British India."* Custom plays a considerable part in India, and the so-called "customary law" is responsible for much of the litigation in the Punjab —that most litigious province of the most litigious country in the world. Mr Roy is not responsible for his matter which is taken, often verbatim, from the published decisions of the High Courts. Let us briefly examine their attitude towards illegal and immoral customs

Marriage as a social institution is peculiarly under the protection of caste authorities—where they exist But in Bombay an oilman's wife married again during the lifetime of her husband, who was a leper, and, in spite of the fact that her caste had consented to the remarriage, was convicted of bigamy.† Now a good many castes recognize divorce by mutual consent, and in a case very similar to that cited, Couch, C.J., very properly held that a criminal charge could not be sustained where it was *bonâ fide* believed by the accused that the woman was at liberty to remarry ‡ Where caste rules allow a woman to contract a second marriage during her first husband's lifetime on reimbursing him her original cost price, the courts have held the second marriage invalid and even criminal, § or as not only non-criminal, but valid ‖ In the Punjab a Jat woman who has been deserted or "set aside" (? put away) by her husband is at liberty to remarry,¶ but generally speaking the first marriage must, it would seem, be validly set aside,** presumably by a decree for divorce But it is almost impossible to say what customs in regard to divorce the High Courts regard as immoral *per se*, or as illegal in the sense that they are opposed to the spirit of Hindu or some other

* Tagore Law Lectures, 1908 Calcutta, 1911

† I. Bombay, 347 (1876)

‡ Mano-har Rauji, 5 Bom H. C R C. C., 17 (1868).

§ 2 Bom. H. C R., 124 (1864)

‖ 17 Mad., 479 (1894).

¶ Punjab Record, 998 of 1871

** 36 P. R., 1881 72 P R, 1872

system of law. Further, in spite of the Act (XV) passed in 1856 to validate widow remarriage, without regard to caste restrictions upon it, such unions continue to be judicially condemned and their issue bastardized.* It may be justifiable to describe customs of legitimatization as "very peculiar," though that process is recognized in the Canon Law and in Scots Law,† and although Hindu Law *never* appears to recognize such a thing as *absolute* bastardy It does not make illegitimacy an absolute disqualification for caste, and it recognizes a bastard's relations to his father and family.‡ Legitimacy, like marriage, is in India a question of degree. This truth appears clearly in Mr. Roy's chapter on "Family Customs" But both that chapter and the one on Impartibility show that the courts have very seldom recognized the sources of the so-called family customs. Nearly every family cited will be found to be either a "ruling family" or a family which once exercised some degree of political power. For "reasons of state" such families had to make the *rāj* or estate impartible and acquiesce in primogeniture and other departures from "natural" equity and normal rules of succession And as a consequence of this failure to interpret customs by their causes we find the Courts offering but a very faint resistance to the lawyers' constant efforts to secure recognition of the principle that descent of property may be regulated by custom in a petty family, just as much as in a ruling family Mr. Roy says that "it [the contrary] is an undisputed fact and also stands to reason," but the leading cases have led him astray. *Ex nihilo nihil fit* is as true of custom as of matter, and without a cause no abnormal usage of succession could arise. In a non-ruling family, or in one which had never exercised sovereign power in any degree, any

* 2 P. R., 1872; 22 P. R., 1873, 113 P. R., 1885, 57 P. R., 1893, but 48 P R., 1890 *contra*.

† For instances in India see Mr Roy's work, pp. 119 and 357 It also occurs in the Punjab.

‡ Mr Roy cites a number of rulings on p. 121.

allegation of a "family custom" ought to be viewed with suspicion unless its origin can be accounted for So, too, in the main, both marriage and legitimacy are questions of degree, because, while caste rules inculcate ideal alliances with wives of equal status, they tolerate unions with women of lower degrees, and grade the offspring according to their mothers' standing in the caste system

Having dealt with the judicial attitudes to customs in marriage and kindred matters, we may turn to religious institutions—and herein find much food for reflection

The religions of India are organized on much the same lines as those in other parts of the civilized world. The main creeds are few, but they are divided into countless sects and subsects. In addition every religion establishes Orders, which are subdivided into schools or suborders. These establish institutions, monasteries and the like, which are as entirely distinct from and independent of the temples for popular worship as a Benedictine convent would be from a Cathedral The conditions are remarkably like those in Europe, though there is less sharpness of definition Religion is to be just as sharply distinguished from caste as in Europe it is distinct from race or class If we read in an English author that no material difference in regard to testaments existed in the Maclean, Campbell, and Grant "sects," of the Presbyterian Dissenters, we should say he was talking nonsense We should not feel much confidence in a serious writer who talked about the Cockney "sect" of the clergy if he meant incumbents holding livings in or near London * It would not be necessary for counsel in an English court to argue that "Devonian and Plymouth Brother are not synonymous terms—merely some Devon families belong to that persuasion."† If we heard a foreigner talking of the Wesleyan "tribe" we should have to tax our politeness to repress a

* See for exact parallels pp. 142 and 143 of Mr Roy's work, citing rulings of 1899 and 1894.

† *Cf* 17 Calc., 518 (1889), cited on p. 138 *ib*

smile, yet the courts do not seem to perceive anything incongruous in confusing "order" with "sect" and "tribe"

Occasionally we find that the judicial investigator has lighted on a clue which if it had been followed up would have led to great discoveries But a Judge is fatally handicapped in investigation work, and so it is all the more credit to the judiciary that some features of Indian religious institutions have been detected "There seem," says Mr Roy, quoting an old ruling, "to be three descriptions of *matts* (monasteries) in Cuttack"—viz., hereditary, collegial, and patronal.* Incidentally this is much as if we were to say "In mediæval days London had three kinds of monasteries—(1) in which the abbot was designated by his predecessor, (2) in which the college or convocation of monks elected him, and (3) in which the King had insisted on appointing the prior himself, without asking the monks to make even a presentment of their choice" Using the comparative method in this wise, we are at once led to surmise that this classification is not confined to Cuttack. The writer has himself acted as a *hākim* in the case of vacancies in *temple* establishments, but not, as far as he can recollect, in monastic institutions, in the Punjab The *panchāyat* frequently claims a right of election or a least of presentation, especially in the case of Orders, like the Udasi, who are Sikh dissenters by religion It is the Brahmanical institutions which uphold the principles of heredity and authority Like an early Pope, they claim the right of every prior to designate his successor, or if they admit matrimony to be permissible to their members, transmit authority by natural, instead of spiritual, descent

* So we may translate (1) *maurusi*, in which the office of *mahant* was "hereditary" (*sic*) and devolved upon the chief disciple of the existing *mahant*, who, moreover, usually nominated him as his successor, (2) *panchāyati*, in which the *mahant* was selected by an assembly of *mahants*—apparently of other monasteries—not by the college of monks in that monastery or by the congregation which frequented it; and (3) *hākimi*, in which the appointment of presiding *mahant* was vested in the ruling power or in the person who had endowed the temple (Roy, pp. 240-241)

like an hereditary archbishop One conjectures, then, that in Cuttack and elsewhere the class of the monastery was not a matter of chance, but depended on the Order to which it belonged. In other words, while the orthodox Hindu Orders (Jogis, Gosains, and the like) uphold the principle of spiritual heredity and priestly authority, so that the head of an institution is either nominated by his "adoptor" or spiritual father * or selected by his fellow monks, the dissenters, such as the democratic Sikhs, vest the right of election in the laity rather than in the convocation of the professed devotees

Religious institutions in India have in brief never been studied in the light of comparisons with those of Europe, especially those founded by the Roman Catholic Orders.† No doubt this would be of little consequence if they had been scientifically investigated independently of all analogies, but remarkably little has been done in this field of research. It results that astonishing decisions are cited by Mr Roy. In one case a Brahmacharya's nephew made good his claim to a religious endowment "on no less than twelve solid reasons," the principal being apparently that his uncle had belonged to the same tribe and country as himself, and had intended him to succeed, in preference to his spiritual son or disciple *—a candid judicial recognition of nepotism !

* This nomination may, however, require ratification by (1) the abbots of other monasteries of the Order, (2) by the monks of the institution, *or* (3) by the devotees of the Order (see the cases cited by Mr Roy on pp. 232, 234, 257, and 271 of his work) Unfortunately the reports often omit to specify the name of the Order in question, though each Order is undoubtedly governed by pretty definite principles, which could be readily ascertained if the right steps were taken to ascertain them. Thus, as Dr T W Arnold, C I E., has pointed out, the Order founded by Shankaracharya devotes less time to idol worship than to contemplation

† Obviously the parallels are never exact and must not be pushed too far To begin with, the method of electing or appointing the head of a Roman Catholic monastery is usually prescribed in the statutes of the Order to which it belongs. One of the difficulties in India is that the Orders as a rule seem to have no written statutes. Their customs, however, are certainly not arbitrary, but are in harmony with the teaching of the founder in each Order

The principles on which cases have been decided are, however, often so utterly irreconcilable that occasionally justice is done. Thus it was held in the old North-Western Provinces that land bestowed by a landowner in perpetuity on a Gosain did not revert to the donor on the donee's death without legal heirs, but escheated to Government † In several other cases, however, it has been held that the management of an endowment reverts to the founder's heirs on failure of the trustee to provide for a successor ‡ In a Bombay case a disciple, relying on his discipleship and recognition by the *dasnāme*, failed to make good his claim to succeed to his preceptor's institution, his adoption having apparently failed to nominate any successor,§ yet in the United Provinces we are expressly told that on such failure the disciple of a *sannāsi* is elected and installed by the *mahants* and principal persons of the sect (? Order) in the neighbourhood "‖ And in Steel's *Hindu Law and Customs* it is explained that the Gosains are *sannāsis* and that the *dasnāme* are an assembly which should consist of all the disciples of the ten founders from whom they take their name.¶ So that no possible doubt could exist as to the powers of the *dasnāme* in the Order of the Gosain *sannāsis*.

But in too many cases the decisions are astonishing We read that "the Swamis were not mere employees or subordinates in the institutions, but heads thereof, whose *duty* it was to promote learning and further the interests of religion—such heads, moreover, as ascetics, not prone to be affected by motives incident to worldly life, requiring *less* restraint in dealing with property than ordinary men"—and so having a full power of disposition after defraying the

* *Sheoram Brahmachara* v *Subzookh Brahmachara*, 3 S D Sel. Rep., 477 (1824), cited by Mr Roy, p. 246.

† 2 N. W P Decis. Sel. Rep., 235 (1855).

‡ Cases cited by Mr. Roy on p. 238.

§ 11 Bom., 514 (1887) · Roy, p. 272

‖ Cases cited by Mr Roy on p. 272.

¶ Quoted by Mr Roy on p. 249

established charges of the institutions * How those who fail in this duty are to be made to fulfil it or called to account does not appear. After this one is not surprised to read that the Lingāyats, a sect recruited, we believe, from every caste, have been judicially declared Sudras by status,† which is tantamount to saying that Congregationalists belong to the submerged tenth because they do not belong to the Anglican Church.

Lastly we read in Mr Roy's pages of a great number of "judicially recognized" customs which appear most capricious and yet would seem quite capable of rational explanation If the student of religious custom, for example, will take the trouble to read a little about the administration of Religious Orders in the West, and then read Mr Roy's chapter (VI) on Religious Endowments, he will hardly fail to suspect that many departures from the norm in custom are quite explicable. When we find spiritual succession the rule, but occasional instances of natural succession, we may surmise that the real cause of this departure from the original and apparently universal rule was that several of the Orders became militant—or threw off military sub-orders—and so abandoned the rule of celibacy for their militant members or branches. It is not convincing, to say the least of it, to be told that Gosains and Sannīāsis wandered from the true path of asceticism and took to matrimony without any sort of pretext Sir Denzil Ibbetson long ago noted that Bairagis may marry and have children, so that a caste is formed of their descendants,‡ whereas the stricter Bairagis remain celibate and "adopt" disciples These disciples inherit. But in practice Bairagis make the best of both worlds by marrying—in which case their sons *legitimi et naturales* inherit their

* Subrahmanna, J., in 27 Mad., 435 (p 439), 1904 (Roy, p. 230).

† 3 Bom., 273 (1879)

‡ *Bindī* children are heirs of the body, *nadī* those of the spirit. This is the state of affairs in Karnal, a district on the Jumna. It is very unlikely that it is confined to that tract. In his lecture already cited, Dr. Arnold pointed out that of the four Vaishnava Orders only two—the Rāmanandis and those of Kabir—"affiliate lay members."

secular property—and by also adopting a disciple who is heir to any property inherited by his adopter from *his* adopter Complicated as all this is to Western minds, it is entirely in accord with the old doctrine of Hinduism which made every man at one stage a householder and in the last a recluse (*sannyāsi*)

The existing Provinces of India are artificial units, constituted for administrative purposes, without regard to ethnical or religious considerations. Each has its High Court and to some extent its own statutes. No other system is administratively conceivable, but in practice each Province tends to evolve its own body of case-law which is very imperfectly standardized by the comity of the High Courts and the Privy Council. The results are often bizarre. The Jumna runs through an alluvial plain occupied by Jat and Rajput tribes closely akin, yet on one side of it lies the Punjab, on the other the United Provinces, each with its own body of tribal case-law, and each engaged in building up its own system regardless of the work done in the sister Province As far as the present writer is aware, United Province rulings are never referred to in the Punjab courts when a question of custom is involved, though some of the tribes hold lands on both sides of the Jumna. Ethnologically the two Provinces are not divided by the river or by any administrative boundary line. They merge imperceptibly one into the other But it is not only the Provinces which are artificially divided. In India law is not regarded scientifically as a function of economics, but as a thing apart. Justice is a Department, badly co-ordinated with other administrative and social fields. A perusal of Mr. Roy's chapter on Religious Endowments shows that the case-law of those institutions is not based on any knowledge of the creeds of India, or any grasp of the principles upon which her religious foundations are organized, but upon a painfully inadequate conception of the relations of an institution to the Order or Sect to which it belongs. The courts tend to regard custom as something

which may grow up in a tribe, a caste, or even a family, causelessly and capriciously, with no foundations in religion, ideals or necessities. And so they are equally predisposed to look upon every religious foundation as an independent institution, which must be regulated by a peculiar custom of its own, and not by general rules common to all the foundations of a given Order or body of sectaries No court in Europe would approach a suit regarding the property of a Cistercian monastery on the assumption that each and every foundation of that Order was governed by special customs It would be presumed that all the monasteries of that Order were governed by its general statutes, possibly modified by special charters or dispensations in individual cases.

It must not be imagined that the discovery and elucidation of custom is the only judicial problem in India As Dr Vincent Smith justly says "The *Laws of Manu* form the foundation of the queer medley of inconsistent systems of jurisprudence administered by the Privy Council and the High Courts of India under the name of Hindu Law . The early Sanskritists unduly exalted the authority of the *Laws of Manu*, which they regarded as veritable laws, instead of the mere rulings (? *responsa jurisprudentis*) of a textbook writer, which they actually are The fuller knowledge of the present day sees the book in truer perspective, but the old errors still exert a baneful influence in many directions"* The internal evidence of other Hindu jurists also suggests that their works are mostly compilations—like those now so popular in India—of rulings pronounced by a number of ancient courts or authorities, and that the compilers were not concerned to harmonize these rulings, which were nearly as conflicting as those of the nineteenth century.

In a future article it is proposed to discuss the economic importance of a Supreme Court in India.

H. A. Rose.

* *Oxford History of India*, 1919, p. 42 (Clarendon Press.)

THE POET LI PO

(A D 701-762)

By Arthur Waley

(*Read before the China Society*)

INTRODUCTION

Since the Middle Ages the Chinese have been almost unanimous in regarding Li Po as their greatest poet, and the few who have given the first place to his contemporary Tu Fu have usually accorded the second to Li.

One is reluctant to disregard the verdict of a people upon its own poets. We are sometimes told by Frenchmen or Russians that Oscar Wilde is greater than Shakespeare. We are tempted to reply that no foreigner can be qualified to decide such a point

Yet we do not in practice accept the judgment of other nations upon their own literature To most Germans Schiller is still a great poet, but to the rest of Europe hardly one at all.

It is consoling to discover that on some Germans (Lilienkron, for example) Schiller makes precisely the same impression as he does on us. And similarly, if we cannot accept the current estimate of Li Po, we have at least the satisfaction of knowing that some of China's most celebrated writers are on our side About A.D. 816 the poet Po Chü-i wrote as follows (he is discussing Tu Fu as well as Li Po) "The world acclaims Li Po as its master poet. I grant that his works show unparalleled talent and originality, but not one in ten contains any moral reflection or deeper meaning.

"Tu Fu's poems are very numerous; perhaps about 1,000 of them are worth preserving. In the art of stringing together allusions ancient and modern and in the skill of his versification in the regular metres he even excels Li Po. But such poems as the 'Pressgang,'* and such lines as

> "'At the Palace Gate, the smell of wine and meat,
> Out in the road, one who has frozen to death'

form only a small proportion of his whole work."

The poet Yüan Chēn (779-831) wrote a famous essay comparing Li Po with Tu Fu

"At this time," he says (*i.e.*, at the time of Tu Fu), "Li Po from Shantung was also celebrated for his remarkable writings, and the names of these two were often coupled together In my judgment, as regards impassioned vigour of style, freedom from conventional restraint, and skill in the mere description of exterior things, his ballads and songs are certainly worthy to rub shoulders with Fu. But in disposition of the several parts of a poem, in carrying the balance of rhyme and tone through a composition of several hundred or even in some cases of a thousand words, in grandeur of inspiration combined with harmonious rhythm and deep feeling, in emphasis of parallel clauses, in exclusion of the vulgar or modern—in all these qualities Li is not worthy to approach Fu's front hedge, let alone his inner chamber!"

"Subsequent writers," adds the "T'ang History" (the work in which this essay is preserved), "have agreed with Yüan Chēn."

Wang An-shih (1021-1086), the great reformer of the eleventh century, observes "Li Po's style is swift, yet never careless, lively, yet never informal But his intellectual outlook was low and sordid. In nine poems out of ten he deals with nothing but wine or women."

In the "Yü Yin Ts'ung Hua," Hu Tzŭ (*circa* 1120) says "Wang An-shih, in enumerating China's four

* Giles, "Chinese Poetry," p. 90

greatest poets, put Li Po fourth on the list. Many vulgar people expressed surprise, but Wang replied 'The reason why vulgar people find Li Po's poetry congenial is that it is easy to enjoy. His intellectual outlook was mean and sordid, and out of ten poems nine deal with wine or women, nevertheless, the abundance of his talent makes it impossible to leave him out of account.'"

Finally Huang T'ing-chien (A.D 1050-1110), accepted by the Chinese as one of their greatest writers, says with reference to Li's poetry "The quest for unusual expressions is in itself a literary disease It was, indeed, this fashion which caused the decay which set in after the Chien-an period (*i.e*, at the beginning of the third century A.D)"

To these native strictures very little need be added. No one who reads much of Li's poetry in the original can fail to notice the two defects which are emphasized by the Sung critics. The long poems are often ill-constructed Where, for example, he wishes to convey an impression of horror he is apt to exhaust himself in the first quatrain, and the rest of the poem is a network of straggling repetitions. Very few of these longer poems have been translated. The second defect, his lack of variety, is one which would only strike those who have read a large number of his poems Translators have naturally made their selections as varied as possible, so that many of those who know the poet only in translation might feel inclined to defend him on this score. According to Wang An-shih, his two subjects are wine and women. The second does not, of course, imply love-poetry, but sentiments put into the mouths of deserted wives and concubines. Such themes are always felt by the Chinese to be in part allegorical, the deserted lady symbolizing the minister whose counsels a wicked monarch will not heed.

Such poems form the dullest section of Chinese poetry, and are certainly frequent in Li's works. But his most monotonous feature is the mechanical recurrence of certain

reflections about the impermanence of human things, as opposed to the immutability of Nature Probably about half the poems contain some reference to the fact that rivers do not return to their sources, while man changes hour by hour

The obsession of impermanence has often been sublimated into great mystic poetry In Li Po it results only in endless restatement of obvious facts

It has, I think, been generally realized that his strength lies not in the content, but in the form of his poetry. Above all, he was a song-writer Most of the pieces translated previously and most of those I am going to read to-day are songs, not poems It is noteworthy that his tombstone bore the inscription, "His skill lay in the writing of archaic songs." His immediate predecessors had carried to the highest refinement the art of writing in elaborate patterns of tone In Li's whole works there are said to be only nine poems in the strict seven-character metre. Most of his familiar short poems are in the old style, which neglects the formal arrangement of tones The value of his poetry lay in beauty of words, not in beauty of thought. Unfortunately no one either here or in China can appreciate the music of his verse, for we do not know how Chinese was pronounced in the eighth century Even to the modern Chinese, his poetry exists more for the eye than for the ear.

The last point to which I shall refer is the extreme allusiveness of his poems This characteristic, common to most Chinese poetry, is carried to an extreme point in the fifty-nine Old Style poems with which the works begin, Not only do they bristle with the names of historical personages, but almost every phrase is borrowed from some classic. One is tempted to quarrel with Wang An-shih's statement that people liked the poems because they were easy to enjoy No modern could understand them without pages of commentary to each poem. But Chinese poetry. with a few exceptions, has been written on this principle

since the Han dynasty; one poet alone, Po Chü-i, broke through the restraints of pedantry, erasing every expression that his charwoman could not understand.

Translators have naturally avoided the most allusive poems and have omitted or generalized such allusions as occurred. They have frequently failed to recognize allusions as such, and have mistranslated them accordingly, often turning proper names into romantic sentiments

Li's reputation, like all success, is due partly to accident. After suffering a temporary eclipse during the Sung dynasty, he came back into favour in the sixteenth century, when most of the popular anthologies were made. These compilations devote an inordinate space to his works, and he has been held in corresponding esteem by a public whose knowledge of poetry is chiefly confined to anthologies.

Serious literary criticism has been dead in China since that time, and the valuations then made are still accepted

Like Miss Havisham's clock, which stopped at twenty to nine on her wedding-day, the clock of Chinese esteem stopped at Li Po centuries ago, and has stuck there ever since.

But I venture to surmise that if a dozen representative English poets could read Chinese poetry in the original, they would none of them give either the first or second place to Li Po.

XXXI. 25.

LIFE OF LI PO, FROM THE "NEW HISTORY OF THE T'ANG DYNASTY," COMPOSED IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

Li Po, styled T'ai-po, was descended in the ninth generation from the Emperor Hsing-shêng.* One of his ancestors was charged with a crime at the end of the Sui dynasty,† and took refuge in Turkestan. At the beginning of the period Shên-lung‡ the family returned and settled in

* *I.e.*, Li Kao. † A.D. 581-618.

‡ A.D. 705-707.

Pa-hsi * At his birth Po's mother dreamt of the planet Ch'ang-kêng [Venus], and that was why he was called Po.†

At ten he had mastered the Book of Odes and Book of History. When he grew up he retired to the Min Mountains, and even when summoned to the provincial examinations he made no response When Su T'ing ‡ became Governor of I-chou, he was introduced to Po, and was astonished by him, remarking. "This man has conspicuous natural talents If he had more learning he would be a second Ssŭ-ma Hsiang-ju "§ However, he was interested in politics and fond of fencing, becoming one of those knight-errants who care nothing for wealth and much for almsgiving

Once he stayed at Jên-ch'êng || with K'ung Ch'ao-fu, Han Chun, P'ei Chêng, Chang Shu-ming, and T'ao Mien They lived on Mount Ch'u Lai, and were dead drunk every day. People called them the Six Hermits of the Bamboo Stream.

At the beginning of the T'ien-pao period ¶ he went south to Kuei-chi, and became intimate with Wu Yun. Wu Yün was summoned by the Emperor, and Po went with him to Ch'ang-an Here he visited Ho Chih-chang When Chih-chang read some of his work, he sighed and said "You are an exiled fairy" He told the Emperor, who sent for Po and gave him audience in the Golden Bells Hall The poet submitted an essay dealing with current events The Emperor bestowed food upon him and stirred the soup with his own hand He ordered that he should be unofficially attached to the Han Lin Academy, but Po went on drinking in the market-place with his boon-companions.

Once when the Emperor was sitting in the Pavilion of Aloes Wood, he had a sudden stirring of heart, and wanted Po to write a song expressive of his mood. When Po

* In Szechwan.

† "Po," "white," was a popular name of the Planet Venus.

‡ Giles, Biog. Dict., No. 1,789

§ Giles, No. 1,753. || In Shantung ¶ *Circa* A.D 742.

entered in obedience to the summons, he was so drunk that the courtiers were obliged to dab his face with water. When he had recovered a little, he seized a brush and without any effort wrote a composition of flawless grace.

The Emperor was so pleased with Po's talent that whenever he was feasting or drinking he always had this poet to wait upon him Once when Po was drunk the Emperor ordered [the eunuch] Kao Li-shih to take off Po's shoes. Li-shih, who thought such a task beneath him, took revenge by affecting to discover in one of Po's poems a veiled attack on [the Emperor's mistress] Yang Kuei-fei

Whenever the Emperor thought of giving the poet some official rank, Kuei-fei intervened and dissuaded him

Po himself, soon realizing that he was unsuited to Court life, allowed his conduct to become more and more reckless and unrestrained

Together with his friends Ho Chih-chang, Li Shih-chih, Chin, Prince of Ju-yang, Ts'ui Tsung-chih, Su Chin, Chang Hsü, and Chiao Sui, he formed the association known as the Eight Immortals of the Winecup.

He begged persistently to be allowed to retire from Court. At last the Emperor gave him gold and sent him away. Po roamed the country in every direction Once he went by boat with Ts'ui Tsung-chih from Pien-shih to Nanking He wore his embroidered Court cloak and sat as proudly in the boat as though he were king of the universe.

When the An Lu-shan revolution broke out, he took to living sometimes at Su-sung, sometimes on Mount K'uang-lu.

Lin, Prince of Yung, gave him the post of assistant on his staff When Lin took up arms, he fled to P'eng-tsê When Lin was defeated, Po was condemned to death When Po first visited T'ai-yüan Fu, he had seen and admired Kuo Tzŭ-i.* On one occasion, when Tzŭ-i was

* A famous General, the saviour of the dynasty

accused of breaking the law, Li Po had come to his assistance and had him released.

Now, hearing of Po's predicament, Tzŭ-i threatened to resign unless Po were saved The Emperor remitted the sentence of death and changed it to one of perpetual exile at Yeh-lang * But when the amnesty was declared he came back to Kiukiang Here he was put on trial and sent to gaol. But it happened that Sung Jo-ssŭ was marching to Honan with three thousand soldiers from Kiangsu He passed through Kiukiang on his way, and released the prisoners there He gave Li Po an appointment on his staff. Po soon resigned.

When Li Yang-ping became Governor of T'ang-tu, Po went to live near him

The Emperor Tai Tsung† wished to raise him to the rank of Senior Reviser But when the order came Po was already dead, having reached the age of somewhat over sixty His last years were devoted to the study of Taoism.

He once crossed the Bull Island Eddies and, reaching Ku-shu, was delighted by a place called the Green Hill, which lay in the estate of the Hsieh family He expressed a desire to be buried there, but when he died they buried him at Tung-lin

At the end of the period Yuan-ho,‡ Fan Ch'uan-chêng, Governor of the districts Hsüan and Shê [in Anhui], poured a libation on his grave and forbade the woodmen to cut down the trees which grew there

He sought for Li Po's descendants, but could only find two grand-daughters, who had both married common peasants, but still retained an air of good breeding They appeared before the Governor weeping, and said "Our grandfather's wish was to be buried on top of the Green Hill. But they made his grave at the eastern hill-base, which is not what he desired."

Fan Ch'uan-chêng had the grave moved and set up two tombstones. He told the ladies they might change their

* In Yunnan. † Reigned 763-780. ‡ 806-821

husbands and marry into the official classes, but they refused, saying that they were pledged to isolation and poverty and could not marry again. Fan was so moved by their reply that he exempted their husbands from national service. A rescript of the Emperor Wen Tsung created the category of the Three Paragons Li Po, of poetry; P'ei Min, of swordsmanship, and Chang Hsü, of cursive calligraphy

Most of the accounts of Li Po's life which have hitherto appeared are based on the biography given in vol v of the "*Mémoires Concernant Les Chinois.*" It is evident that several of the frequently quoted anecdotes in the "Mémoires" are partly based on a misunderstanding of the Chinese text, partly due to the lively imagination of the Jesuits The Sung writer Hsieh Chung-yung arranged in chronological order all the information about the poet's life that can be gleaned not only from the T'ang histories, but also from the poems themselves.

In the communications of the Gesellschaft für Natur und Völkerkunde, 1889, Dr. Florenz makes some rather haphazard and inaccurate selections from this chronology.

The Life in the "New T'ang History" has, I believe, *never before been translated in full* The *Life in the* so-called "Old T'ang History" is shorter and contains several mistakes Thus Li is said to have been a native of the Province Shantung, which is certainly untrue

The following additional facts are based on statements in the poet's own works

With regard to his marriage in A.D 730 he writes to a friend "The land of Ch'u has seven swamps, I went to look at them. But at His Excellency Hsü's house I was offered the hand of his grand-daughter, and lingered there during the frosts of three autumns." He then seems to have abandoned Miss Hsü, who was impatient at his lack of promotion. He afterwards married successively Miss Lin, Miss Lu, and Miss Sung. These were, of course, wives, not concubines. We are told that he was fond of

"going about with the dancing-girls of Chao-yang and Chin-ling" He had one son, who died in A.D 797.

With regard to his part in the revolution, the "New History" seems somewhat confused. It is probable that his sojourn in the prison at Kiukiang took place before and not after his decree of banishment It is also uncertain whether he knew, when he entered the service of Lin, that this prince was about to take up arms against the Emperor The Chinese have reproached Po with ingratitude to his Imperial patron, but it would appear that he abandoned Prince Lin as soon as the latter joined the revolution.

A mysterious figure mentioned in the poems is the "High Priest of Pei-hai" [in Shantung], from whom the poet received a diploma of Taoist proficiency in A D 746

Li Yang-ping gives the following account of Po's death "When he was about to hang up his cap [an euphemism for "dying"] Li Po was worried at the thought that his numerous rough drafts had not been collected and arranged Lying on his pillow, he gave over to me all his documents, that I might put them in order"

The "Old T'ang History" says that his illness was due to excessive drinking There is nothing improbable in the diagnosis There is a legend * that he was drowned while making a drunken effort to embrace the reflection of the moon in the water This account of his end has been adopted by Giles and most other European writers, but already in the twelfth century Hung Mai pointed out that the story is inconsistent with Li Yang-ping's authentic evidence.

The truth may be that he contracted his last illness as the result of falling into the water while drunk.

* The legendary Li Po is the subject of the sixth tale in "Chin Ku Ch'i Kuan, translated by T Pavie in "Contes et Nouvelles," 1839. He also figures in the Mongol dynasty play, "The Golden Token"

THE TEXT OF THE POEMS

The first edition of the poems was in ten *chuan*, and was published by Li Yang-ping in the year of the poet's death. The preface tells us that Li Po had lost his own MSS of almost all the poems written during the eight years of his wanderings—that is, from about 753 to 761. A few copies had been procured from friends. About 770 Wei Hao produced an edition of twenty *chuan*, many additional poems having come to light in the interval.

In 998 Yo Shih added the prose works, consisting of five letters and various prefaces, petitions, monumental inscriptions, etc.

In 1080 Sung Min-ch'iu published the works in thirty *chüan*, the form in which they still exist. There are just under 1,000 poems and about sixty prose pieces.

In 1759 an annotated edition was published by Wang Ch'i, with six *chüan* of critical and biographical matter added to the thirty *chüan* of the works.

It is this edition which has been chiefly used by European readers and to which references are made in the present paper. It was reprinted by the Sao Yeh Co. of Shanghai in 1908.

The text of the poems is remarkable for the number of variant readings, which in some cases affect crucial words in quite short poems, in others extend to a whole line or couplet. A printed text of the thirteenth century containing the annotations of Yang Tzŭ-chien is generally followed in current editions. This is known as the Hsiao text; a Ming reprint of it is sometimes met with.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, a Sung printed edition came into the hands of a Mr. Miu at Soochow; he reprinted it in facsimile. This is known as the Miu text. As there is no means of deciding which of these two has the better authority, my choice of readings has been guided by personal preference.

TRANSLATIONS

II. 7. KU FĒNG, No. 6

The T'ai horse cannot think of Yüeh,
The birds of Yüeh have no love for Yen
Feeling and character grow out of habit,
A people's customs cannot be changed.
Once we marched from the Wild Goose Gate,
Now we are fighting in front of the Dragon Pen
Startled sands blur the desert sun,
Flying snows bewilder the Tartar sky
Lice swarm in our plumed caps and tiger coats,
Our spirits tremble like the flags we raise to the wind
Hard fighting gets no reward or praise,
Steadfastness and truth cannot be rightly known
Who was sorry for Li, the Swift of Wing,*
When his white head vanished from the Three Fronts?†

III 1 THE DISTANT PARTING

Long ago there were two queens‡ called Huang and Ying. And they stood on the shores of the Hsiao-hsiang, to the south of Lake Tung-t'ing Their sorrow was deep as the waters of the Lake that go straight down a thousand miles Dark clouds blackened the sun Shōjō§ howled in the mist and ghosts whistled in the rain The queens said, "Though we speak of it we cannot mend it High Heaven is secretly afraid to shine on our loyalty

* Li Kuang, died 125 B.C.

† Manchurian, Mongolian and Turkestan frontiers.

‡ These queens were the daughters of the Emperor Yao, who gave them in marriage to Shun, and abdicated in his favour Shun's ministers conspired against him and set "the Great Yü" on the throne. A legend says that the spots on the bamboo-leaves which grow on the Hsiang River were caused by the tears of these two queens.

§ I use the Japanese form as being more familiar A kind of demon-monkey is meant.

But the thunder crashes and bellows its anger, that while Yao and Shun are here they should also be crowning Yü. When a prince loses his servants, the dragon turns into a minnow. When power goes to slaves, mice change to tigers.

"Some say that Yao is shackled and hidden away, and that Shun has died in the fields.

"But the Nine Hills of Deceit stand there in a row, each like each, and which of them covers the lonely bones of the Double-eyed One, our Master?"

So the royal ladies wept, standing amid yellow clouds. Their tears followed the winds and waves, that never return. And while they wept, they looked out into the distance and saw the deep mountain of Tsang-wu.

"The mountain of Tsang-wu shall fall and the waters of the Hsiang shall cease, sooner than the marks of our tears shall fade from these bamboo-leaves."

[Of this poem and the "Szechwan Road" a critic has said "You could recite them all day without growing tired of them."]

III 4. The Szechwan Road

Eheu! How dangerous, how high! It would be easier to climb to Heaven than to walk the Szechwan Road.

Since Ts'an Ts'ung and Yü Fu ruled the land, forty-eight thousand years had gone by, and still no human foot had passed from Shu to the frontiers of Ch'in. To the west across T'ai-po Shan there was a bird-track, by which one could cross to the ridge of O-mi. But the earth of the hill crumbled and heroes* perished.

So afterwards they made sky ladders and hanging bridges. Above, high beacons of rock that turn back the chariot of the sun. Below, whirling eddies that meet the waves of the current and drive them away. Even the wings of the

* The "heroes" were five strong men sent by the King of Shu to fetch the five daughters of the King of Ch'in.

yellow cranes cannot carry them across, and the monkeys grow weary of such climbing

How the road curls in the pass of Green Mud!

With nine turns in a hundred steps it twists up the hills

Clutching at Orion, passing the Well Star, I look up and gasp. Then beating my breast sit and groan aloud

I fear I shall never return from my westward wandering, the way is steep and the rocks cannot be climbed.

Sometimes the voice of a bird calls among the ancient trees—a male calling to its wife, up and down through the woods Sometimes a nightingale sings to the moon, weary of empty hills.

It would be easier to climb to Heaven than to walk the Szechwan Road, and those who hear the tale of it turn pale with fear

Between the hill-tops and the sky there is not a cubit's space Withered pine-trees hang leaning over precipitous walls.

Flying waterfalls and rolling torrents mingle their din Beating the cliffs and circling the rocks, they thunder in a thousand valleys.

Alas! O traveller, why did you come to so fearful a place? The Sword Gate is high and jagged If one man stood in the Pass, he could hold it against ten thousand

The guardian of the Pass leaps like a wolf on all who are not his kinsmen

In the daytime one hides from ravening tigers and in the night from long serpents, that sharpen their fangs and lick blood, slaying men like grass.

They say the Embroidered City is a pleasant place, but I had rather be safe at home.

For it would be easier to climb to Heaven than to walk the Szechwan Road.

I turn my body and gaze longingly towards the West.

[When Li Po came to the capital and showed this poem to Ho Chih-ch'ang, Chih-ch'ang raised his eyebrows and

said. "Sir, you are not a man of this world. You must indeed be the genius of the star T'ai-po" (xxxiv 36).]

III. 15. Fighting

Last year we were fighting at the source of the San-kan,
This year we are fighting at the Onion River road.
We have washed our swords in the surf of Indian seas,
We have pastured our horses among the snows of T'ien Shan
Three armies have grown gray and old,
Fighting ten thousand leagues away from home
The Huns have no trade but battle and carnage;
They have no pastures or ploughlands,
But only wastes where white bones lie among yellow sands
Where the house of Ch'in built the great wall that was to keep away the Tartars,
There, in its turn, the house of Han lit beacons of war
The beacons are always alight, fighting and marching never stop.
Men die in the field, slashing sword to sword,
The horses of the conquered neigh piteously to Heaven
Crows and hawks peck for human guts,
Carry them in their beaks and hang them on the branches of withered trees.
Captains and soldiers are smeared on the bushes and grass,
The General schemed in vain
Know therefore that the sword is a cursèd thing
Which the wise man uses only if he must.

III. 16. Drinking Song

See the waters of the Yellow River leap down from Heaven,
Roll away to the deep sea and never turn again!
See at the mirror in the High Hall
Aged men bewailing white locks—
In the morning, threads of silk;
In the evening flakes of snow!

Snatch the joys of life as they come and use them to the fill;
Do not leave the silver cup idly glinting at the moon.
The things Heaven made
Man was meant to use,
A thousand guilders scattered to the wind may come back again.
Roast mutton and sliced beef will only taste well
If you drink with them at one sitting three hundred cups
Master Ts'ēn Ts'an,
Doctor Tan-ch'iu,
Here is wine do not stop drinking,
But listen, please, and I will sing you a song

Bells and drums and fine food, what are *they* to me,
Who only want to get drunk and never again be sober?
The Saints and Sages of old times are all stock and still,
Only the mighty drinkers of wine have left a name behind.
When the king of Ch'ēn gave a feast in the Palace of P'ing-lo
With twenty thousand gallons of wine he loosed mirth and play.
The master of the feast must not cry that his money *is* all spent,
Let him send to the tavern and fetch more, to keep your glasses filled.
His five-flower horse and thousand-guilder coat—
Let him call his boy to take them along and sell them for good wine,
That drinking together we may drive away the sorrows of a thousand years.

III 26. THE SUN

O Sun that rose in the eastern corner of Earth,
Looking as though you came from under the ground,
When you crossed the sky and entered the deep sea,
Where did you stable your six dragon-steeds?

Now and of old your journeys have never ceased
Strong were that man's limbs
Who could run beside you on your travels to and fro.

The grass does not refuse
To flourish in the spring wind,
The leaves are not angry
At falling through the autumn sky
Who with whip or spur
Can urge the feet of Time?
The things of the world flourish and decay,
Each at its own hour.

Hsi-ho, Hsi-ho,*
Is it true that once you loitered in the West
While Lu Yang † raised his spear, to hold
The progress of your light,
Then plunged and sank in the turmoil of the sea?
Rebels against Heaven, slanderers of Fate,
Many defy the Way
But *I* will put | the Whole Lump | of Life in my bag.
And merge my being in the Primal Element.

IV. 19. On the Banks of Jo-yeh

By the river-side at Jo-yeh,
girls plucking lotus,
Laughing across the lotus-flowers,
each whispers to a friend
Their powdered cheeks, lit by the sun,
are mirrored deep in the pool,
Their scented skirts, caught by the wind,
flap high in the air.

* Charioteer of the Sun.

† Who, like Joshua, stopped the sun during a battle See Huai-nan Tzŭ, chap. vi.

Who are these gaily riding
along the river-bank,
Three by three and five by five,
glinting through the willow-boughs?
Deep the hoofs of their neighing roans
sink into the fallen leaves,
The riders see, for a moment pause,
and are gone with a pang at heart

IV. 24 CH'ANG-KAN

Soon after I wore my hair covering my forehead
I was plucking flowers and playing in front of the gate,
When *you* came by, walking on bamboo-stilts
Along the trellis,* playing with the green plums
We both lived in the village of Ch'ang-kan,
Two children, without hate or suspicion
At fourteen I became your wife,
I was shame-faced and never dared smile
I sank my head against the dark wall,
Called to a thousand times, I did not turn.
At fifteen I stopped wrinkling my brow
And desired my ashes to be mingled with your dust
I thought you were like the man who clung to the bridge †
Not guessing I should climb the Look-for-Husband Terrace,‡
But next year you went far away,
To Ch'ü-t'ang and the Whirling Water Rocks.
In the fifth month "one should not venture there"§

* It is hard to believe that "bed" or "chair" is meant, as hitherto translated. "Trellis" is, however, only a guess

† A man had promised to meet a girl under a bridge She did not come, but although the water began to rise, he trusted so firmly in her word, that he clung to the pillars of the bridge and waited till he was drowned.

‡ So called because a woman waited there so long for her husband that she turned into stone.

§ Quotation from the Yangtze boatman's song

"When Yen-yü is as big as a man's hat
One should not venture to make for Ch'ü-t'ang"

Where wailing monkeys cluster in the cliffs above.
In front of the door, the tracks you once made
One by one have been covered by green moss—
Moss so thick that I cannot sweep it away,
And leaves are falling in the early autumn wind.
Yellow with August the pairing butterflies
In the western garden flit from grass to grass
The sight of these wounds my heart with pain,
As I sit and sorrow, my red cheeks fade.
Send me a letter and let me know in time
When your boat will be going through the three gorges of Pa.
I will come to meet you as far as ever you please,
Even to the dangerous sands of Ch'ang-fêng

VII. 4 RIVER SONG

Of satin-wood our boat is made,
Our oars of ebony,*
Jade pipes and gold flutes
Play at stern and prow
A thousand gallons of red wine
We carry in the ship's hold,
With girls on board at the waves' will
We are glad to drift or stay
Even the rishi† had to wait
For a yellow crane to ride;
But the sailor‡ whose heart had no guile
Was followed by the white gulls.
Ch'ü P'ing's§ prose and verse
Hang like the sun and moon ‖
The king of Ch'u's arbours and towers
Are only hummocks in the ground.

* A phrase from the Li Sao.

† Tou Tzŭ-an, who was carried to Heaven by a yellow crane near Wu-ch'ang.

‡ A story from Lieh Tzu. § *I.e.*, Ch'ü Yüan

‖ Practically a quotation from Ch'ü Yüan's "Lisao," by Sŭŭ-ma Ch'ien.

With my mood at its height I wield my brush
And the Five Hills quake,
When the poem is done, my laughter soars
To the Blue Isles* of the sky
Riches, Honour, Triumph, Fame,
Than that *you* should long endure,
It were likelier the stream of the River Han
Should flow to the North-West!

XIII 11. Sent to the Commissary Yuan of Ch'iao City, in Memory of Former Excursions

Do you remember how once at Lo-yang, Tung Tsao-ch'in built us a wine-tower south of the T'ien-ching Bridge?

With yellow gold and tallies of white jade we bought songs and laughter, and we were drunk month after month, with no thought of kings and princes, though among us were the wisest and bravest within the Four Seas, and men of high promotion †

(But with you above all my heart was at no cross-purpose);‡ Going round mountains and skirting lakes was as nothing to them They poured out their hearts and minds, and held nothing back.

Then I went off to Huai-nan to pluck the laurel-branches,§ and you stayed north of the Lo, sighing over thoughts and dreams.

We could not endure separation We sought each other out and went on and on together, exploring the Fairy Castle.‖

We followed the thirty-six bends of the twisting waters, and all along the streams a thousand different flowers were in bloom. We passed through ten thousand valleys, and in each we heard the voice of wind among the pines.

* Fairyland, sometimes thought of as being in the middle of the sea, sometimes (as here) in the sky

† Lit. "blue clouds people." ‡ A phrase from Chuang Tzŭ.

§ Huai-nan is associated with laurel-branches, owing to a famous poem by the King of Huai-nan.

‖ Name of a mountain.

Then the Governor of Han-tung came out to meet us, on a silver saddle with tassels of gold that reached to the ground. And the Initiate of Tzŭ-yang* summoned us, blowing on his jade *shêng* And Sennin music was made in the tower of Ts'an Hsia,† loud as the blended voices of phœnix and roc.

And the Governor of Han-tung, because his long sleeves would not keep still when the flutes called to him, rose and drunkenly danced Then he brought his embroidered coat and covered me with it, and I slept with my head on his lap.

At the feast our spirits had soared to the Nine Heavens, but before evening we were scattered like stars or rain, flying away over hills and rivers to the frontier of Ch'u I went back to my mountain to seek my old nest, and you, too, went home, crossing the Wei Bridge

Then your father, who was brave as leopard or tiger, became Governor of Ping-chou‡ and put down the rebel bands. And in the fifth month he sent for me. I crossed the T'ai-hang Mountains, and though it was hard going on the Sheep's Gut Hills, I paid no heed to broken wheels.

When at last, far on into Winter, I got to the Northern Capital,§ I was moved to see how much you cared for my reception and how little you cared for the cost—amber cups and fine foods on a blue jade dish. You made me drunk and satisfied I had no thought of returning.

Sometimes we went out towards the western corner of the City, to where waters like green jade flow round the temple of Shu Yü‖ We launched our boat and sported on the stream, while flutes and drums sounded The little waves were like dragon-scales, and the sedge-leaves were pale green. When it was our mood, we took girls with us

* *I.e.*, Hu Tzŭ-yang, a Taoist friend of the poet's.

† Lit. "Feeding on sunset-cloud" Tower, built by Hu Tzŭ-yang.

‡ *I.e.*, T'ai-yüan Fu § *I.e.*, T'ai-yüan Fu

‖ A brother of Prince Ch'êng, of the Chou dynasty.

and gave ourselves to the moments that passed, forgetting that it would soon be over, like willow-flowers or snow. Rouged faces, flushed with drink, looked well in the sunset. Clear water a hundred feet deep reflected the faces of the singers—singing-girls delicate and graceful in the light of the young moon And the girls sang again and again to make the gauze dresses dance The clear wind blew the songs away into the empty sky the sound coiled in the air like moving clouds in flight

The pleasures of those times shall never again be met with. I went West to offer up a Ballad of Tall Willows,* but got no promotion at the Northern Gate and, white-headed, went back to the Eastern Hills.

Once we met at the Southern end of Wei Bridge, but scattered again to the north of the Tso Terrace.

And if you ask me how many are my regrets at this parting, I will tell you they come from me thick as the flowers that fall at Spring's end

But I cannot tell you all I feel, I could not even if I went on talking for ever So I call in the boy and make him kneel here and tie this up, and send it to you, a remembrance, from a thousand miles away

XV 2 A Dream of T'ien-mu Mountain

(Part of a Poem in Irregular Metre)

On through the night I flew, high over the Mirror Lake The lake-moon cast my shadow on the waves and travelled with me to the stream of Shan The Lord Hsieh's† lodging-place was still there. The blue waters rippled, the cry of the apes was shrill I shod my feet with the shoes of the Lord Hsieh and "climbed to Heaven on a ladder of dark clouds."‡ Half-way up, I saw the unrisen

* Yang Hsiung, died A.D 18, having lived all his life in obscurity, obtained promotion in his old age by a poem of this title.

† Hsieh Ling-yün (*circa* A.D. 400) was a famous mountain-climber who invented special mountain-climbing shoes.

‡ A quotation from one of Hsieh's poems

sun hiding behind the sea and heard the Cock of Heaven crowing in the sky. By a thousand broken paths I twisted and turned from crag to crag My eyes grew dim. I clutched at the rocks, and all was dark.

The roaring of bears and the singing of dragons echoed amid the stones and streams. The darkness of deep woods made me afraid I trembled at the storied cliffs.

The clouds hung dark, as though they would rain, the air was dim with the spray of rushing waters.

Lightning flashed thunder roared Peaks and ridges tottered and broke. Suddenly the walls of the hollow where I stood sundered with a crash, and I looked down on a bottomless void of blue, where the sun and moon gleamed on a terrace of silver and gold.

A host of Beings descended—Cloud-spirits, whose coats were made of rainbow and the horses they rode on were the winds.

XV. 16 Parting with Friends at a Wineshop in Nanking

The wind blowing through the willow-flowers fills the shop with scent;
A girl of Wu has served wine and bids the traveller taste.
The young men of Nanking have come to see me off,
I that go and you that stay | must each drink his cup.
I beg you tell the Great River | whose stream flows to the East
That thoughts of you will cling to my heart | when *he* has ceased to flow

XV. 28. At Chiang-hsia, parting from Sung Chih-t'i

Clear as the sky the waters of Hupeh
Far away will join with the Blue Sea;
We whom a thousand miles will soon part
Can mend our grief only with a cup of wine.

The valley birds are singing in the bright sun,
The river monkeys wail down the evening wind
And I, who in all my life have seldom wept,
Am weeping now with tears that will never dry

XX. 1. THE WHITE RIVER AT NAN-YANG

Wading at dawn the White River's source,
Severed a while from the common ways of men,
To islands tinged with the colours of Paradise,
Where the river sky drowns in limpid space.
While my eyes were watching the clouds that travel to the sea.
My heart was idle as the fish that swim in the stream
With long singing I put the sun to rest
Riding the moon, came back to my fields and home*

XX 1 THE CLEAR COLD SPRING

(*Literal Version*)

Regret that dropping sun's dusk,
Love this cold stream's clearness
Western beams follow flowing water,
Stir a ripple in wandering person's mind
Idly sing, gazing at cloudy moon,
Song done—sound of tall pines.

XX 8. GOING DOWN CHUNG-NAN MOUNTAIN AND SPENDING THE NIGHT DRINKING WITH THE HERMIT TOU-SSŬ

At dusk we left the blue mountain-head,
The mountain-moon followed our homeward steps.
We looked round the path by which we had come
Was a dark cleft across the shoulder of the hill.
Hand in hand we reached the walls of the farm;
A young boy opened the wicker-gate
Through green bamboos a deep road ran
Where dark creepers brushed our coats as we passed

* *I.e.*, "availing myself of the moonlight."

We were glad at last to come to a place of rest,
With wine enough to drink together to our fill,
Long I sang to the tune of the Pine-tree Wind;
When the song was over, the River-stars* were few
I was drunk and you happy at my side,
Till mingled joy drove the World from our hearts.

XXIII 3 DRINKING ALONE BY MOONLIGHT

(1) A cup of wine, under the flowering-trees
I drink alone, for no friend is near
Raising my cup, I beckon the bright moon,
For he, with my shadow, will make three men
The moon, alas! is no drinker of wine
Listless, my shadow creeps about at my side
Yet with the moon as friend and the shadow as slave
I must make merry before the Spring is spent.
To the songs I sing the moon flickers her beams,
In the dance I weave my shadow tangles and breaks.
While we were sober, three shared the fun,
Now we are drunk, each goes his way.
May we long share our odd, inanimate feast,
And meet at last on the Cloudy River of the Sky †

(2) In the third month the town of Hsien-yang
Is thick-spread with a carpet of fallen flowers
Who in Spring can bear to grieve alone?
Who, sober, look on sights like these?
Riches and Poverty, long or short life,
By the Maker of Things are portioned and disposed
But a cup of wine levels life and death
And a thousand things obstinately hard to prove.
When I am drunk, I lose Heaven and Earth,
Motionless, I cleave to my lonely bed.
At last I forget that I exist at all,
And at *that* moment my joy is great indeed.

(3) If High Heaven had no love for wine,
There would not be a Wine Star in the sky.

* Stars of the Milky Way. † The Milky Way.

If Earth herself had no love for wine,
There would not be a city called Wine Springs.*
Since Heaven and Earth both love wine,
I can love wine, without shame before God.
Clear wine was once called "a Saint,"
Thick wine was once called "a Sage."†
Of Saint and Sage I have long quaffed deep,
What need for me to study spirits and *hsien*?‡
At the third cup I penetrate the Great Way,
A full gallon—Nature and I are one.
But the things I feel when wine possesses my soul
I will never tell to those who are not drunk

XXIII 9 In the Mountains on a Summer Day

Gently I stir a white feather fan,
With open shirt, sitting in a green wood
I take off my cap and hang it on a jutting stone
A wind from the pine-trees trickles on my bare head

XXIII 10 Drinking together in the Mountains§

Two men drinking together where mountain flowers grow
One cup, one cup, and again one cup
"Now I am drunk and would like to sleep
so please go away.
Come back to-morrow, if you feel inclined,
and bring your harp with you."

XXIII 10 Waking from Drunkenness on a Spring Day

"Life in the World is but a big dream
I will not spoil it by any labour or care"
So saying, I was drunk all the day,
Lying helpless at the porch in front of my door

* Chiu-ch'uan, in Kansuh

† "History of Wei Dynasty" (Life of Hsi Mo) "A drunken visitor said, 'Clear wine I account a Saint thick wine only a Sage'"

‡ Rishi, Immortals

§ *Cf. Little Review*, June, 1917, version by Sasaki and M. Bodenheim

When I woke up, I blinked at the garden lawn;
A lonely bird was singing amid the flowers.
I asked myself, had the day been wet or fine?
The Spring wind was telling the mango-bird.
Moved by its song, I soon began to sigh,
And as wine was there, I filled my own cup.
Wildly singing, I waited for the moon to rise,
When my song was over, all my senses had gone.

XXIII 13. SELF-ABANDONMENT

I sat drinking and did not notice the dusk,
Till falling petals filled the folds of my dress.
Drunken I rose and walked to the moonlit stream;
The birds were gone, and men also few

XXV 1 TO TAN CH'IU

My friend is lodging high in the Eastern Range,
Dearly loving the beauty of valleys and hills.
At Green Spring he lies in the empty woods,
And is still asleep when the sun shines on high.
A pine-tree wind dusts his sleeves and coat;
A pebbly stream cleans his heart and ears.
I envy you, who far from strife and talk
Are high-propped on a pillow of blue cloud.

XXX. 8. CLEARING UP AT DAWN

The fields are chill, the sparse rain has stopped,
The colours of Spring teem on every side.
With leaping fish the blue pond is full;
With singing thrushes the green boughs droop.
The flowers of the field have dabbled their powdered cheeks,
The mountain grasses are bent level at the waist.
By the bamboo stream the last fragments of cloud
Blown by the wind slowly scatter away.

[Many of the above poems have been translated before, in some cases by three or four different hands. But III. 4, III. 26, XV. 2, and XXIII. 9 are, so far as I know, translated for the first time.]

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

THE CHAIRMAN (MR GEORGE JAMIESON) Mr Li T'ai-po was, I am afraid, a bit of a Bohemian (laughter), and his Bacchanalian experiences have been repeated in later days even with the great poets I am sure you will all join with me in expressing a hearty vote of thanks to Mr Waley for his address and the very felicitous language in which he has translated a number of these ancient poems I trust his paper will be printed and preserved with the rest of our publications, because these poems, as far as I can judge—but hearing them read does not impress one so much as reading them at leisure—are well worthy of careful perusal It is curious to note how unchangeable and immobile China is At the time these poems were written we in Great Britain were living under King Alfred and trying to keep out the Danes and other things (Laughter) I can tell you that the Szechwan Road as described in the poem that Mr Waley has read is just the same now as it was when the poem was written And the social conditions of the people are the same now as they were at that time I have often thought that Chinese poets are very limited in their range They seem to be deficient in the quality of imagination China has never produced a great epic poem. Of course I speak subject to correction, but I believe I am right in saying that China has never produced a poet comparable with Homer, Dante, Virgil, or Milton There has been no one born with the power of telling a story like Homer The poets of China appear to me to be emotional and descriptive, but incapable of any high flights of imagination I think that Macaulay says that great flights of imagination are peculiar to the early periods of a nation's civilization, and that story-telling reaches its highest form as an art before printing has been much in vogue

MR M F A FRASER I have listened to this lecture with the greatest interest The English was particularly pleasing, and I am glad that the lecturer has broken away from the old custom of seeking rhymes, and followed the French custom in the translation of these poems A man may be an excellent writer and translator, and not be a poet, but to translate foreign poetry into English considerable literary gifts are required

MR PAUL KING All of you who have been lately in China must be struck with the extraordinary difference between the China described in these poems and the China which has come into being since the revolution Ideas of a very practical nature have now taken possession of the people And then, what about modern Chinese poets? Do any of us know of any? In my intercourse with the Chinese I cannot recall a modern Chinese who was a poet It is possible that I may have met one, and that he concealed his poetic gifts. (Laughter) Our lecturer tells us, how-

ever, that he knows certain Chinese poets It would be interesting to know if they are publishing their poems, and how they would compare with the work of the older poets in our possession.

Mr L. Y Chen I should like to join in congratulating Mr Waley on his very learned paper and beautiful translations It is quite true that there are no epic poems in Chinese literature. This form of poetry has not been introduced in China, but I differ with your statement, Sir, that Chinese poetry lacks imagination. (Applause) I could give you many instances to the contrary, though not from memory The last speaker's remark that the present China is different from what China is in Chinese poetry may be true, but I may well retort that the England as represented in Shakespeare is very different from the England of to-day (Laughter and cheers.) And Li T'ai-po lived many hundred years ago, but Shakespeare lived at a more recent period Human nature has two states, the spiritual and the practical You can combine the two If you have the practical it does not necessarily follow that you are lacking in the spiritual As for present-day Chinese poets, there are several famous ones in China

Since the lecturer has raised the question whether Li T'ai po or Tu Fu is the greater poet, I would say that the Chinese of the present day consider Tu Fu to be the greater It strikes me as curious that European people who know something about Chinese poetry should prefer Li T'ai po Perhaps very few people have heard of Tu Fu Certainly there is no translation of the most important of Tu Fu's poems in the English language. In China every child who has studied poetry knows something about Tu Fu's poems Tu Fu is placed first by the Chinese because he is the greatest national poet He expresses national feelings in a way that can be appreciated by everybody Li T'ai-po's poems deal chiefly with wine and women, love and sensual things, but Tu Fu's poems are full of men and women, elderly people and children, their joy, their anguish, the hardship of the soldier, and things of that sort In a word, Tu Fu's poetry expresses what we ordinary men and women wish to express and cannot.

Mr G Willoughby Mfade One or two observations occur to me in connection with the translation of this poetry into English The two greatest reading publics are the Anglo-American and the Chinese. The Anglo-American people have produced an enormous amount of poetry which they do not often quote, and the Chinese have produced an enormous amount of poetry which, according to experts, they quote a great deal Now, at the present moment that peculiar British shyness for quoting poetry seems to have largely disappeared in consequence of the writings of soldier poets. These poems have been written under conditions of great danger, difficulty, and discomfort, and it seems to me that it would be a very good thing if poetry illustrating the thought of these men could be placed before the Anglo-American public

The Chairman proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the Lecturer, which was carried by acclamation.

PROHIBITION IN RUSSIA

By Olga Novikoff

Another dream of the Tsar Nicholas II which he realised and which the Bolsheviks ruthlessly suppressed was the abolition of alcohol (vodka), and this great reform was achieved with a stroke of the pen We must remember the circumstances of His Majesty's heroic measure Russia was just embarking upon the greatest war in her history, when all her financial resources had to be thrown into the balance. The income from the drink traffic had in the previous year reached a colossal sum And yet in the interests of the morality of his subjects the Tsar decided to make this great financial sacrifice Mr M Gringmut, the patriotic editor of the *Moscow Gazette,* was one of the pioneers of the monarchical and temperance movements in Russia In 1908, he announced his determination of struggling energetically against drunkenness in our beloved land He wrote "We must convince our Government of the absolute necessity of stopping this evil, and of finding better sources of revenue—sources more worthy of a great country" Gringmut was not only Katkoff's friend and successor, but he worked energetically in the same direction with the greatest self-sacrifice When he was almost on his deathbed, his doctor ordered him complete rest and forbade all work The moment the door was closed and the doctor gone—"I must go at once to the station," he said, "as I have a very important meeting for Prohibition in one of the Provinces" Off he went, made his thrilling speech, returned home, and died a few days later Something exceptional happened on his burial His poor coffin was followed by a crowd of some ten thousand people, and their spontaneous grief could not be mistaken

Drink was the canker that was undermining the whole fabric of the State By his action the Tsar, like another St George, killed the dragon that was eating at the vitals of his beloved subjects The terrible evil wrought in Russia by drunkenness has always been admitted, and has formed a subject for argument ever since I can remember It was generally known that half of the convicts committed their crimes under the influence of this horrible scourge Some of our officials, my son amongst them, I am happy to say, availed themselves of *every opportunity to explain the danger of the drink evil to* the peasantry

When the great reform of the Zemski Natchalnik (a local administrator resembling the English J P) was introduced, my son in his maiden speech as Zemski Natchalnik said

" Let me tell you what I expect from yourselves I begin with your meetings You must admit that great disorders have taken place at these gatherings Were they not often accompanied by drinking? What a quantity of land and property has been exchanged for vodka ! I have now given strict orders—which I repeat to you here—that the smallest piece of land is not to be disposed of without the consent of your village judges and unless sanctioned by me You must keep well in mind that a village meeting is not a convivial gathering of friends, but is an administrative assembly, where you have to perform a serious duty conferred upon you Had you always looked upon that duty in its proper light, there would be no question of drunkenness at your meetings, nor could your village judges ever complain of not having the number of householders necessary for a legal meeting How often have I seen drunkenness at your marriage festivities—people going to church under the influence of drink The same happens at Easter and other holidays I appeal to your spiritual Father to help me in re-educating you, and I shall also be very happy, so far as the law allows me to do so, to support your good efforts whenever my authority may be needed for their support "

Later in his speech he again returned to the same subject

After upbraiding them for their lack of respect to the Church and to their parents, he added

"How many families are driven to misery, how many crimes are committed, only through alcohol? Half the prisons are filled with criminals—thanks to drink Now remember well to come to a village meeting or to a tribunal in a state of intoxication is prohibited by law, and for this you may be severely punished A new election of village judges has now to take place, and this new administration is subject to the control of your Zemski Natchalnik I have often heard people say: 'He is a happy fellow now He may drink as much as he likes now that he is a judge'! For myself, I confidently expect that with the new administration there will be neither drunkenness nor bribery Your new judges have to give an oath on the gospel It is your duty to elect men who realize the importance of such an oath The title of a village judge should command a respect of which every man ought to be proud I hope that we shall live together in harmony, and that you will help me in my difficult task Now let us thank God for granting us an Emperor so anxious to help us and to promote well-being Let us pray the Almighty to enlighten us, and to guide us in our choice in the important duties we are now about to undertake"

A *Te Deum* followed my son's speech, then the election of the village judges, and the assemblage of peasants, thus rendered serious and thoughtful, presented an impressive scene It was satisfactory to see with what intense interest the peasants followed these words of sober advice

This is only one of the numerous instances of the efforts made throughout Russia to combat the evils of drunkenness And the Tsar, by his action at the commencement of the war, interpreted the feelings of all the best minds throughout the country

In this connection I had a very striking experience one evening, while driving from the Zarskoe Selo station in Petrograd to my hotel some distance away Although it was the summer season, the weather reminded one of October or November,

It was cold, raining, and windy Under such circumstances one naturally begins dreaming of personal comfort, a warm room and a cup of hot tea One becomes prosaic It seemed to me as though my drive would never come to an end Suddenly I heard a voice. "Madame," asked my young driver, "are you a Russian ?"

"Yes," I answered, "thank God I am a Russian !"

A few minutes later I heard the same voice say "Madame, are you a Greek Orthodox ?"

I naturally repeated again the same "Yes, thank God I am a Greek Orthodox !" But my driver seemed to be inquisitive

"And do you often see the Tsar ?" asked the boy

"No, unfortunately very seldom," answered I But I was puzzled to know the cause of all these questions

"Tell me," I asked, "why do you want to know all these things ?"

"Well, I thought that perhaps I could beg you to intercede on our behalf, when you see His Majesty The fact is that I have been brought up at Mr Serge Ratchinsky's school as a teetotaler May God bless him for the good he has done to the children "

Ever since that day my young cabman's unpretentious conversation has been retained in my memory Besides, a strange circumstance resulted from it Mr Serge Ratchinsky was one of my best friends I had not met one of his pupils before, who are all devoted to him and to his teaching, and are moreover teetotalers

It is pleasant to see sometimes good work actually bearing good fruit, and to realize that all our efforts are not in vain, for it had become evident even to the most casual observer that. insobriety was positively an obstinate evil of great magnitude

And indeed, this measure of Prohibition, in order to be accepted by the whole of Russia, could only be carried out, especially in so short a time, when proclaimed by the highest Power in the land If only the Tsar could come to our

rescue! was the constant hope of all Russians who saw the extent of the liquor evil, and the Imperial stroke of the pen in Russia sometimes corrected evils with admirable rapidity

There is no doubt now that liquor monopoly as administered by M Witte had grievously aggravated the evil He had not shrunk from tempting the poor people in every way possible. He introduced the diabolical habit everywhere of selling the alcohol in small as well as in large bottles at a conveniently low price Thus, any beggar or any child almost could buy one of these bottles and put it in his pocket, and the fact that the Germans relied on M Witte's demoralizing measure is proved in this way as soon as they occupied the Polish provinces in Russia, one of their first steps was not only to reopen all the alcohol shops, but to add greatly to their number

If any doubt still exists about the Tsar's truly heroic measure, and the inevitable but perfectly authentic result of the Imperial signature, it will be finally dispelled by the following considerations A well-known worker in the temperance cause, Mr D Tchelyshov, writing in *The Messenger of Temperance* (*Viestnik Tresvosti*), stated that, before the Tsar's suppression of vodka was brought into force in 1914, over one million working-men in the best years of their manhood annually drank themselves to death in public-houses, that many thousands of alcoholic sufferers filled the hospitals, that many publicans allowed peasants to drink away all their substance to buy vodka Numbers of children under the age of five years died from the want of natural nourishment, and as the result of having parents addicted to alcohol In the general hospital of the town of Yaroslav, out of a total of 2,014 patients, not less than 908 men and 24 women were admitted for complaints which were inherited in each case from a drunken father Such analagous statistical figures, as stated by Baron Heyking in his important book "Problems Confronting Russia," show to what extent this moral evil was sapping away Russia's vital strength

But M Tchelyshov went even further in imploring His

Majesty to help the cause of temperance, and he was carried away by his feelings to such an extent that he sank down on his knees before him This happened not very long before the declaration of the war, and the sudden abolition of liquor, as well as the shutting down of all means of obtaining it, were decreed by the Emperor throughout Russia—civil, military, and naval

It is not difficult to verify all these facts I must, however, say that there were some people who were ready to grumble at such drastic measures They had, however, no power to oppose the good on which the Emperor had set his heart When Russia and her good qualities are discussed, I sometimes hear speeches and read in many most tedious books great mistakes and horrors attributed to Russia Naturally there is no country on earth where no mistakes ever happen, and Russia is no exception Let people be pleased with me when I say No doubt Russia also has made many mistakes, but surely nobody can deny that real Russians, devoted to her Church and her people, managed in spite of all to make their country Holy, Great, and Powerful, in spite even of human fallibility Yes, Holy Russia has nothing to do with the present diabolical Bolshevik administration There is no horror, no blasphemy, which the present usurpers have not introduced. They have established a real Inferno Yes, indeed, " Lasciate ogni speranza, voi chi entrate qui "

Those who would dare to go now to Russia in the reign of the Bolsheviks will involuntarily recall Dante's words Such quotations, however, show that people sometimes lose all hope, which they have no right to do, and all faith in divine compassion

With God's help the present Inferno will be closed, and real Russia resuscitate sooner or later Perhaps even sooner than later

THE RUSSIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE IN LONDON

By Baron A Heyking
(*Formerly Russian Consul-General in London*)

In a time of cosmopolitan dreams, socialistic exaggerations and the decomposition of the structure of the civilized world, it is refreshing to find that, after all, the point of view of national consolidation—which in the history of the past was the mainspring of State and Society—has not altogether been lost. The regeneration of Russia depends chiefly on the possibility of reinvigorating in the heart of well intentioned Russian citizens, those State-building and State-preserving qualities which, in the turmoil of revolution, were eclipsed by destructive and centrifugal elements.

Some six months ago, Russian patriots desirous of delivering their country from the abyss of revolutionary chaos, Bolshevist decomposition, and international disintegration, resolved to raise the banner of national self-consciousness and promote national existence. They thereupon formed an association which was styled the Russian National Committee in London, built up on the same lines as many similar societies in other towns. Since its inauguration it has grown considerably in membership, proving thereby that it supplied a long felt need in bringing together Russians earnestly desirous of assisting in the reconstruction of their country

It may be of interest to know on what lines this Association moves and what it has so far accomplished, more especially so, as from alien cosmopolitan quarters an attempt has been made to cast ridicule on this venture—which surely merits the support of every Russian patriot, irrespective of party, religious persuasion and racial origin, for the reason that it represents the fundamental idea of the Russian State as a unit in the life of nations.

A nation may be composed of different races, of believers in different religions, of different Semstvos, Co-operative Societies, Cossack communities and every kind of unit claiming local self government, but national political unity can and should be firmly maintained. As a matter of fact, autonomous provincial evolution, and the liberty to develop according to persuasion, historic tradition, and local custom, by no means contradict the upholding of international personality The Russian National Committee, therefore, believe in civic, racial and religious freedom, but, desiring that Russia should again become a great nation, the Committee

turn resolutely from cosmopolitanism, which, under the guise of liberality, is, in reality, negative and destructive, as has been abundantly proved by its most virulent exponent, Bolshevism!

There may be various political nostrums for making people happy, but every country must remain true to the cause to which it owes its existence. In Russia, this is, undoubtedly religion The peasantry, who form no less than 85 per cent of the total population, are called Krestiane—viz., "Cross-bearers." From the time when Russia was Christianized by Vladimir, the Governor of Kieff, the keynote of Russian national life has always been religious belief, which became a constructive force for the State. Even if State and religion should be quite independent of each other in Russia, the historic cause of national existence cannot be ignored, just as a son cannot deny his parents Before ever Bolshevist decomposition had set in, speakers used to address their audience as "Pravoslavny narod!"—*i e*, Right-believing people. Religion is Russia's life-nerve, a *conditio sine qua non*, and anything acting counter to that is working for the destruction of the country! The Russian National Committee is, therefore, strictly opposed to Atheism and desires to uphold the Christian religion

A third point which cannot be overlooked in Russian national self-consciousness is the Slavonic, ethnographical, numerical majority The Slavonic element should, therefore, according to democratic principles, be in a position to be the deciding factor in the State Here, again, is homage paid to the historic past, and the very forces which have created Russia The fundamental fact, that the Slavonic genius has made the country, cannot be disregarded Aliens may enjoy full equality of rights with all Russia's citizens, in all walks of life, but they must have the political tact to recognize that the house in which they live was not built by themselves. There are, in many towns of England, so called "freemen"—viz, the descendants of those who were the founders and original inhabitants of the town They are rightly looked upon as the mainstay of the town. The Russian Slavs are in exactly such a position in Russia, and to them it may be said, "Honour to whom honour is due"

This necessary and natural appreciation of the State building elements of Slavonism and the Russian Greek Orthodox religion, does not, of course, impede the combination of people of different race and religion in the fold of the Russian National Committee. As a matter of fact, they are there, and even the Council of the Committee is composed of men differing in racial and religious point of view, just as the country is composed of a variety of races.

The Programme of the Russian National Committee may thus be summed up Local self-government, Individual freedom and equality, National unity This programme may be tried and tested by the measure of Democracy, Self-determination, and Reaction.

Equal chances for all, as far as it is humanly possible, spells *Democracy*

Home-rule, up to the limits of what is compatible with the national existence of the State, is the right kind of *Self-determination*

An uncompromising opposition to a return to the pre-revolutionary régime *rules out Reaction*

A further feature characterizing the Russian National Committee is its perfect unity with Admiral Koltchak and his valiant generals, who strive with untiring energy to wrest Russia from the clutches of Terrorism No sound State or society can rely on Terrorism Admiral Koltchak wants to establish freedom and the possibility of Russia being able to express her will, without restraint and compulsion, through the medium of a Russian National Constituent Assembly

The Committee's programme of activity is political and social. To the former belong resolutions, made public in the press, intercourse with societies of the same nature, and, in general, the widest possible propaganda for promoting such political aims Socially, the Committee is active in many ways It is a centre for Russians, affording invaluable opportunity for social intercourse At Headquarters, 18, Queen's Gate Place, S W 7, addresses and lectures and all sorts of entertainments are held Guests may be introduced by members in the usual way observed in clubs. A library of Russian literature provides for the needs of studious people Practical advice upon any subject is given, and even expert assistance in matters of jurisprudence is provided

Another form of assistance has been the entertaining and piloting through London of many hundreds of Russian officers who have been released from internment in Germany and have come to England to be sent from this country to the different fighting fronts in Russia This work has cost a considerable amount of money, which was generously contributed by some of the Committee members

The Committee also comprises a special section for charitable work It is taking a hand in the forming of a Russian Parish in London, and in transforming the previous chapel of the Russian Embassy into a parish church

Anything Russian, every Russian interest, may form the object of the solicitude of the Russian National Committee Its scope, alas! is limited by the means available, which are insufficient for the work in hand

CORRESPONDENCE

"A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR"

THE CZECHO-SLOVAK REPUBLIC TO-DAY

CZECHO-SLOVAK PRESS BUREAU,
9, GROSVENOR PLACE, S W 1
June 18, 1919

To the Editor, THE ASIATIC REVIEW

After eight months of existence the Czecho-Slovak Republic is to-day fairly well consolidated. Though there is a lively discussion as regards the domestic policy, there are no internal troubles. When we remember that all round Czecho-Slovakia is anarchy and chaos, and, moreover, a serious food shortage in Bohemia, then we can fully realize the difficulties which the Czecho-Slovaks have to face

It was not an easy task to build up and consolidate this state, which some three centuries ago lost its independence History has hardly a precedent of a state being created and constituted under such unfavourable conditions as was the case with the Czecho-Slovak Republic. At the moment of the breakdown of Austria Hungary, political, administrative, and economic difficulties appeared to be almost insurmountable. The Czecho-Slovaks' lands have been plundered by Germans and Magyars almost in the same way as Belgium, Serbia, or Northern France Purely Czech territories were occupied by Germans and Magyar soldiers. All-important places in the civil service and administration were also occupied by Germans and Magyars, so that the problem of introducing Czech administration was very difficult All other states which were constituted on the plan of Austria-Hungary have had some assistance of their compatriots in the neighbouring states, but the Czecho-Slovaks, being surrounded by Germans and Magyars, have had to rely on themselves.

If, in spite of all these difficulties, the Czecho-Slovaks have succeeded in erecting and consolidating their state, it is a positive proof that the whole nation was inspired by the will to maintain and ensure the reconquered freedom and independence And ever since their constitution as an independent state, the Czecho-Slovaks have given many proofs of their statesmanlike abilities and capacity to live an independent national life All Czech parties, including the Social Democrats, have fully realized the necessity of co-operation in the dangerous period of transition. No doubt the democratic spirit of the Czech national parties contributed greatly to the maintenance of internal social peace.

The practical common sense and tolerance of the Czecho-Slovak political

leaders has manifested itself in the constitution of the National Assembly, which on November 14, 1918, met in Prague They have realized the difficulties which general elections in the unsettled state of affairs after Austria's collapse would cause, and therefore they agreed upon the nomination of representatives of all political parties, including the Slovaks Thus of 260 members of the Assembly, the Agrarian Party nominated 54 deputies, the Social Democratic Party 50, the State Right Democracy 44, the Socialist Party 28, and the Progressive Party 6

The foreign, as well as the internal, policy of the Czecho Slovak State was outlined in President Masaryk's message, delivered the second day after his arrival in Prague at the end of last year The Czecho-Slovak Republic will remain faithful to the Allies to the very end, it will live in friendship with its neighbouring states, and will attempt to achieve an economic co-operation and defensive organization between the Slav State extending from the Baltic to the Adriatic—*i e*, between the Poles, Czecho Slovaks, Roumanians, and the Southern Slavs Should this co operation be established, then the German plans of conquests towards the East will be defeated for ever

In its internal policy the Czecho-Slovak Republic is pursuing a thoroughly Democratic line, guaranteeing complete freedom to all citizens There was no question more urgent and more important in Czecho-Slovakia than the expropriation of the great landowners, who were of German origin, and who received their lands from the Habsburgs for services rendered to them during the Czech revolution in 1620 Since then the Czech nation was practically deprived of land, and the Czech peasants had to toil on the land of the Habsburg conquerers and German feudals who came with Ferdinand II to Bohemia. But as soon as the Czecho Slovaks had thrown off the Habsburg and German domination, it became clear to everyone that this unlawfully seized land must again become the property of the nation Thus on April 16, the Czecho-Slovak National Assembly, after a laborious preparation, unanimously passed a Bill by which all landed estates having over 150 hectares (about 370 acres) of tillable land, or more than 250 hectares (about 618 acres) in all, adding 100 hectares for forests, become the property of the State Through this Bill the Czecho-Slovak Republic acquired about 17,000 square miles of land, being twice as large as the size of Moravia

The financial situation of the Czecho Slovak Republic was revealed on May 13, when the Czecho-Slovak Minister of Finance, Dr Rašín, presented his budget to the Czecho-Slovak National Assembly, which was accompanied by a detailed *exposé*

The Czecho-Slovak Republic, though belonging to the victorious Allies, suffered enormously under all measures taken against former Austria-Hungary Under the pressure of blockade the Czecho-Slovak industries were deprived of all raw material, and consequently were at a standstill. The prosperous agricultural industries, such as distilleries, breweries, etc., suffered also owing to the fact that potato crops and barley were required for the population. As the financial system is based on taxes on beer and

alcohol, this contributed in a great measure to the reduction of the State incomes.

Nevertheless the ordinary budget of the Czecho-Slovak Republic as presented by Dr Rašín is not passive, but shows a considerable surplus. Thus the ordinary expenses amounted to 2,125 million crowns, while the ordinary incomes were 2,306 crowns, so that there is a surplus of 181 million crowns. By this one can judge the financial stability of the Republic when the situation becomes normal. Even if the ordinary expenses will in future augment, they will be covered by larger incomes which will be derived from taxes on beer, wine, alcohol, etc

The extraordinary budget is, of course, passive, as the Czecho-Slovak Republic is still in a state of war In Siberia there are 70,000 men, and the uncertainty of the situation in Hungary obliges the Republic to keep 300,000 men under arms, while in peace time only 60,000 would be sufficient. This makes 462 million crowns of extraordinary expenses Besides that we must count 1,150 million crowns to give assistance to the families of mobilized and demobolized soldiers, and the out-of work donations amount to 216 million crowns. Moreover it was necessary to reduce the prices of imported foodstuffs so as to make them compatible with general incomes of the population This contribution amounted to 220 million crowns, and the war bonus to the State employees and soldiers and officers makes 865 million crowns

The railways, which in the greatest part belong to the State, have been during the war deprived of most of their rolling stock, so that they show a deficit of 600 million crowns, which, of course, is only temporary Thus the total extraordinary expenses amount to 3,829 million crowns, and if we reckon also the surplus of the ordinary budget, 3,143 million crowns

The Government does not intend to cover this deficit only by a loan, *but it proposes to submit to the National Assembly a new financial plan by* which a third of the extraordinary expenses would be covered by new taxes, which, of course, will be only temporary, relating to the war measures These new taxes, it is calculated, will bring the Government 1,250 million crowns The remaining 1,893 million crowns of the total deficit of the extraordinary war budget will be covered by a loan

From the *exposé* of Dr Rašín it was clear that the Czecho-Slovak Republic was capable of supporting its extraordinary expenses. When the financial situation, which is already now a favourable one, becomes stable a new economic life will be started

Yours faithfully,

ALEXANDER BROŽ

The fact that a Social Democrat, M Tusar, has become the head of the new Czecho-Slovak Government gave rise to some suspicions that the Czecho-Slovak Republic is on the path towards Bolshevism. I would like, therefore, to explain the reasons which led to the change of the Czecho-Slovak Government, and emphasize the fact that the Czech Social Demo-

cracy does not represent a negative but a creative force in Czech politics.

The change in the Government became necessary after the recent municipal elections in Bohemia, which gave a great success to both the Socialist and Social Democratic parties. The late Government of Dr Kramář included representatives of all parties. That was a necessity in the first days of the national revolution But as the Republic became consolidated and the principal work of the Peace Conference concluded, and the frontiers of the new Czecho-Slovak Republic settled, a change in the Government became imperative in order to adapt the Government to the true political conditions of the Republic

The new Government of M Tusar does not represent a purely Socialist Cabinet. It is a Coalition Government, in which the Agrarians are also represented, besides officials belonging to no party The Czecho-Slovak well known revolutionary Foreign Minister, Dr E Beneš, remains in charge of foreign affairs This is a proof that the foreign policy of the new Cabinet will be as decidedly pro-Ally as was that of Dr Kramář

July 7, 1919 ALEXANDER BROZ

NOTE ON DR POLLEN'S "WAY OUT IN INDIA"
(in *Asiatic Review* for July, p 313)

When Dr Pollen suggests that the whole of India should be placed under various Indian Rajahs, has he forgotten the outcry there was in Berar in 1880-83, when it was proposed to hand the whole province back to the Nizam? I know nothing of Berar myself, but a friend of mine who spent the greater part of his service in the most intimate relations with the people of that province, tells me there was no mistake about the feeling aroused J B PENNINGTON

A "WAY OUT" FOR THE PUNJAB

The Montagu Chelmsford scheme for Indian reform set out that one of its chief purposes was to arouse and challenge opinion It was not, on its own showing, intended to be a cut-and dried plan But it was an attempt to answer the difficult question as to how the great continent of India could be brought more in line with the present world movement for self-government

The Report asked for criticism—and it certainly got it And amid the conflicting voices which at once arose—approving, disapproving—amid the warnings of experience, the threats of extremists, and the fears of those who fear all change, it is difficult even for people who themselves know something of the country to feel their way towards a satisfactory solution

The Indian deputations at present in this country, although they are nearly all drawn from one section of the community, the small but powerful section of Europeanized Indians, even they can only agree on one point And that very point—the inclusion of some qualified women in the

new Indian electorates—is just one that Anglo-Indian officials and English statesmen are least likely to grant!

But if we listen again to the many voices, we shall end by hearing one recurrent note. Reactionary and extremist, and wise people in between, all agree that it is the man, not the system, that chiefly matters in the East, whether he be a Ruling Prince or a President, it is the individual that counts.

For this reason more attention should be given to the scheme put forward by Dr Pollen in his article "A Way Out in India," which appeared in the July issue of this Review It is a plea for direct self-government by handing over more territory to the Indian Princes (who already hold one-third of India), and, where suitable, for reconstituting former Indian States

The whole success of such a plan would depend on the Princes themselves.

In the case of the Punjab there would appear to be just the man the occasion requires, that is, a Prince who could combine the modern methods of constitutional government, now possible in India, with the necessary links with the country's past H H Prince Frederick Duleep Singh is the eldest surviving grandson of Ranjit Singh, the Lion of the Punjab, the great hero of the Sikhs At the same time he is a notable English country squire, with all that implies of love of liberty and knowledge of the management of men. His circumstances are those of the class from which our Anglo-Indian Governors are drawn His care of his estate, and his marked taste for fine old buildings and beautiful gardens, could not fail to impress anyone who visited his former home at Old Buckenham Hall or his present Norfolk residence, while his Indian feeling for tradition finds expression in his exceptional interest in, and knowledge of, English archæology in all its branches It is just such a man, who can understand both peoples, who combines the qualities needed by an Indian ruler in this transitional period.

And though few Englishmen can be got to admit that any part of what is now British India might be successfully released, no one, English or Indian, will deny that, given the right ruler, an Indian State is after all the shortest cut to Indian Home Rule V.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION

[In view of the very great field for archæological research which has been opened up by the result of the late war, it is proposed to give our readers at regular intervals notes and information especially contributed]

" The opportunities before archæology are now very great The horizon is very bright In the course of the next year or two, not only should work be renewed in Egypt under conditions at least as favourable as before, but in Palestine, in Syria, in Mesopotamia, it should have prospects such as it has never had in the past"—Sir F G Kenyon, K C B , in his Presidential Address to the British Academy, July 3, 1919

I

BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGY IN EGYPT

A Retrospect and a Forecast

With the termination of the war Oriental archæology has emerged from its enforced hibernation Political exigencies have made field-work impossible for four years, and at home the ranks of students and professors have been thinned by the demands of national service. Immediately on the cessation of hostilities, it being once more possible to resume work, no time was lost in re-marshalling the intellectual army whose energies had for so long been otherwise directed, and the recent congress of Orientalists held in London under the auspices of the Royal Asiatic Society has shown how zealous is the learned world to resume its proper studies

Before the war the eyes of all persons interested in ancient civilization were directed especially to Egypt, which was then yielding so many marvellous discoveries under the hands of the various learned bodies who are authorized to carry out scientific excavations there The recovery of the language and literature is enabling us to make a more and more complete reconstruction of the marvellous and subtle religious and social culture of the

ancient inhabitants of the Nile Valley, a culture which far surpassed that of all contemporaries, and whose influence can now be demonstrably traced literally all round the world

The wonderful treasures of Egypt have suffered much from vandalism, art collectors, and adventurers of all kinds, and the vast amount of illicit and unscientific digging, practised during the last generations, has lost to posterity an immense quantity of valuable material. Ill-equipped expeditions under untrained supervision, carried out ostensibly for scientific purposes, really did far more harm than good, and to stay this slipshod exploitation and to develop a more organized and worthy method was the aim which Miss Amelia B Edwards had in view when through her tireless efforts the Egypt Exploration Fund was founded in 1882 to represent this country's effort towards a better state of things. The Fund was the first Society formed in this or any other country to undertake the scientific exploration and preservation of Egyptian monuments upon proper archæological lines The Society thus formed set a standard which it has ever since rigorously maintained, and, as far as its opportunities and finances would allow, has been satisfied with nothing less than the best, alike in staff, methods, and publications In support of this statement one has only to refer to the many able archæologists who have carried out the excavations—Professors Naville, Flinders Petrie, and Ernest Gardner, to name but three. As regards methods, the constant practice has been to work out completely every site entrusted to it, and as to publications, the long series of over seventy stately memoirs with their innumerable plates may tell its own tale.

Excavations were begun in the Delta country, important for its Biblical association of Pithom, Goshen, and other sites. It was during these early years that Professor Petrie discovered the long-lost site of the Græco-Egyptian city of Naukratis, and excavated the ruins of Tanis, bringing to light amongst other and larger monuments an

extensive series of documents written upon papyrus Bubastis was likewise explored with important results

It is impossible in so small a compass even to enumerate the sites excavated and the wonderful discoveries yielded by each of them, but mention must be made of the excavations, begun in 1894, and lasting for more than ten years, on the great eighteenth dynasty temple at Deir el-Bahari This fine and imposing structure was well-nigh buried in débris of the sands and falls from the cliffs at the foot of which the building stands The temple had been partly uncovered by former excavators, but under the direction of Professor Naville, on behalf of the Fund, the entire site was cleared, much damage repaired, and the great series of scenes and inscriptions published in six folio volumes with upwards of 174 plates In the course of the work another temple adjoining the site was discovered—a far older one, built by one of the Kings of the eleventh dynasty This temple has likewise been fully explored and published, and travellers in Egypt can now visit for the first time after many centuries two of the finest structures produced in the greatest days of the country's history, in their full extent.

The ancient city of Abydos has been worked for many seasons, and has yielded up the tombs of the earliest dynasties, the very beginnings of historic Egypt, besides innumerable remains of later ages

Besides the opening up of fresh ground, another important work has been actively carried on—namely, the copying of the scenes and inscriptions on many monuments already above ground and fast perishing or threatening to disappear A separate branch of the Egypt Exploration Fund—the Archæological Survey—has devoted its energies to this end, and has published in twenty-four volumes the extensive and interesting rock-cut tombs of Beni Hasan, El Bersheh, Deir el Gebrawi, El Amarna, Shekh Said, Thebes, and Meir, and also the distinctive and peculiar Nubian remains of Meroe.

Before closing this review of past activities, mention

must be made of the great work so well known to classical scholars—the discovery and publishing of the Græco-Roman papyri from the Fayyum The towns of Oxyrhynchus and Hibeh have yielded a vast hoard of documents which have been steadily studied and published for the Fund by Professors Grenfell and Hunt of Oxford Under their skilful hands classical fragments, lost gospels, and a host of miscellaneous literature, have been recovered, and there is still material enough in hand to fill many volumes

In addition to field-work, and the memoirs connected with it, the Fund publishes a quarterly journal of Egyptian archæology, and holds courses of lectures from time to time.

So much by way of retrospect, and now a word of forecast. The logical outcome of this prolonged and useful work is the formation of a worthy British Institute of Archæology in Egypt, since the country is now a British Protectorate The Egypt Exploration Fund, although a private body, depending entirely on voluntary subscriptions, has throughout fulfilled the functions of a public service, and has presented the whole of its antiquities to public collections The lack of Government support has long been a serious handicap to science, for though the State grants subsidies to British schools in Athens and in Rome, its indifference to Egyptian archæology is conspicuous when we look upon the institutions of other countries in Egypt The British Academy has invited delegates of various scientific bodies to serve on a committee which is to deliberate on the archæology of the Near East, and communicate its findings to the Government The Egypt Exploration Fund, as one of the bodies concerned, has appointed two delegates for this purpose, and perhaps some belated hopes may be fulfilled in the distant future, although at the moment the Government has made a negative reply. In the meantime, however, all efforts are being renewed to carry on as before the work which recent events have made a national and patriotic duty.

WARREN R. DAWSON.

THE BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHÆOLOGY IN EGYPT

THE earlier researches that were carried on a century ago opened the public mind to the ideas of a great past in Oriental lands which was dimly seen to be far longer and richer in its results than had been at all supposed

In place of the accounts which had come down in Jewish and Homeric literature being exaggerated, as many thought in their ignorance, it is now realized that the manuscript history showed but a fringe of the powerful civilizations that had filled the world's stage

The first workers in the new fields had unfortunately no experience, and an incomplete idea of how much needed to be observed Each decade has seen a higher standard for the scientific recording of detail for future study When Greek vases were smashed if not painted, when Schliemann cut away the most important part of Troy in vague trenching, when nothing was saved but inscriptions or tablets, excavating was more destructive than constructive The first requisite for preserving the history of the past is an adequate training in the whole range of the interests which need to be observed

For the training of students in such work a basis was formed in 1892, which has since expanded into the British School of Archæology in Egypt, now in the fourteenth year A regular training course has been framed at University College, London, where students can prepare themselves in the language, history, crafts, dating of objects, history of art, ethnography, and geology of Egypt In this field the work of the students leads them through the practical details of the management of workmen, and then understanding of sites, without which more is lost than found, also the facsimile copying and planning of monuments, and the preservation of objects found, which needs special precautions. Such students pass on in a few years to Government Inspectorships, or to independent work on other bases

The produce of this course of work has been published usually in two annual volumes, given to the subscribers, or sometimes one larger volume. Every object of the least

importance has been illustrated, some volumes with many coloured plates All the objects found are placed in public museums, half go to the Cairo Museum, and others to Great Britain, America, Australia, and other lands.

The Asiatic connections with Egypt have received special attention From the earliest work of these students it became evident that the second of the two prehistoric civilizations of Egypt had been introduced from the East. Pottery probably of Syrian origin has been found of the first dynasty. The close of the pyramid age in Egypt was brought about by a Syro-Euphratean people, probably of Amorite stock, who left behind them many examples of their work found in our excavations, the most complete series of their button-badges is at University College. On the main Syrian invasion by the Hyksos much light has been thrown in the discovery of the great fortress with sloping glacis at Zell el Yehudiyeh, which is clearly not Egyptian, and is dated by Hyksos graves within and around it This site—probably that of Avaris—gave also the black decorated pottery of this age, which was brought in by the Hyksos from Syria. A similar large fortress with glacis we also found around the early temple site of Heliopolis, so that we can now recognize a type of defence of these people, who as being nomads trusted to throwing up a vast zareba entirely suited to archery fighting

The connections of Asia and Europe under the Persian Empire have been illustrated by the Persian sealings and the Aramaic labels for goods sent from Syria to the palace at Memphis. An entirely new light on the cosmopolitan nature of the Memphite trade has been given by the long series of modelled heads of foreigners dating from the Persian period. The portraits of the Great King, the Persian cavalry officer, the Scythian horseman, the Indian girls and traders, the Jewish merchants, the Kurds, and more than all the Sumerian man of commerce from Babylon, were discovered in the foreign quarter of Memphis, beside many other Asiatic types not yet identified.

Rather later was the Jewish settlement of the eastern Delta. The foundations of the temple of Onias were found, on the top of an artificial hill, piled up to resemble the temple hill of Jerusalem. Covered by this mound are a great number of the pottery ovens used in a national Passover feast at the founding of the new Jerusalem in Egypt The continued influence of Persia is seen in the glazing factory of the first century at Memphis, where much of the design is evidently Eastern. Probably Augustus

brought in a body of Persians—always foremost in glazed work—to run a factory in his new province. The Arab period has not been neglected wherever documents and other remains have come to light.

Another part of the relations of countries is shown by the extension of the use of tools and weapons from one land to another This has been dealt with comprehensively, in a volume published while the war has stopped excavation, with about three thousand figures of Egyptian, Oriental, and European implements.

The importations into Egypt comprise the scalloped axe from Syria, the toggle-pin from the Caspian region, the falchion from Mesopotamia, the hoe from Cyprus, and the triangular arrow-head from Scythia The subject is as yet only being opened up, and much more remains to be observed and collected in the future as to the spread of the arts and manufactures from Asia. A marked difference is the Asiatic casting of implements in closed moulds with relief lines, in place of the Egyptian and European casting in open moulds, with incised design In all periods the work of the British school has enlarged the view of the Asiatic influences and connections with Egypt.

The history of Egyptian civilization and its connection with the west has not been neglected The work at Naqadeh laid a broad foundation for the study of prehistoric Egypt By the abundance of pottery and objects found in graves, and recorded as groups, it became possible to disentangle and put in order the sequence of remains of the two long periods of civilization before the first dynasty In no other country have the prehistoric ages been so exactly discriminated and arranged The junction of those times with the historic has been fully explored at the cemetry of Tarkhan, where over two thousand graves were cleared The names of some of the earliest kings were found, and the change of stature to the incoming dynastic race has been proved. This appears to have been the cemetery of the temporary capital before the foundations of Memphis by Menes. A curious class of religious offering is that of the soul houses of pottery which were placed by the graves in the ninth and eleventh dynasties. A long series of these were found at Rifeh, illustrating every variety of peasant's dwelling from the slightest shelter to elaborate two-story houses fitted with furniture.

The principal work in the twelfth dynasty was the clearing of the site of the labyrinth and finding the oldest statues of the Egyptian gods, and the great granite shrines of the

kings After that the pyramid of Lahun is now the field of work where the jewellery of a princess was found by the school just before the war. The workmanship of the group is from the same craftsmen as the celebrated jewellery of Dahshur, but is in some parts even finer than that. Of a later time is the burial of the seventeenth dynasty from Quruch, with gold work which has a curious resemblance to some northern necklaces. It is seldom that a year passes without gold work being obtained from the excavations of the school, owing to the system of fully rewarding the workmen for everything that they find

The later architecture has been brought to light in the palace of Apries on the top of the mounds of Memphis This was a great structure with brick walls ninety feet high, and much of the stone-work of the courts and massive columns were found still in place

Classical painting has almost entirely perished, except on frescoes It is therefore all the more valuable to have a series of portraits of the first to third centuries preserved from Egypt The school excavated at Hawara, and about a hundred portraits have been recovered from there The best of these are in the National Gallery, and all the finer examples have been published by the school in facsimile colour plates, the fullest source that there is for the study of Roman painting

The policy of the school in recent years has been to exhaust all the country southward from Cairo, passing by such sites as were reserved to other excavators The whole desert border has been searched now as far as the Fayum, and it is hoped to continue this systematic clearance which has already produced the first dynasty cemetery of Tarkhan and the jewellery of Lahun Excavations will be resumed in December.

The whole work depends on voluntary subscribers who receive all the volumes of publications without further charge The current news and summary of all the foreign journals is dealt with in *Asiatic Egypt* issued quarterly. The means of study were provided in the library, the collections, the classes, and lectures at University College, open to all apart from other college work It is hoped that we may thus build up a solid and abiding interest in one of the greatest of ancient civilizations. W M. Flinders Petrie

POETRY

THE FABLES OF KRILOV

(*Born* 1768, *died* 1844)

(LITERALLY TRANSLATED BY J POLLEN, C I E)

IVAN ANDREEVITCH KRILOV was born in Moscow on February 2, 1768 His father was an artillery officer who had distinguished himself in repressing the Pugachev rising and in helping to pacify the country afterwards

On the father's retirement from the Army, he joined the Civil Service and became a magistrate in Tver, where he soon afterwards died, leaving a widow and an only son, Ivan, then eleven years of age. The mother gave her son the best education she could, and took him, when he was fifteen years of age, to St. Petersburg There they lived in very straitened circumstances for some six years, when his mother died

Young Ivan had at the age of sixteen obtained employment in a Government office at a salary of about twenty-five roubles a year, and, after his mother's death, remained in service for about two years He then resigned his appointment, and began to devote himself to literature. He wrote plays, operas, and satires, and edited journals, but it was not until he was thirty seven years of age that he, encouraged by the great writer Dmitriev, took to writing and translating fables

In the year 1809 appeared his first little book of twenty three fables, and from that time onwards he composed fables at the rate of about five a year

From 1805 to 1844 (the year of his death) he published about two hundred fables in all He was elected a Member of the Russian Academy, and in 1812 he was appointed Librarian of the Russian Public Library, where he served for thirty-two years The fables he published in connection with the war of 1812 ("The Wolf in the Kennel" and "The Crow and the Hen") attracted the attention of Alexander I, and Krilov became one of the poets of the Court and a *persona grata* at the Winter Palace, where he used to pass much of his time He never married, but was devoted to children, and was, on account of his kindly and genial disposition, hailed everywhere as "Little Grandfather" Krilov His fables were written in the purest and simplest Russian, and with a charm that can only be conveyed in Russian sounds and Russian rhythm to Russian ears. They have been justly described as "Russian classics of the most emphatic type"

The translations that follow are word for word—and line upon line—renderings from the original Russian, and the Translator has done his best to translate accurately the Russian words and to preserve the Russian rhymes (that is, what Milton would call "the jingling sound of like

endings"), but the Russian rhythm and the Russian melody he is only too conscious he has not succeeded in duly conveying

Still, these translations may be found of some interest to the general public, and may prove of some use to English students of Russian and to Russian students of English It is in this hope they are published

J POLLEN.

I

THE DUCAT

What use is 'Education'?
What use?—That's not the word at all,
By what we 'Education' call
We often mean mere 'sensuous temptation',
And even 'moral degradation',
Therefore, you must most earnestly beware
Lest when you boorish ignorance out tear,
You with it also noble traits impair—
Weaken men's souls and spoil their morals—
Divorce them from simplicity,
Giving a gloss of sheer vacuity,
And shame on them deflect instead of laurels.
Upon this sacred verity
Volumes of powerful speeches might be writ,
But everyone has not the gift to speak of it.
So, half in joke but true,
This tale I am resolved to tell to you!

A simple swain (of such there are not few)
Deep buried in the ground
Begrimed with dirt a Ducat found.
Now, for a Ducat handfuls three of coppers round
They give the Farmer in exchange!
"Stay!" thinks the swain, "they'll give me double this,
I've thought out something they'll not take amiss.
They'll snatch it from me if within their range"
Then, having got some pebbles, sand, and chalk,
And broken up a brick,
Our Peasant sets to work without more talk,
Putting his shoulders to it slick,
The coin he on the brick doth roll,
With gravel rubs,
With chalk and pebble scrubs,
As if he'd make of it a blazing coal.
And like a blazing coal in fact the Ducat flaked away,
And even so
In weight did lighter grow,
And lost its former value and assay

WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME, BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

CONTENTS *The Future of Turkey—The Indian Gymkhana—Palestine Exploration Fund—British Academy—School of Oriental Studies*

THE FUTURE OF TURKEY

BY H CHARLES WOODS

THE following is a summary of a paper read before the Geographical Section of the British Association at Bournemouth by Mr H Charles Woods on September 10, 1919

In opening his lecture, Mr Woods pointed out that there were two conditions which must be realized in any settlement made with Turkey Firstly, the Ottoman Government having acted as a tool and instrument of Prussianism, safeguards must be established against the recurrence of the like danger And secondly, there was a direct Allied obligation of terminating once and for all the misgovernment and oppression which in the past have rendered the lives of the subject races domiciled in the Ottoman Empire well-nigh intolerable The realization of this latter condition is necessary, not only in the interests of humanity, but also because so long as there is unrest in Turkey, so long will there be an ever-occurring excuse for foreign intervention

The first and all-important question is whether Turkey is to disappear as a Great Power, or whether her life is to be extended more or less in its present form, though under some form of control In the first case her existence in Europe would be terminated, her capital would be removed from Constantinople to some place in Asia Minor, and a number of new States actually independent of Ottoman rule would come into existence, these States being governed either under a unified mandate or under a number of separate mandates from the "League of Nations"

Such arrangements would, however, be possessed of many difficulties, and therefore it seems practically necessary to seek a solution in the second alternative It would not entail the actual disruption of Turkey, her capital might remain on the Bosphorus and her flag might continue to fly, at least as an emblem, in all or most of the areas governed from Stamboul at the outbreak of the war Coupled with these conditions, there should be adequate control at Constantinople, and the different

areas and nationalities would have to be given the fullest measures of autonomy, under a mandate or mandates from the "League of Nations" A unified mandate, especially were it an American or British mandate, would prove more workable than control carried out by a number of different countries.

The future of Constantinople, which must include a band of territory on each side of the Dardanelles, constitutes the first and most important factor in the Turkish problem Undoubtedly, the city and the world-highway which it commands should be internationalized, unfortified, and open at all times to the ships of commerce and of war of all nations. The Straits should be neutralized—that is to say, no belligerent act should be permitted to take place there except in the case of an attack from without The administration should either be carried out by a single mandatory or by a International Commission more or less of the same kind as that responsible for the Lower Danube, or for the Suez Canal

With regard to the position of Turkey, there were three courses To begin with, the Ottoman flag might continue to fly, and that Government might remain the nominal Sovereign Power at Constantinople, its power being strictly controlled Or the Sultan and his Government might be compelled to move to Asia Minor And, lastly, Turkey might be given the choice of either maintaining her capital in a place over which she would have no actual control, or of moving it to some Asiatic city where she would have more real power As the Ottoman choice would almost certainly fall upon the first of these alternatives, and as a variety of other reasons exist for the adoption of that course, Mr Woods considered that it would undoubtedly be best for the Turks to be allowed to keep Constantinople as their capital

Coming to Asiatic Turkey, the lecturer explained that the most difficult questions were those connected with Armenia, Syria, the area to be left to Turkey, and the districts possibly to pass under the influences respectively of Greece and of Italy There should be a big Armenia, extending from the Black Sea to the borders of Mesopotamia, and perhaps to the shores of the Mediterranean—an Armenia, if possible, to be ruled with the assistance of an American mandate Syria should have a French mandate, though here Mr Woods thought that if the people wished to have a native Prince, France would be well advised to agree to that wish, especially if such an agreement meant the incorporation in her zone of a larger area than the "coastal strip" of territory promised to her in 1916 All Central Asia Minor, from the Black Sea Coast to the Mediterranean, should remain directly or indirectly Turkish If Smyrna is to be taken from Turkey, then Greece, who should secure the Ægean Islands which she covets, would receive a mandate for that area. With regard to Italy, that country having no claims on the basis of nationality, her influence or mandate should be limited to the Adalia Region

With regard to the binding power to exist between these various areas, if it be impossible to have a unified mandate for the whole of Turkey, that binding power would have to be limited to the maintenance of the Turkish flag, to a Customs Union, to a single (the Ottoman) postal and

monetary system, and to a unification of the law Thus, whilst Mesopotamia, Arabia, the Hedjaz, and Palestine, which seem destined to have a British mandate or mandates, might well form a United States of Arabia, it would be hardly feasible to form a United States of Islam because, failing the "Federal" Government being completely under foreign influence, it would not be possible to leave in its hands the control of the Army and of the Navy and the collection of taxes necessary to pay for "Imperial" requirements

In conclusion, Mr Woods referred to the necessity of reforms in the law-courts and to some of the financial questions which must be considered by the Peace Conference Here he laid stress upon the fact that, as the population will always remain mixed, there must be absolute equality before the law for minorities and majorities, for Christians and for Moslems With regard to finance, too, whilst it was natural that part of the Ottoman debt should be placed upon the provinces no longer to form an integral part of the Empire, these provinces should not be so encumbered as either to prevent their development or to place a heavy financial burden upon their several mandatories

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A meeting was held at 21, Cromwell Road, on July 30, under the chairmanship of Mr H. A L Fisher, Minister of Education, when Mr B N Basu delivered an address on Education in India. Mr Basu traced the history of Indian education from the earliest times to the present day He maintained that the early Aryans who settled in India paid greater attention to education than any other peoples of their time He painted a graphic picture of student life in India in ancient times, when the pupils lived in the home of their teacher, paying no fees, since learning could neither be bought nor sold, but doing various tasks for him in grateful acknowledgment of what they owed him In the fourth century B C. Strabo speaks of the University of Takila, on the north-west confines of India, to which students came from Greece, Central Asia, Persia, and Tibet for many studies, chief amongst which was medicine.

It was with the intervention of Islam in India in the tenth century that this flourishing state of things began to wane Hinduism sought protection behind formalism and tradition, so that knowledge became a matter of note.

Then came contact with Great Britain Warren Hastings founded the Calcutta Madrassals on orthodox Indian lines, and the Company published tracts in Arabic and Sanskrit and encouraged the study of these languages by means of scholarships The question of Western education was taken up by Rammohun Roy in conjunction with David Hare, Chief Justice of the High Court, who founded a college in Calcutta without Government support It was Macaulay who went to India as Law Member of the Governor General's Council in 1834, who in his famous minute laid the foundation of English education in India. Since then education had made great strides in India, and there was now a universal and insistent demand for more and for better education

Mr Fisher, on rising to thank Mr Basu for his address, declared that the contact of English and Indian minds was the greatest fact in the cultural history of the nineteenth century The outcome of this contact would undoubtedly result in the mutual enrichment of both countries.

The vote of thanks to the Chairman was proposed by Mr Surendra Nath Bannerji in an eloquent speech.

Indian soldiers serving in France have always, when on a visit to London, found a warm welcome awaiting them in 21, Cromwell Road. Early in the war, when the Indian Base Hospital was in Brighton, parties of wounded were several times invited to the house Officers and soldiers coming on short leave from France have also been frequently entertained. Indian students living in the house, or those invited to meet the soldiers, have shown every friendliness towards them

It was fitting that this connexion of the house with the Indian Army on foreign service should terminate with a series of entertainments to the Indian peace contingent now at Hampton Court. The last of these parties was given at 21, Cromwell Road, on Saturday, September 13 Fifty Indian officers were invited from Hampton Court, and amongst those present to meet them were Princess Sophia Duleep Singh, Lord Sinha, Sir K G Gupta, Colonel Sir Donald Robertson, Sir B Mitter, Mr Basu, Mr Coldstream, and others Short speeches appreciative of the part played by the Indian Army in the war were made by Mr Basu, Mr Yousuf Ali, and Mr Coldstream, all of whom spoke in Urdu Suitable replies were given by Risaldar-Majors Amar Singh, Mukand Singh, and others. Indian refreshments were provided, and Mrs Sen's children distributing spices amidst the throng of stalwart warriors made a pretty picture

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INDIAN GYMKHANA CLUB

The opening cricket match of the season took place at Acton on Saturday, May 3, when the Gymkhana scored 110 and had Croydon South End all out for 13, U J Cherry taking 7 wickets for 2 runs and C H Gunasekara taking 3 wickets for 10 runs.

On May 10, the Gymkhana suffered defeat at the hands of Honor Oak, who scored 105 and had the Gymkhana all out on the home ground for 73 At Merton on the following Saturday the Gymkhana won by 133 to 88, J J Brown taking 5 of the Merton wickets for 21 runs.

On Thursday, May 22, Islington Police visited Acton and were all out for 77, while the Gymkhana scored 183 for 4 wickets, declared. G. W Karunaratna took 5 wickets for 29 runs, while M P. Bajana was top scorer with 74.

On Saturday, May 24, at Acton, the Gymkhana with a score of 119 for 8 wickets defeated Mill Hill Park, who scored 94 all out. As an Empire Day tribute Lieutenant Fraser and Sergeant Pearce, two Australian players, were the guests of the Indian team, while in the evening the Mill Hill Park Club invited as their Empire Day guests T B W. Ramsay, Honorary

Secretary, and M. P. Bajana, cricket captain of the Gymkhana, to supper in the Pavilion.

Kilburn visited Acton on Thursday, May 29, but were all out for 99, while the Gymkhana scored 207 for 8 wickets. R J Tata took 3 wickets for 18 runs, while M P Bajana took 3 wickets for 27 runs The match between Parson's Green and the Gymkhana at Acton on Saturday, May 31, resulted in a draw, the figures being Parson's Green 148, Gymkhana 122 for 7 wickets

On Thursday, June 5, the Patent Office were badly beaten at Acton The scores on this occasion were Indian Gymkhana 205 for 9 wickets declared, Patent Office 30 The bowling of R J Tata, 4 wickets for 10 runs, and U J Cherry, 3 wickets for 19 runs, brought about the downfall of the visitors

At Hornsey the Gymkhana were again victorious on Saturday, June 7, when North Middlesex were out for 166, while the Gymkhana scored 204 for 5 wickets.

On Bank Holiday, Monday, June 9, the Australian I F Headquarters had an easy win over the Gymkhana, who scored 93, while the visitors scored 220 The feature of this game was the batting of J Sheppard, the Australian interstate player, who made 121 runs, while C C O'Connor, the Australian bowler, captured 7 of the Gymkhana wickets.

At Watford, on June 14, the Club was saved from severe defeat at the hands of West Herts by M M Amersey (Goradia), Secretary of the Bombay Hindu Gymkhana, who made a brilliant stand and played perfect cricket after 6 of the best Gymkhana batsmen had been bowled out for only 36 runs! He was able to bring about a draw, the figures being, West Herts 211 for 7 declared, Gymkhana 130 for 8 wickets

Against St. Bartholomew s Hospital at Lord's on Wednesday, June 18, the Gymkhana had an easy win with a score of 302 for 8 declared, while the Hospital were all out for 83, C H Gunasekara taking 7 wickets for 40 runs At this match M P Bajana with a score of 114 made the first century of the season for the Club

Against Bishop's Stortford College, also at Lord's, on the following day the Gymkhana had another easy win, scoring 295 for 4 declared and getting the College all out for 61 U J Cherry took 4 wickets for 15 runs, while K S Rajendrasinhji and C H Gunasekara took 2 wickets each for 4 runs and 13 runs respectively At Parson's Green the Gymkhana, who batted 3 men short owing to sudden illness, on June 28 suffered its third defeat, the figures being Parson's Green 172, Gymkhana 142

On the invitation of Camberwell Borough Council a Charity match was played on Saturday, July 5, at Honor Oak against Honor Oak, as part of the Council's Victory Carnival Week, for King's College Hospital and other charities. On the morning of the match *Sporting Life* referred to Honor Oak and the Indian Gymkhana as the two teams which were playing for the blue riband of London Clubdom The match resulted as follows Honor Oak 166, Gymkhana 120 A soft wicket after a heavy rainfall brought about the Club's fourth defeat

On Wednesday, July 9, the Gymkhana, who had been invited to take

part in a game, when a Roll of Honour was to be unveiled during the day and fireworks to be displayed in the evening, easily beat Forest Hill, who had beaten Honor Oak just a short time before. The Gymkhana had a score of 251 for 7 declared, while the Forest Hill team were all out for 98 C H Gunasekara with a score of 101 made the second century of the season. U J Cherry took 5 wickets for 41 runs, while M Saravanamuttu took 3 wickets for 14 runs.

On Thursday, July 17, the Gymkhana drew with the Essex Club and Ground at Leyton The figures were, Essex Club 289 for 7 declared, Gymkhana 207 for 4 wickets.

On Thursday, July 24, Kilburn returned to the fray with the help of Durston, the Lord's professional, but were all out for 27, while the Gymkhana scored 251 for 8 wickets The bowling honours fell to U J Cherry, who took 6 Kilburn wickets for 8 runs, while C H Gunasekara took 4 wickets for 12 runs. Durston took 5 Gymkhana wickets for 47 runs

Hounslow Garrison, who the previous year faced the Gymkhana with four county players and a Cambridge blue, met with disaster at Acton on Saturday, July 26, when the visitors were all out for 89, while the Gymkhana scored 311 for 3 wickets With a score of 107, G W Karunaratna scored the third century of the season K A Chunchie took 4 wickets for 25 runs, while M Saravanamuttu took 3 wickets for 27 runs.

On Thursday, July 31, at Honor Oak, the Gymkhana defeated Colyton, who scored 150, while the visitors scored 364 for 4 wickets M P Bajana with a score of 165 not out made the fourth century of the season This score, which was made within an hour, included 6 sixes, 23 four's, and 1 five. M P Bajana also performed the hat trick

North Middlesex were the visitors at Acton on Saturday, August 2, and drew with the Gymkhana, who scored 246 for 7 declared, the visitors knocking up 196 for 4 wickets C H Gunasekara with a score of 113 made the fifth century of the season

On Bank Holiday, Monday, August 4, at Perivale, the Gymkhana with a score of 103 defeated Ealing Dean, who were all out for 37

M P Bajana, Captain of the Cricket Section, has been playing for Somerset County, while C H Gunasekara, Vice-Captain, has been playing for Middlesex County

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The Anglo-Russian Literary Society has arranged two interesting lectures, the first on October 7, "Travelling in Russia," by W. H Beable, and the second on November 4, "Religious Thought in Russia," by Mrs. Nathalie A. Duddington, M A. Mrs. Howe will lecture on December 2

Professor C. G Seligman will lecture on Tuesdays at 2 p.m. on "The Principles and Methods of Ethnology," at Clare Market, W C, and he will also lecture in the Lent Term at the same time and the same place on "The Melanesians of Papua," and on Wednesdays in Lent Term on

"The Peoples of Europe and the Adjoining parts of Asia and Africa," at 5 p.m.

The British Academy, at the suggestion of the Palestine Exploration Fund, has taken the initiative in constituting an Organizing Committee, with the object of founding a British School of Archæology at Jerusalem.

The proposed school would contribute, both by excavation and surveying, to the furtherance of Palestinian archæology in all its branches. In addition to Hebrew and Jewish sites and antiquities, the School would include within the scope of its activities the Canaanite, Græco-Roman, Arab, and Mediæval periods.

The Palestine Exploration Fund has offered to conduct its future excavations in co-operation with the School, and further funds for excavation would be available from the Schweich Fund of the British Academy. The School will publish an annual volume, on the lines of those of the British Schools of Archæology at Athens and Rome, and will be under the control of its own committee, with headquarters in London.

The organizing committee invites contributions towards an Endowment Fund. Though a special building may eventually become necessary, it is proposed in the first instance to rent a suitable building at Jerusalem, for the purposes of the school. This, in addition to the Director's rooms and an archæological library, should provide accommodation for at least five students.

For the rent and upkeep of the building, the Director's salary, and the cost of surveying in Palestine (apart from excavation), it is estimated that an annual income of at least £1,000 is necessary. A minimum Endowment Fund of £20,000 is therefore asked for.

The Organizing Committee has much pleasure in announcing that Mr Walter Morrison and Mr Robert Mond have started the Endowment Fund by each contributing a donation of £1,000, and it is hoped that donations will be forthcoming from others who are anxious to take part in the great work of helping to increase our knowledge of the Holy Land.

All communications should be addressed to the Honorary Secretary, Professor I. Gollancz, British Academy, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, W.

The September issue of the *League of Nations Journal* contains an important article by Major General Sir F. Maurice, K.C.B., on "Disarmament." His conclusions are as follows:

"It seems to me, therefore, that the policy of the League of Nations Union in regard to armaments should be to continue to do all that is possible towards hastening the organization of the League, to insist that the maintenance and manufacture of armaments should be wholly in the control of Governments, to watch closely that our own armaments are strictly limited to what is necessary for the fulfilment of our obligations, to see that our obligations are not unnecessarily extended, that the reasons which determine the scale of our armaments are made public, and that in our relations with our dependencies we adhere strictly to the mandatory principles enunciated in the Covenant of the League. That is, I submit,

a policy which, if it does not promise very speedy results, is practical and sincere"

This Journal will in future appear under the title of *The Covenant*

THE BRITISH ACADEMY

The Presidential Address was delivered by Sir F G Kenyon, K C.B., at the Annual General Meeting on July 3 He announced that Mr Balfour had invited the Academy to form an Archæological Committee, composed of representatives of all the principal Societies interested in the subject, whose views would thus be brought into one focus, and presented through the Academy to the Departments of State concerned This invitation was accepted without hesitation, and a joint Archæological Committee was formed, consisting of representatives of the British Academy, the Society of Antiquaries, the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Anthropological Institute, the Societies for the Promotion of Hellenic and of Roman Studies, the Egypt Exploration Fund, the Palestine Exploration Fund, the British Schools at Athens, Rome, and Jerusalem, and Byzantine Research Fund, the Royal Asiatic Society, and the Royal Numismatic Society

The deliberations of the Committee have been concerned mainly with two points, which, however, are closely associated At the request of the Military Governor of Jerusalem they have drafted a Law of Antiquities applicable to Palestine, and they have drawn up, and communicated through the Foreign Office to the British Delegation in Paris, recommendations with regard to the organization of archæology in the former Turkish Empire, applicable both to those portions which may remain under Turkish rule and to those which may be assigned under mandate from the League of Nations to various European Powers These recommendations have been very sympathetically received by our delegates in Paris, and it has been a great advantage to the end we have in view that the American Delegation have taken a keen interest in the same subject, and have been working actively in the same direction The subject was referred to a small International Committee, on which this country was represented by a Fellow of the Academy, who is also a member of the Archæological Committee, and draft clauses were drawn up for insertion in the Treaty of Peace with Turkey and in the mandates to be given to the mandatory Powers Until these documents are made public it is too early to say whether these clauses have been adopted without change

THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

A course of five public lectures on "The Art of Asia" will be delivered at the London Institution by Mr. Laurence Binyon on Wednesdays, at 5 p.m., commencing November 19 The first lecture will be introductory in character, and will be followed by "The Art of India," with special reference to Rajput painting and Mogul School, Persian painting, Chinese art, in which special stress will be laid on the importance of landscape painting; and for the last lecture, on December 17, Japanese

art. The L.C.C. has arranged some interesting lectures for the convenience of "all teachers actually employed in teaching within the administrative County of London, irrespective of the particular Institution at which they may be engaged." They include ten lectures by Mr A D Innes on India, Tuesdays, at 6 p m, beginning October 7, and omitting October 28 Ten lectures will be delivered by Mr Alexander Sefi on Fridays, at 6 p m, beginning October 3, and omitting October 24, the subject being "Palestine and Syria from Cœur de Lion to Allenby" Lastly, Mr R. Campbell Thompson, late Captain, Special Service Officer with Intelligence, G H Q, Mesopotamia, will speak on "The Land of Two Rivers," on Thursdays, at 6 p m., commencing October 2, and will be illustrated by lantern slides. All these lectures are being delivered at the School of Oriental Studies, and in the case of each subject are ten in number

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

INDIA

INDIA'S NATION BUILDERS. By D N Bannerjea. (London *Headley Bros*)

(*Reviewed by* JOHN POLLEN, C I E)

Mr D N Bannerjea has rendered good service to India and to the Empire in publishing this book, and has done due honour to the living and to the dead amongst eminent Indians.

In describing their lives, characters, and labours his desire has been to repudiate all methods of agitation that are not strictly constitutional, and he has done his best to dissociate himself from any propaganda that exploits race-hatred. He sees clearly that the well-being of his native land is bound up in the well being of the British Empire—and that the two countries are essential one to the other—that united they stand, divided they fall. He also feels that in his own land "religious, social, and political reform must go hand in hand—so that the prevailing anomalies in the Indian communities may not furnish an excuse for reactionary obstruction on the one hand, or indifference to the demands of India's social emancipation on the other He claims that "a substantial measure of self-government must be given to India immediately in so far as it is compatible with the security and stability of the Empire as a whole"

He then proceeds to give brief sketches of the life-work and character of men whose names are watchwords in the India of to-day, and whose writings and speeches have done so much to touch the hearts and rouse the enthusiasm of their advanced fellow countrymen and of "young India" generally Amongst the dead he begins with Raja Ram Mohun Roy, and ends with Dadabhoy Naoroji and G K. Gokhale—and amongst the living he begins with Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore—and ends with Lala Lajpat Rai, and Surendra Nath Bannerjea.

To take the last first—he describes Surendra Nath as the "Edmund Burke of India"—the burden of whose counsels "to the radical and ardent spirits of young Bengal" has been "evolution and not revolution," and whose influence has always been a restraining influence in the sphere of Indian politics—a restraint tempering idealism with sanity.

Our author heads his chapter on "Surendra Nath Bannerjea," with the following quotation from one of Surendra Nath's speeches

"We are the subjects of the proudest empire in the world. We glory in

that imperial connection which makes us the participators of that noble heritage of freedom which is the birthright of every Englishman! Let the Russians (Germans?) come if they choose They will find behind the serried ranks of one of the grandest armies in the world, the countless myriads of a loyal people, united by contentment, by gratitude, by willingness for self sacrifice, ready to guard an empire that has meant in India the establishment of peace, the diffusion of knowledge, and which I trust will yet mean the political enfranchisement of her vast people."

Our author says that "though Hindu to the backbone, Bannerjea has always appreciated deeply the beautiful and inspiring teachings and ethics of Christianity," and being a lifelong member of that progressive Hindu denomination called the Brahma Samāj, he has ever insisted on the need for maintaining a conciliatory attitude towards other religions

Touching upon Surendra Nath Bannerjea's withdrawal from the Indian Civil Service, our author has fairly set forth the facts and, as certain members of the Bengal Indian Civil Service (until recently living) could certify, Bannerjea was undoubtedly subjected to treatment which would hardly have been accorded to a young English officer in like circumstances. But those were the days when after the fall of "Haileybury's Hall of Fame," British Indians feared to see

> "Muir, Lawrence, rank with Chatterji
> And Plowdens alternate with Dutts,
> And Ghoses elbow Elliotts,"

and still regarded "Competition Wallahs" generally as creatures of inferior clay!

Of Lala Lajpat Rai, our author says he was "always a constitutional agitator and opposed to methods of physical violence," and he describes him as the soul of the "Arya Samāj" But he, somewhat inconsistently, adds that Lajpat Rai's deportation without trial was "enough to convert any mediocrity into a national hero," and that the revulsion of popular feeling in his favour when he turned the other cheek to the Lahore Arya Samāj (when it smote him) "converted him from an innocuous political reformer into a political enthusiast."

In his brief notice of Arabinda Ghose—the brilliant Cambridge classical Scholar and first-class honour man—who got into the Indian Civil Service easily, but was finally rejected because he could not "pass the riding test,' our author points out that Ghose has strongly deprecated "hatred of the English as quite alien to true Nationalist propaganda,' and that when he was recently interviewed in his political exile, he expressed satisfaction at "the increasing friendliness prevailing between the British and the Indians," admired the presidential address of Sir S P (now Lord) Sinha, and expressed his conviction that "Indian politics should not be petty or parochial, but worthy of the grand traditions of a great nation."

Bepin Chandra Pal, too, has declared that should Providence offer him the choice of absolute independence for India with one hand, and the alternative of self-government within the Empire with the other, he would unhesitatingly accept the latter!

His chapter on "Bal-Gangadhar Tilak" Mr. Bannerjea prefaces with a summary of the finding recorded by the High Court when the bonds which Tilak had to execute for being of good behaviour were cancelled in 1917 This finding sets forth that "Mr Tilak is fully cognizant of the benefits that have accrued from the British connection and acknowledges them frankly," but demands the transference of political power from the bureaucracy to the people, and Mr Bannerjea says that—"without Gokhale—who was not a popular hero—political forces could not be properly controlled—but without Tilak these will not be generated at all", and declares that instead of the crushing sentence passed upon him bringing about the "downfall of Tilak" (as Chirol aptly put it), it actually helped his uprise in Indian esteem, and to day Tilak is, beyond doubt, "the uncrowned king" of political India

M K Gandhi's eminent services in the cause of Indian citizenship and of the Empire, have been well described by our author, and the chapter on this patriot, who suffered so much for his fellow-countrymen, concludes with the hope that the spirit of camaraderie which the common defence of Empire has fostered will make the prevalence of cordial and harmonious relations a normal feature of the meeting of the races within the Empire.

Passing from the living to the dead, Mr Bannerjea describes what Gopala Krishna Gokhale was able to accomplish for his country, and how he placed on the altar of patriotic duty—not simply his talents, energies and abounding enthusiasm, *but his very all*, and how well Dadabhoy Naoroji—"the Grand Old Man of India"—served his Motherland during his long life. Among the moderate politicals of India, Mr Bannerjea declares, none came up to Naoroji in point of unblemished private life and irreproachable public career stimulated by high impersonal aims

Of the political activities of the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Mr Bannerjea speaks with deep appreciation, and says that Sir Syed Ahmed achieved for the social and educational betterment of the Muslims of India all that Raja Ram Mohun Roy—the illustrious founder of the Brahma Samāj—did for the moral and intellectual rejuvenation of the Hindus. He saw clearly that the sullen attitude of the Muslims towards English education threatened the Muslim community with intellectual retrogression and narrowness of vision, and from this he did his best to save them He was further convinced that women must also be educated, for otherwise they could not follow the life of reason on which he so much insisted, nor could they be good mothers or intelligent wives. He thus followed the lead of Keshab Chandra Sen, whose character for consistency with regard to the marriage of his twelve-year-old daughter to the Prince of Cooch-Behar Mr Bannerjea defends and vindicates.

We will not follow him into his strictures on the political views of Rabindra Nath Tagore, because, so far as politics are concerned, few would take the gifted "Poet Laureate of India" too seriously. In conclusion we must say Mr Bannerjea deserves the highest credit for bringing out this high-toned and moderating work in the midst of the present unrest, and he is to be congratulated on the spirit of fair-play which pervades the book, and on the justice and kindliness of his criticisms and opinions.

THE AWAKENING OF ASIA By H M Hyndman. (*Cassell*) 7s. 6d net.

It is difficult to discover in reading this book whether Mr Hyndman has chosen for his main theme the awakening of Asia, the rise and probable menace of Japan, or the wickedness and disastrous consequences of European intervention, more especially in India. The title of his book and the conclusion which warns Europe that the problems of Asia are not only grave but imminent, suggest the first if so, no one will deny that a new spirit is stirring in all the principal countries of Asia. Presumably it is part of Mr Hyndman's case that this new spirit is altogether to the good for the countries concerned, and yet, far from showing that "European interference, European administration, and European domination," have been "almost entirely harmful," it has to a large extent depended upon, and is itself the product of, their very interference and domination "Japan" it is admitted "entered upon her remarkable experiment of the adaptation of Western political institutions to an Asiatic foundation" after having first remodelled her national defence on European lines China is beginning to stir but, if there is any moral to be drawn from these chapters which deal with the Far East, it would seem to be that China must remain helpless under the shadow of Japanese domination, unless and until she reforms herself by Western methods and comes into line with the rest of the civilized world Surely it is notorious and can hardly be denied even by the most violent of extremists that the whole spirit of nationality and the whole longing for self-government in India is the direct product of British rule

That these consequences were not foreseen or intended when Europeans first peacefully penetrated or otherwise forced their way into China and Japan, that Indian nationality and Indian self-government were not contemplated when the East India Company first began to administer India, is perfectly true Yet one cannot shut one's eyes to the facts Who suggested the idea of a republic to China? And where did India get her notions of a democracy, of liberty, and of the freedom of the Press? Mr Hyndman is quite right—and there is no doubt of his sincerity throughout his book—in much that he says about unsavoury things in the past and unsatisfactory things in the present It is only too true that Europeans have shown a tendency to despise all that is Oriental, whether it be manners, customs, religions, or manufactures. It is pertinent, moreover, to ask the question whether foreigners are "capable of sympathizing with and understanding the social system into which they forced an entry," and also "whether the European ideas, laws and economic conceptions imposed upon the population were not likely to prove injurious." Many for instance who have lived their lives in India would admit that in some respects, at any rate, we administer the country too much on European lines, and that while we make a boast of adapting our regulations to the condition of the country, we do not carry that boast into practice sufficiently often and sufficiently far

But Mr. Hyndman has in the sincerity of his indignation spoiled his case sometimes by overstatement, but more often by omission. He is

misleading in what he says and especially in what he leaves unsaid. This is apparent even in the chapters on Japan and China, but becomes more insistent when we get to India, for his whole argument is one long indictment of our dealings there. It is a little unfortunate that in quoting different authorities he generally gives us neither the name nor the date. The name perhaps he prefers to keep to himself, but the date is very pertinent because things are moving rapidly in India. If Mr Hyndman had recently been to the country he would find that "white young bureaucrats," meaning, we suppose, the Civil Service, not only do, but are encouraged to, associate as far as possible on equal terms with Indian gentlemen. It is no doubt necessary to qualify the phrase because the difference in manners, customs, and the attitude of mind makes it practically impossible to meet Indians with quite the same familiarity one shows to English friends. But passing by the tempting field for criticism which the chapter on finance offers, we would quote the remarks on irrigation as an instance of omission. "It is,' he says, "preposterous to argue that irrigation is remedying this state of things Irrigation applies to a very small area as carried out by European engineers Sometimes the quality of the water supplied has actually proved injurious, owing to miscalculation as to the nature of the silt it would carry with it" Strictly true perhaps, but grossly misleading Artificial irrigation can never deal with more than a small fraction of India, and much, as was acknowledged in 1901, remains to be done. Yet there is not one word of acknowledgment of the thousands of acres and the millions of the population saved from famine and destitution by the work already accomplished.

Sometimes Mr Hyndman is carried away by the storm of that conversion to which he alludes in his preface. He tells us that the unrest is "not due to German money, but to British misrule" This statement, if not wholly incorrect, is certainly only very partially true. A few Acts, it is true, have been unpopular, but the whole cry that was raised in 1907 in violent terms and supported by assassinations, and again in 1916, generally by more constitutional agitation, was "India for the Indians" It was not contended that England was unfit, but that Indians were fit, to govern the country, and the main contention was that they could do so at least as well as the British. No one who has closely followed events in India can really doubt that the unrest there is the outward and visible sign of a new spirit, called into being by contact with the West.

The book, however, does a service in calling attention to the state of the three principal Asiatic countries. We would, however, caution the reader who has had to obtain his knowledge second-hand against accepting the argument too easily. It is not given to many to know all three countries intimately: but if those who know any one of them recognize the picture as a faithful presentation, uncoloured by preconceived ideas and theories, we shall be surprised. S. P. R

THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA. Edited by Ernest Barker. (*Methuen and Co*)

Not the least part of the interest of this little book lies in the fact that most of it is the work of Indian civilians still in the Service. In a short

review it will be convenient to treat the book as a whole, with the caution that as each section is the work of a different author or set of authors, the views of one are not necessarily the views of the others

Was it not "Ali Baba" who, in a work well known in India, said that if a Collector were to show his face in Simla, he would be regarded as something of a curiosity? That is the attitude which the book takes up "The great majority of the younger men were never asked for a constructive opinion We do not accept as our spokesmen the old officials—'most' (? least) 'of all those in Simla—whose time is over'" Again and again reference is made to the unreality of a system which regards the Secretariat as the source of all knowledge, ignoring, to a very large extent at any rate, the men whose practical experience and whose personal interest in the future give them a right to be heard

The book offers both destructive and constructive criticism. It condemns the "dyarchical" scheme partly on historical grounds, but mainly because it involves the setting up of two masters—the Crown on the one hand and the Indian people on the other—and because such a system will tend in time to accentuate the cleavage, instead of leading, as it should do, to an ultimate uniformity It agrees with the Report in rejecting communal representation, not on the ground there taken that it will only emphasize the caste and religious distinctions which it is desirable to eliminate, but rather on the ground that it is incompatible with true popular representation On the other hand, it suggests a scheme of joint responsibility for the whole administration by the Executive, which should be so constituted as to admit of the gradual transfer of power from an official majority to members of the Legislature

The authors strongly deprecate opportunism, vague promises, and pious aspirations. They urge on general grounds of political science that a Second Chamber is imperative and that it must be set up at once or never, for if it is postponed it will not only lose in prestige, but it will be bitterly opposed as a limitation of the powers of the Lower House. But above all, they plead for some clearer definition of the position of the Services under the new system, for, as they say, if the quality is to be maintained, "no system of incremental pay can afford compensation for the loss of future honour, position, and prestige" The option of retiring before completion of service, which is proposed as a remedy, is not adequate, for it affects only the men at present serving, and can be no guarantee for future quality On the other hand, if really the Services (and especially the Civil Service) will suffer serious injury from the change, the proposed increment is open to the double criticism, that it is suspiciously like a bribe and that it is a fancy payment for an inferior class of work.

Amidst a mass of impassioned utterances, based on the one hand on the aspirations of India and on the other on the tyranny of Brahmanism or general unfitness for the assumption of power, reasoned criticism of the scheme itself is comparatively rare For this reason alone, apart from its intrinsic merits, the book is to be commended to thoughtful students of Indian politics. S. P R.

A HISTORY OF THE SIKHS. By Joseph Davey Cunningham. New and Revised Edition, with two maps by H L. O Garrett, M.A., I.E.S. (Oxford *Humphrey Milford.*) 8s. 6d net

Captain Cunningham's extremely valuable and original history of the Sikhs, published so long ago as 1849, was well worthy of reissue. He belonged to a clever and original family, being the oldest son of Allan Cunningham, a quite famous contemporary of Scott, known to all who love the literature of that day, and the first of four able brothers well known in action and in books. Joseph Cunningham was the first Englishman to obtain an intimate knowledge of the Sikhs. He served as soldier and as political agent on the frontier, and closely investigated the history and characteristics of the people, embodying the results in the very vigorous book which he wrote when he was political agent at Bhopal. He had the great advantage of being a sharer in much that he describes, and he had none of the prejudices which were much more common in his time than they are to-day No doubt, as Professor Garrett says, he was partial, especially in regard to the first Sikh War

"In his eyes the war represents a national tide of self-preservation rising against the ever encroaching power of England Such was very far from being the case, and very different motives actuated the corrupt administration of Lahore Terrified of the power of the army, that administration flung its legions across the Sutlej in the hope that they would be either annihilated or so seriously crippled as to cease to be a danger in the future. At the same time the outbreak of hostilities would divert attention from the shortcomings of the central government."

But none the less the later chapters of Cunningham's book are worthy of attention as the work of a candid man, who had many means, though not all, of knowing the truth, and some at least of his criticisms—not that, however, on law, as Professor Garrett rightly points out—and a great deal of his advice may well be pondered to-day His book, indeed, is characteristic of a period of British rule in India, when soldier-scholars were setting themselves seriously to study and to understand the peoples with whom they dealt. And if they made mistakes we can learn from these mistakes as well as from their researches

Cunningham's work is something of a classic Mr Garrett has edited it most worthily He has studied the Lahore records, he has read all the modern books of his subject, he has let nothing in the many excellent historical publications which are issued in India to-day escape him—for example, he gives appropriate reference in regard to the Battle of Delhi, 1803, to Sir Edward Maclagan's important article in the journal of the Punjab Historical Society—and he exercises, wherever it is needed, a sound, independent judgment. The edition will take a high place among books which must be read for the understanding of the history of British India.

W. H. H.

MAN'S LIFE IN THREE WORLDS A Booklet for Beginners. By Annie Besant. (*Theosophical Publishing House*)

PROBLEMS OF RECONSTRUCTION Lectures delivered at the Forty-third Anniversary Meeting of the Theosophical Society at Delhi, December, 1918 By Annie Besant (*Theosophical Publishing House*)

Mrs. Besant's confidence is amazing, and her creed a comforting message for those who are daily or even momentarily conscious of the different planes of existence But for the sceptical her dogmatism is not altogether convincing, the intelligent reader requires something more than her affirmations. If her beliefs are to gain acceptance, she should either ground them on an intelligible experience or reinforce them by a quality of language that is able to impress itself as an expression, however halting, of something ultimate But Mrs Besant is far too sure of man's spiritual evolution, her words too final, though lacking the real character of finality She does not bring a single argument to bear on her thesis, and is utterly lacking in the elementary dignity of expression As an example of her style we read on p 2 "To understand the fashion of his life in the three worlds we must understand also his composition, must know what a man is in his clothing, else shall we always be afraid where no cause is for fear, and bewildered where clearness is pre eminently necessary" At other times her style, that degenerates into a curious and quite displeasing jargon, is merely comic On p 34 "Our man, in his baby clothes, has bodies very susceptible to super physical influences, and for the first few years of his life in the lower worlds he can make many impressions upon them, especially during the first seven years, on the astral and physical"

Elsewhere she talks of "the man's clothing" as the more material minded might talk of Dr Jaeger's underwear, considers the astral world or the etheric double as the average man considers his porridge for breakfast.

Man's peregrinations through life and death is the subject matter of this "Booklet for Beginners." As an exposition of the noble doctrine of re incarnation it could scarcely be more mystifying Mrs. Besant should treat her pet theories with more lucidity unless she would sooner they remained the esoteric gifts of her few followers.

In "Problems of Reconstruction" she has attacked questions of more immediate importance, and has been on the whole more successful The lectures are addressed to an Indian audience, and so presumably the theosophical basis serves a distinct purpose. Her views on reconstruction are neither original nor particularly profound, but the reincarnation motive does colour them to the extent of making practical optimism an intelligible attitude The belief in man's progressive evolution through many lives is in fact the touchstone by which to measure the values of this world, explaining away, as it were, so much of the apparent injustice and inequality that afflict mankind Armed with this belief Mrs Besant proceeds to sketch a plan of reconstruction on a sound basis. She has fine ideals. Her citizen would be a real citizen of the world. These lectures, in fact, might be addressed to any nation, for the authoress has a large

vision and a constructive purpose, both of which are invaluable in an age of revaluations. F. J C

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR HINDU ACHIEVEMENTS IN EXACT SCIENCES. 16mo., 82 pp. (*Longmans, Green and Co*) $1

This small work contains a very comprehensive claim for India to a larger place than is usually granted her in the history of Science. Of course, we have a few exhaustive and specialized works like Professor Sir C. P Ray's "History of Indian Chemistry," and a few books on Indian medicine, surgical armamentarium, exact sciences in general, etc., some of which have been reviewed in these pages. This book is not so didactic, it is more in the form of a chronological survey divided in chapters In a few cases the author appears rather too sanguine, and for that very reason one might wish that, useful and interesting as the book is in its present form, as an introduction to the subject, it had been given greater development.

H L J

THE OXFORD HISTORY OF INDIA From the Earliest Times to the End of 1911 By Vincent A Smith, C I E (Oxford)

The publication of an "Oxford History" is in itself an event of great magnitude Mr Vincent Smith's book is no exception to this rule. He has given us in 783 pages, embellished with 182 illustrations and 24 maps and plans, a very handy reference book for the learned, which is so readable that it serves at the same time as a graphic account for the casual readers, and an introduction for the first student of Indian history Moreover an acquaintance, however cursory, with the peoples of Hind and their story is at least as important to the British subject as the deeds of a Charlemagne or a Napoleon, and should form part of every school curriculum

Compared to Trotter's History (as revised and brought up to 1911 by Archdeacon Hutton), Mr Vincent Smith gives much more space to the period anterior to the Rule of the East India Company, and the general arrangement of books and chapters is also at variance.

Mr E B Havell writes on "The Basis of Indian History" in his book on "The Ideals of Indian Art," that "Indian history is much more concerned with the bearing which human events and actions have upon human conduct than with compiling a bare record of the events and actions themselves. Indian history is a spiritual guide and moral textbook for Indian people, not a scientific chronicle of passing events." It is clear that in a handbook such as the present, chronology as scientific as possible, must nevertheless form the basis. But Mr Vincent Smith in spite of his faithfulness to the Western ideas of historic sense has kept in mind that "Indian history, like Indian philosophy and Indian art, is a part of Indian religion" We observe that Mr Trotter and Mr Vincent Smith share admiration for the work of Lord Curzon

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NORTH AFRICA

LOUIS THOMAS VOYAGE AU GOUNDAFA ET AU SOUS 16mo, 244 pp (Paris *Payot and Co*) 4 frs.

This small book consists of personal recollections and some advice to would-be travellers in Morocco The author, lieutenant in the French army, was a member of a mission sent from Marrakesh to Agadir in 1917, and his book is made up of notes, somewhat edited, but none the less far too rich in iterations. It is a pleasant book, full of thumbnail sketches and of information which, imparted in conversational tones almost, should be of value to most readers, who, however, occasionally may find French words, such as *boustefaille*, not usually found in polished literature

H L J

FAR EAST

(*Contributed by* H L JOLY)

THE PROBLEM OF JAPAN By an ex-Counsellor of Legation in the Far East 8vo, 722 pp (Amsterdam *Cl Van Langenhuysen*) 1918

THE ISOLATION OF JAPAN 8vo, 150 pp, being a sequel to the above, same author and publishers, 1919

The above books startle one first of all by the "decoration" of their covers, the first with a stage Japanese carrying in his belt a naked *Chinese* sword thrust from right to left in a way that no Japanese ever wore a sword (the belt itself bears a female obi), the second volume by its Chinese ideagrams written in such a way as to show that the authors never handled a writing brush before!

The contents are still more startling The author, who so carefully hides his personality behind a vague diplomatic title, sees only two ways to solve what he considers the "Problem of Japan"—namely, a new combination formed of England, Germany, and the United States, or by a new combination formed of Japan, Russia, and Germany That is dated October 5, 1918. You pay your gulden and you take your choice. It is not worth while to go much further, the author knows the history of Japan and its modern politics well, but his whole feeling right through the book is pro-Boche, open its pages at random and the evidence almost jumps out—*e.g.*, on page 189 "The misdirection of English policies in this war is due to the fact that her destinies are controlled or directed by a man, or men, be it Lloyd George, Lord Northcliffe, Lord Milner, or Lord Curzon, one or all of them who are men of one idea. Win the war, is their cry—never mind what comes after" If that does not stink of Wilhelmstrasse and its asphyxiating gases, we should like to know whence it came.

In the second instalment of his propaganda, the author tells us that the collapse of Germany has not altered his views (March 15, 1915) With such a mind he goes on to discussing the relations between Japan and China, Korea, and the United States. We don't agree with him and most of his opinions, but he is evidently a well-informed and learned man, whose learning deserves respect, and whose arguments are well worth reading if

only to grasp how thorough he is in his partisanship. A man with such strongly defined opinions ought to have the courage to sign his name.

H L J

KOREA

The agitation in Korea against Japanese rule continues on the usual lines, and culminated with a bomb outrage against the new Governor-General Baron Saito on his arrival The Imperial Rescript calling for a better understanding of Japanese aims by those whom Japan seeks to raise from sloth into prosperity had no effect To address the Koreans as "our loyal and dutiful subjects" in the same way as if they were Japanese in Japan does not go down with the nationalists, it is almost needless to say, and it only adds fuel to the fire. Disgruntled babblers are at work in all parts of the world painting the Koreans as exploited martyrs, which they are far from being, and there can be but little doubt that the agitation is merely the work of half-educated students and Christianized Koreans who have come under American influence and do not realize the stupidity of their own behaviour They blackmail some of the uneducated masses into direct action, and much the same prevails as with the Irish and the El Azar "students" The masses, however, appear content enough with their lot, vastly improved from the days when they were squeezed out of their earnings by a crowd of lazy, good for nothing, greedy officials, whom the present agitators presumably yearn to replace The Seoul Press have reprinted in pamphlet form a series of articles which, published between March and May, 1919, throw a good deal of light on the internal situation There is no doubt that the Japanese Government only wish to improve the lot of the Korean, and they have shown in their yearly reports how efficiently the problem has been tackled The present writer has only found one apostle of Korean nationalist aims amongst Europeans who have been there and are presumed to know, who being also an Irish nationalist of the deepest dye could hardly be expected to do otherwise.

The report for 1918-1919 and 1919-1920 should afford interesting reading when they appear

H. L. J

INDO-CHINA AND ITS PRIMITIVE PEOPLE. By Capt Henry Baudeson Translated by E. Appleby Holt. 8vo, 328 pp, with 48 illustrations (*Hutchinson and Co*) 16s net.

The author was one of the officers attached to the Surveys preliminary to the construction of the Indo-Chinese Railway, which will ultimately link together Saigon and Hanoi, along the east coast of Indo-China, a length of 2,000 kilometres, part of which are already in working order

He had to live amongst the tribes of savage "Moi," as they call themselves, and found them shy, pugnacious, interesting folks, much afraid of the savage tigers which infest their forests. He seems to have enjoyed their confidence, and his book shows how difficult is the path of the ethnologist even when on friendly terms with the natives. His narrative deals with almost every phase of savage life, and he has felt it incumbent upon him to draw parallels between their ways and those of other savages

or of past civilizations, which might have been left out with advantage, as the *cadre* of the work does not allow sufficient elbow room for exhaustive treatment, and particularly because it might have been more interesting to trace the relationship between the "Moi" and their corresponding natives in Formosa and the Far East than to wander back to ancient Egypt and the Bushongo dear to Mr Torday We say so in no carping spirit, for the author's treatment of his main subject is so admirable that one would fain have more of it, moreover, it is anthropology without a dry page in it, and it should enjoy a large sale. As is well known, the French are taking considerable interest in their Indo-Chinese subjects, a school—Ecole Française d'Extreme Orient—replete with learned specialists, publishes a quarterly journal dealing with Archæology, languages, Art, etc, of the region and of the neighbouring countries, and the feeling between natives and French settlers and administrators is so satisfactory that many Annamites have given their blood for their stepmother during the war Much of that good feeling is undoubtedly due to the exertions of men like Capt. Henry Baudeson in their relations with the aborigines, who otherwise might easily with their very efficiently poisoned arrows make life impossible for their Western rulers.

As we said, the author has been a very thorough observer, leaving but little to glean for others, except perhaps details which can only be extracted from the native after years of intercourse, if at all His illustrations are good and of considerable variety, no hackneyed picture amongst them Incidentally they show a French M O practising auscultation *à meme la peau*, in the time honoured and surprising fashion which still prevails in the country whence the stethoscope came!

The translation is very fair, here and there "pyrite of iron," "rifle of small bore," betray hasty writing, a few misprints occur read Ganesa (p 260), Lakshmi and Salagram (p 284), and an error, on page 263, surely *linen* should be *hemp*, for *Linum usitatissimum* may give a laxative seed, but surely it does not intoxicate

The second part of the book deals with the Chams, whose name is pronounced Tlam, and in earlier days (1891-94) was transliterated Kiam, Tsiam, Tjam, but since the twentieth century *Ch* does duty for *Tr* They are more civilized than the "Moi" and experts in the art of using poison gas in burglarious ventures

The chapters devoted to these Mohammedan remains of a once important kingdom, the history of which has been unravelled by Maspero some six or seven years ago, are equally valuable with the first portion of the book The Chams loom large in the bibliography, which stops at 1912 Since then there have been further contributions to the study in the B E F E.O by Durand, Cœdes, L. Finot, etc H. L. J

FICTION

THE CITY OF PALMS. By Kathlyn Rhodes (*Hutchinson*) 6s. 9d. net

The author of this racy and skilfully narrated novel is to be congratulated on her vivid and poetical description of Constantinople, that city of

many charms. It must appeal to all who, like the writer, have fascinating recollections of the Bosphorus and Bujukdere, once the famous resort of the ambassadors to the Sublime Porte. Outstanding among the various characters is Sylvia, the niece of that tragic figure Sir Denzil, who, gifted with clairvoyance, outwits the evil Rissic, a mysterious shady Turk, eager for revenge. The story reaches its climax when, after many vicissitudes, Sylvia, married to an idealistic American (he lives to die at El Denar, an oasis in the desert) is lured into an old Egyptian tomb at Samieh, where she had discovered a valuable papyrus manuscript. She is saved, however, in time by her husband and her friend Roy, who is perhaps the only natural character in the book. Rissic is certainly drawn as a most mysterious personality, and we doubt whether a Turk can be imbued with the collector's passion, the flair of the connoisseur with which she endows him, and which she makes the motive power of his acts of odious treachery and lust of revenge. Yet "*Si non è vero, è ben trovato*," as the Italians say. Or does the explanation lie in that Polish strain in his veins due to an odalisque who may have been his mother, since Turks often have non-Muslim slaves? Certainly his sudden death is a relief to Sylvia, and—to the reader.

L. M. R.

FURTHER EAST THAN ASIA. By Ward Muir. (*Simpkin*.) 6s. net.

To those who love to bask in the warm atmosphere of the South Seas—further East than Asia—while themselves staying in a comfortable arm-chair in the rainy West, we recommend this tale of adventure, where "Alvin D. Kellock, American citizen," pierces the "solid cliff of jungle" to see a mysterious doctor, and meets a maiden most divinely fair. A grim secret, and the terrific unforeseen culmination of the swift series of incidents, give a Western spice to this Eastern tale, which does not lose thereby in fascination.

ARTICLES TO NOTE

September issues.

Geographical Journal. "Crete: its Scenery and Natural Features," by A. Trevor Baltye.

Financial Review of Reviews. "The Trade Future of Russia," by Ernest Hamilton.

The Contemporary Review. "Indian Reforms and the Station Club," by Indicus.

Revue des Deux Mondes. "Un Martyr de la Grande Tragedie: le Tsar Nicholas II.," by S. M. la Reine Marie de Roumanie.

TRADE

The London Chamber of Commerce have published in pamphlet form (105, price 3d.) the address on Recent Developments in Japanese Trade, by Mr. E. F. Crowe, C.M.G., H.M. Counsellor of Embassy at Tokyo, which is of great value as a survey of the present position in Japan. Of

course it contains the usual statements as to cheapness of labour and wickedly long hours, emphasized by statistics, these will doubtless be utilized by the advocates of short hours and large pay for being in the shop, regardless of production, but it would be foolish to expect the Japanese working man, who *does* work, to upset the order of things in a hurry, just to please European lazybones. The Japanese have made very thorough use of all their commercial opportunities during the war, as witness the trade with India, about which the *Hindustan Review* some months ago, and *The Times* in the early part of September, have been quite outspoken One would like, however, to see all the statistics brought together to a common denominator of tonnage or numbers, the rates of purchase having so greatly varied that statistics are to some extent misleading It appears probable, however, that cheap Japanese goods, unless they prove of better quality, will not hold the European market long As a case in point, we might mention pencils, one importer, if not several, flooded the market with rubbish fit only to be used as fire-lighters at prices equal to the best pre-war European goods, who made the profit is not our concern, but that is not the way to go to work

VARIA

Mr Murray announces the forthcoming publication of several monographs on manganese and various other mineral commodities by the expert staff of the Imperial Institute, which, having regard to the high level of the previous publications on zinc and potash, should be of considerable interest.

RUSSIA

THE SPIRIT OF RUSSIA Studies in History, Literature, and Philosophy By Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, First President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul Two Volumes (*G Allen and Unwin.*)

We hail with interest this study of Russia by an eminent son and now head of a young and rising State The Czech scholars were pioneers of Slav philology, and their works were eagerly taken up by Russian savants They easily excel most of their Slav brethren and cousins in intellectual achievements, and in the spheres of patriotism and physical culture their Sokol movement spread among their kinsmen Through this English translation of his German work published at Jena, the eminent scholar and statesman illuminates Russia for Western students, and has laid his readers and Russia herself under a heavy debt.

Like Lincoln, Garfield, and other great American Presidents, Masaryk was born of humble parentage at Hodonin (Göding), Moravia, and began life as a blacksmith's apprentice. After study at Vienna and Leipzig he lectured on philosophy at Vienna Attention was drawn to his study of suicide in contemporary Europe, which he attributed to decline in religious sentiment When the Czech University of Prague—originally founded by

the great Emperor Charles IV in 1348—was re-created in 1882, Masaryk was appointed Professor of Philosophy His qualifications for the position were profound, as he was well known as a critical authority on English philosophy, and had written on Hume, Mill, and Spencer In addition he knew the doctrines of Comte, Kant, and modern French and German philosophy He is a recognized critical exponent of Marxism. Masaryk for many years led the Realist Party in his country, and was a keen critic of the late Austrian administration It is probable that if Austria had listened to his repeated warnings her position would have been different, and the course of history must have been modified. Referring to the Southern Slavs, an Austrian deputy said that when he came across intelligent students they had all been Masaryk's pupils He was a fearless exposer of the shady procedure of the Austrian Government in connection with the "treason trials," when it was shown that forgery was extensively employed There was no question of his sympathies at the outbreak of the War, and Masaryk succeeded in escaping from imprisonment and certain danger to life, and reached England. His daughter, Dr Alice Masaryk, was long a prisoner in company with Mme. Benes While in London Professor Masaryk lectured at King's College on the problem of small nationalities, and on Slavonic languages and literature Then he organized the efforts of his countrymen in various countries on behalf of the Allies, visiting Russia for this purpose, and passed over to America, where he met and conferred with President Wilson At length the Czecho Slovak Republic was formed, and Masaryk returned to Prague in triumph as President The title *otec vlasti* (father of the country) was bestowed on the Emperor Charles IV , and last century on the historian and statesman, Francis Palacky, and may now be applied to the illustrious President, our author

In the translators' foreword it is explained that this work is the outcome of desires of friends that Masaryk should write on Russia, in view of interest aroused by the Russo-Japanese War and the Revolution of 1905 It does not entirely represent his scheme, which was a discussion of the Russian problem with Dostoievsky as a central point But he found it impracticable to deal with that long-suffering man of genius without reference to those who preceded and succeeded him , in fact, it was necessary to treat of the history, literature, and philosophy of Russia from the early sources He possesses a first-hand knowledge of the language and literature, and an acquaintance with the country gained during repeated visits. The substance of this work was given in lectures at Chicago University, and further studies of Dostoievsky and his place in European literature are promised As the German original of this work appeared in 1913 there is no reference to the War, the contribution made by Russia as an active member of the Allies, the Revolution, and the subsequent disastrous Bolshevist *Walpurgisnacht* In the work as it stands there is a vast amount of philosophical, historical, and political reflection which does not strictly correspond to the title.

Not the least interesting is the introductory chapter, in which it is shown

that "Russia has preserved the childhood of Europe" The visit to the Troitsa monastery, and the monk of "Gethsemane" whose mind was torn between traditional Orthodox training and contact with an enlightened professor from the West, recalled the author's early upbringing among Slovak peasants. Through Tolstoy he came to know the Old Believers, who claim to be more Orthodox than the Orthodox, and have persisted since the days of Tsar Alexis and the Patriarch Nikon

> Slav as I am, a visit to Russia has involved many more surprises than a visit to any other land The European, one who lives in the present, has the current of his thought involuntarily directed towards the future, and anticipates the conclusions that will follow from the given historic premisses But in Russia he finds himself back in the past, often in the Middle Ages Russia is Europe as well When, therefore, I contrast Russia and Europe I contrast two epochs

The first volume discusses Holy Russia, with Moscow as "third Rome" Peter's reforms, serf emancipation, historical and religious problems, Slavophilism and Westernism, Herzen and Bakunin Each of these headings has been the subject of many volumes In the reigns of Alexander I and Nicholas I, occurred the great literary movement, from Karamzin and Pushkin onwards The Dekabrist revolt was organized by men of letters and students, but the "Nicholaitan régime" was marked by severe police repression, which drove Turgeniev, Herzen, and others abroad to expose Russia to the world As in the case of Petrashevsky and Dostoievsky, Nicholas condemned would-be reformers to the scaffold, and at the last minute of the eleventh hour sent them to Siberia. "Nicholas followed the petty example of Metternich and his anti-revolutionary reaction, and followed it with identical results" It is pathetic that Loris Melikov's draft constitution should have been rendered abortive by the assassination of the well-disposed Alexander II The triumph of Pobiedonostsev and reaction seemed complete during the reign of Alexander III The following reflection is important

> Defeat was sustained in Manchuria, not by the Russian soldier, but by Russian army administration, the Russian General Staff, the St Petersburg Court and its diplomacy, the Russian bureaucracy—in a word, the whole régime of Pobiedonostsev. It is not to be denied that upon the battlefields in the Far East, Russia was conquered, not by the Japanese, but by the enemy within her gates, that the author of her defeats was cæsaro-papist absolutism.

The second volume is distinctively philosophico-political. It treats of realism and nihilism, official theocracy, religion and mysticism (V Soloviev), socialism and Marxism, anarchism and liberalism, and the problem of democracy *versus* theocracy These will appeal to the general student of politics besides the specialist in Russia

> Russian Christianity is, in truth, older than Western Christianity alike theoretically and practically it is the more primitive and purer form But for this very reason we can understand why the leading Russian thinkers were averse to Christianity as they knew it.

This accounts for socialism, "which aims at establishing the realm of justice in place of the realm of Christian love" An important conclusion, more than once insisted upon, is that the Russian is revolutionary but not sufficiently democratic

We are aware that nothing like justice has been done to this masterly work, nor can it be done within our limits. We can only hope that readers will seek early opportunity of procuring President Masaryk's work, and critically examining his important reflections. It may still be asked, "What is the spirit of Russia?" F P M

NEAR EAST

ARMENIA AND THE SETTLEMENT The Armenian Bureau, 153 Regent Street, London, W 1

The above is a report of the notable public meeting held at the Central Hall, Westminster, on June 19, to express sympathy with the Armenian cause. We quote the following passage from Viscount Gladstone's speech

"I have heard some people say, 'Why do you take so much interest in the Armenians? They haven't fought' But haven't they fought? It is all very well for us, with trained and organized armies to fight on equal terms But when you are living with your wife and family in the midst of Kurds, always ready to obey commands from Constantinople, it is very difficult to fight when if you take up a stick you will have your throat cut

"But, as we know, the Armenians did fight At the time of the Russian collapse they did much to support our armies in Mesopotamia by their gallantry Let us never forget when it comes to the question of courage what the Armenians have done It should come home to many of us, who take our religion in a pretty easy-going way, in peace and comfort These people have stuck to their religious faith for centuries, knowing the risks and taking the risks, they have stuck to their religion with almost incredible tenacity, faithfulness and most heroic devotion, and by the courage they have shown, it seems to me, proved that even gallantry on the field must take a second place"

DAVID'S RESERVOIR OF STRENGTH By P D (Athens) (*Baxter's Press*, Oxford) Post free. 2s. 6d. (3 drachmes)

(*Reviewed by* DR OECONOMOS, *Lecturer in Greek to London University*)

Among the various Greek publications which have appeared this year, we note an anthology of David's Psalms which, printed at Oxford, has been published at Athens, the political and intellectual centre of a people for whose future pioneers it is intended

The book, a small one, aspires to considerable power, as is shown by its title, "David's Reservoir of Strength"

The author, as far as we can guess from the style and the ideas expressed in a prefatory page as well as from the town where this preface was written, namely Oxford, and the initials of the signature, P D —the author,

must be a Greek leader who has been and is taking a serious part in his country's social and intellectual improvement, namely, Dr But why should we commit the indiscretion of naming him, since he himself has wished to conceal his personality under the veil of an incognito A good book, they say, is a good action, and Christian humility has accustomed us to good actions that remain anonymous

Concerning the ideas expressed in the preface and the aim of this work, let a few words be said rather by way of introduction than commentary

The author believes that every one of us has been entrusted with a mission on this earth (which is very doubtful) and that upon the persever ance of the few depends the direction that the fortunes of humanity will take (which is quite true)

Since it is so, it is a sacred duty to make those few persevere But how?

It is a truth of world-wide acceptance that a book can exercise an influence upon its readers—a book, that is, which is worthy of the name The author of the anthology with which we are dealing, is, of course, aware of this truth, and as he has been strengthening his own moral and political efforts by reading David's Psalms, he thought that the same book could be of the same use to others also It does not appear illogical at all to maintain that David's words can exercise occasionally such a moral influence, but it does seem doubtful whether they would exercise it upon every one of those few whom the anthologist proposes to strengthen. It is, in our opinion, a mere question of personality and all may not be disposed alike to be receptive of the desired impression

But a few reservations, which no book could escape and which may be thought pleonastic, do not alter the interest of the author's ethical purpose, and his preface is a page beautiful enough to be fully translated below in order that readers may appreciate his manner of thought and arrangement as well as, amongst several other fine ideas, the author's brilliant definition of hatred, over which we particularly invite them to ponder

Translation of the Preface

It has been rightly said that to each one of us has been entrusted the achievement of a mission in the work of the upbuilding of human life. But those who are conscious of their mission are few in number, fewer still are those who devote all their forces to its fulfilment, and very few indeed are those who persevere to the end

Upon the perseverance of the few depends chiefly the direction which the fortunes of humanity are destined to take, and every effort made to encourage them to persevere is indeed a sacred office.

With the purpose of such encouragement I have gathered the most inspiring of David's words and from them have formed this present *Reservoir of Strength* What originally moved me was the necessity for strengthening my own endeavour so that light should prevail.

Having perceived that the more I devoted myself to that work the more numerous appeared on all sides those who hated and those who betrayed, I remembered the Hebrew poet's laments when he was appealing for

help in order to persevere in the midst of those who were fighting against his work.

The modern spirit in reality does not recognize personal foes, and considers forgiveness to be the best dissolution of hatred, especially since hatred is almost always an incapacity to esteem the motives of high endeavour and action in others. Yet, foes symbolize also the soul's imperfections, and many of David's expressions are poetical images alluding sometimes even to material dangers outside the range of human antagonism

More than once I saw that not in vain had been my recourse to the treasures included in the 150 psalms, and I thought that this selection, which enabled me to persevere in my struggles whenever the necessary courage ran the risk of being exhausted under the enemy's blows, might become equally precious and salutary for the chosen workers of coming generations who will have the same need of encouragement in order to persevere

The Psalmist's words are full of power, as it were, magical, and, repeated, they become like braziers of the soul For thousands of years myriads of lips have imparted to these words a secret flame which throws out a spark whenever they are pronounced by one who needs warmth and strength Moreover they afford intellectual delight and an exaltation which fortifies the mind

This reservoir from which I drew strength in the most critical moments of my career is indeed inexhaustible, and as such I hand it on to the future pioneers of human progress

(Signed) P D

(Dated) OXFORD, *September*, 1918

GENERAL

SYNDICALISM AND PHILOSOPHICAL REALISM A Study in the Correlations of Contemporary Social Tendencies By J W Scott (*A and C Black, Ltd*, 4, 5, and 6, Soho Square, London, W, 1) 1919 10s net.

(*Reviewed by* F J CONWAY)

Though this book of Mr J W Scott is not, owing to its somewhat technical language, for the general reader, it should appeal to all interested in the correlation of action and thought. The subject is eminently worthy of a closer consideration than the average man gives it, for it must always be satisfactory to discover that what appears to be destructive and dangerous unreason has, in fact, a philosophical content. To find method in our madness is a hopeful enterprise, stimulating an optimistic view of human vagaries. And so we should be grateful to Mr. Scott. With great ability and in a trenchant style he shows that syndicalism, undoubtedly the most significant of the later social phenomena, is intimately connected with the most recent movements of thought. Underlying both are common factors that compel our attention by their extraordinary significance. Syndicalism has its counterpart or rather

philosophical justification in realism, the origins of which Mr Scott traces in a chapter that deals with the early English metaphysicians By different avenues of approach he finds that in our days both Professor Bergson and Mr B. Russell have arrived at realism which colours the quality of their thought.

The connection between the speculative treatment of reality and the factual or social treatment as synthetized in revolutionary syndicalism is made very clear in George Sorel's "Reflections on Violence" According to Mr Scott, revolutionary syndicalism is the failure of the reflective, constructive type of Socialism that marked the nineteenth century, it returns to Marx, and hopes to fulfil Marx quickly Sorel has curiously enough made very much use of Bergson "It is part of the same thesis" Mr Scott writes "When Sorel teaches the doctrine of a 'general strike' as the grand climax towards which the workmen are to be led, as the goal of all their endeavours, the peculiar feature about this teaching, the feature which has struck all the critics, is that the workmen, in Sorel's view, are not to be told in any detail what the general strike is, or what it is to introduce Falling back upon Bergson, he insists that the workers' apprehension of that state of things which is the end of all their movements is to be *integral* Their grasp of it is not to be rational, but intuitive, because intellect disintegrates while intuition keeps whole In Sorel's language, the general strike is to be a 'myth' to them The myth is an ideal, with power to fill man with ardour, as did, *e g*, the expectation of the second coming of Christ the early Christian Any attempt to rationalize it, or 'discuss how far it may be taken literally as future history,' is beside the whole purpose"

Were it not that Sorel, who, as an intellectual leader of revolutionary syndicalism must be heard, "commandeered," as it were, Professor Bergson, we should be inclined to suspect a certain amount of straining in Mr Scott's method of approaching the evolutionary philosopher and the revolutionary syndicalism, more especially as Bergson has never, so far as we know, formulated a social need. What he aims at showing is the affinity between the syndicalist and Bergson, both of whom make reality the subject matter of intuition rather than intellect. Their method is similar We believe, however, that there is a danger in taking Professor Bergson too much "au pied de la lettre"

Mr B Russell is more tangible, because he has actually in his "Principles of Social Reconstruction" cut out a path to the future He is with the syndicalists on the institutions of property and in the general trend of reconstruction. The State should give "multiple opportunities of intercourse" and "the greatest possible share of initiative to each individual" And Mr Russell is with the syndicalists because he is a realist. "It is too clear to need pointing out," Mr Scott says (p. 192), "how in all this enthusiasm for the autonomy of the individual and in all this construing of the individual as an impulsive rather than a rational being, Mr Russell is taking the old realistic line What a thing is, is what it is given as. He is not peculiar in the end he is pursuing. He is not peculiar in making the end of social improvement the creation of the con-

ditions of 'vitality' or 'life' for the human soul, or in advocating the maintenance of these conditions in human society. What is destructive is the degree to which he regards that which such vitality is given as, to be what it really is. He is peculiar in the degree to which in determining what a living soul is, he is enslaved by first impressions."

Mr Russell, in fact, takes too much for granted, has no reverence for the past, is short-sighted in taking any moment in the permutations and combinations of the kaleidoscope as what is It is therefore not difficult to see how he converges towards Professor Bergson in his assumption of reality, and how the revolutionary syndicalist converges towards both

Mr Scott has succeeded admirably in his gently destructive criticism We hope that he will soon construct, for he has a quality of style and of reasoning that is more than usually arresting

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Our attention has been drawn to a very interesting pamphlet published by Mr Watmon, Park Publishing Company, Christchurch, New Zealand, on "Atoms, Suns, and Systems," by Professor Bickerton. It is stated that "The essential idea at the base of the whole generalization is the formation from grazing suns of a third body, possessing a series of most complex properties. In proportion to its mass it must at birth possess many times the energy of any other cosmic body So stupendous is the amount of the energy that it must be explosively unstable Deductions from the laws of matter and motion show, however, that the body disposes of this energy in a most varied manner, which must be suggestively fruitful in results

"The deductions already made have solved most of the very difficult enigmas of astronomy, yet, so cursory has been the study of the subject, that one looks in vain, in all astronomical literature, for a mention of even the name of the third body And this in the face of the fact that men of standing, such as Lord Kelvin, Lord Rayleigh, Sir A W Rucker (Secretary of the Royal Society and President of the British Association), and many others have spoken enthusiastically of the correlation, whilst papers in the *Philosophical* and other scientific journals have never been contested, and have been spoken of most appreciatively"

Professor Bickerton is Life President of the London Astronomical Society (18, Pembridge Mansions, London W), which was founded in 1911

ORIENTALIA

JEWISH THEOLOGY SYSTEMATICALLY AND HISTORICALLY CONSIDERED. By Dr. K Kohler (New York *The Macmillan Company*) 1918.

(*Reviewed by* ARCHDEACON HUTTON, D D.)

A systematic though short exposition of Jewish theology should find many readers, and Dr. Kohler claims for his interesting sketch that it is a pioneer work. Judaism, he says, never assigned to a creed the prominent position which it holds among Christians, thus there was no need to expound a Jewish theology; indeed Moses Mendelssohn declared that

Judaism "contained only truths dictated by reason, and no dogmatic beliefs at all" it was not a revealed religion but a revealed law The distinction may not seem very clear, and law, one could think, must be at least as systematic, and therefore as capable of exposition as theology However, Dr Kohler gives a very careful survey of the teaching of Judaism, as "a message concerning the *One and holy God* and *one undivided humanity* with a world-uniting *Messianic goal*, a message entrusted by Divine revelation to the Jewish people." It is an important and significant point in his book that he claims for Judaism no national or racial limitation but a mission to the whole world He does not take his subject historically, but under headings related to the ideas and doctrines of the Jewish religion Thus he avoids a discussion of origins, of the nature and beginning of the "revelation" he accepts, of the relations of Judaism with other Eastern religions such as the Babylonian or the Egyptian, of the historicity of the early records, the actual existence of the patriarchs, or even (I think) of Moses His book will naturally be supplemented by the study of works more strictly historical as well as by studies like Sir J G Frazer's "Folk-Lore in the Old Testament" Dr Kohler is, as is natural, much interested in the relation of Judaism to Muhammadanism and Christianity Briefly his view of the latter is that it is a daughter religion, mainly due to Paul, and based upon the worship of a remarkable young Nazarene, and possessing a missionary power in the dissemination of "the Sinaitic doctrines' which Judaism could never have had But the Christian system, as elaborated by St Paul, is, Dr Kohler thinks, "far more pagan than Jewish in type." With Muhammadanism the author apparently finds himself in closer sympathy, as indeed has been common among members of his race and religion and remains so to-day He thinks—and here a closer historical study would have been an advantage to him—that Greek science and philosophy were banished by the Church and were restored to the world by Muhammadans, and he finds also, as so many have found, a somewhat close association in idea between Protestantism and the religion of Islam His sympathy with Muhammadanism is perhaps most clearly expressed in two sentences, which I venture to think would not have been written had he been acquainted at all intimately with either the Greek Fathers or the history of the medieval Church, or of modern missions "We must remember that during the dark night of medieval ignorance and barbarism, Islam carried throughout all lands the torch of philosophy and scientific investigations and of the pure faith in God Even to-day it accomplishes far more for the advancement of life in the east of Asia and the south of Africa than did the Russian Church with her gross superstition and idolatry, or even some branches of Protestantism, with their deification of a human being" It is certainly not a common view that slavery is an active force for the advancement of life or that Eastern Christianity is more "superstitious" than Muhammadanism

It will be seen that the value of the book is not historical it consists in the sympathetic exposition, from a modern standing-point, of the ideas and principles of Judaism.

CURRENT PERIODICALS

We have received a copy of the *Esthonian Review* (129*a*, King's Road, Chelsea), a monthly literary periodical devoted to the interests of that country, and to general progressive topics The cause of national independence is pleaded with considerable eloquence, and the people command our sympathy in their efforts against the Bolshevists and Germans It is claimed that a handful of citizens have stamped out Bolshevism in Esthonia and overthrown the German domination. Mr E. Laaman tells the story of the Bolshevik invasion and its repulsion, and the creation of the Esthonian Constituent Assembly More than half the area of the country represents *latifundi* of the German barons, but now a scheme of agrarian reform is being effected It is important to bear in mind that the country is larger than Switzerland, Denmark, or Belgium The Koltchak Government is severely criticized by Mr Bernhard Linde Dr. Derek Ingram, editor of *Stamp Collecting*, describes the authentic postage stamps, and exposes a barefaced fraud on collectors. Britain's trade opportunities in Esthonia are indicated by Mr J Caro, Esthonian Vice-Consul at Manchester Formerly trade was practically monopolized by Germany, and British traders are urged not to neglect a new and promising area. There are several articles of general interest, on the scout movement, art, and music, besides poetry

The September issue of the *Occult Review* contains an interesting article by Mr Ikbal Ali Shah, on the Charms, Spells, and Divinations of Afghanistan He writes "A study of the Charms, Spells, and Divinations of Afghanistan seems to show that they are to a great extent the outcome of the religious traditions and beliefs of the country, though, as is only to be expected, a large number are exotic and can be traced to Indian and Persian ideas. In the provinces of Herat, for instance, it is noticeable that the charms have a distinctly Shiatic character in the north they bear marks of a Kirghis origin, while in the east and south they have a strong Hindoo and Baluch colouring Kabul itself seems to be the meeting place for the ideas and traditions of all these races As in the case of superstitions, the women have borne by far the greater share in the perpetuation of the charms and spells"

The September issue of the *Fortnightly Review* contains a timely article by Mr H Charles Woods on "The Position of Roumania." After warning his readers that owing to the prolonged negotiations in Paris, the situation in the Near East is inclined again to be forgotten, he explains that in order to view her war policy without prejudice, it is necessary to realize the meaning of her geographical position. The author establishes this point very thoroughly, and then proceeds to examine the three broad territorial questions affecting her future In the east he considers that the Dniester rather than the Pruth should form the national boundary He agrees with Mr J D Bourdier that to the north the frontier should be formed by a line from Arad to the source of the Sereth. With regard to the Dobrudja, Mr. Woods proposes the arrangement suggested by the Protocol of Petrograd (May, 1913). Such a sacrifice would be amply repaid by the possibility of the re establishment of good relations with Bulgaria—relations which are vital not only to her own future, but to the reconstruction of any Balkan *Bloc* In this connection it may be pointed out that Dr Drakoules has always advocated a Balkan Federation as the best means of combating the "Drang nach Osten," and that the return of a weaker but wiser Bulgaria to the fold would help to consummate this highly desirable ideal

Journal Asiatique, XII. 3 (1918)

Mr Alfred Bel continues his description of the Arabic inscriptions on Fèz, Mr Przyluski publishes the second part of his article "Le Parinirvāṇa et les funerailles de Buddha," with more to follow

The *Journal of Indian Medical Research* contains a well illustrated study of intestinal parasites, another of throat parasites of the fungus group, a paper on diabetes, with a handy method of gravimetric determination of sugar in urine, and a further instalment of the study of deficiency in foods. It is a wonderfully well-produced number, at the low price of R. 1·50

The *Far East* has recently introduced a new feature in the shape of two pages of topical illustrations and cartoons from the Japanese Press, which should further enhance the circulation of this bright weekly

The *Japan Magazine* has now entered into its second century The articles are as interesting as ever, and no pains appear to be spared to make the magazine attractive and useful. It deserves of a far larger circulation than it appears to have in England, as it is written entirely by Japanese, and shows their point of view quite impartially But one would wish that the editor took somewhat more trouble over his proof-reading, there is a ludicrous mix-up of metres and centimetres in a recent anthropological article which ought never to have been passed for press

Man contains an article by Lieut.-Colonel H H Rose on Comparative Idiom (XIX 9), with special reference to Urdu, and a note by R Grant Brown on a curious Burmese fishing custom of a phallic nature, as an example of imitative magic (XIX. 7)

The current volume of the Imperial College of Science of Tokyo contains a very valuable essay, which forms a large and well illustrated volume in itself, dealing with the Ainu of the Kurile Islands, by Professor Torii Ryuzo, translated in missionary French by a Jesuit Father Professor Torii, in conclusion, harps again on his theory of the Tunguse origin of the early Japanese settlers who repulsed the aborigines towards the North

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A NOTABLE WORK ON BELGIUM'S GLORY

TERRE DE BELGIQUE. Par Charles Bouvier and Elie Moroy (Attinger Paris)

It is intended that 335 copies of this work should be published of which 300 are priced at £20 each The funds acquired will be placed at the disposal of the Minister of Science and Art in Belgium But apart from the excellence of the object of publication, Mr Charles Bouvier foreshadows in the prospectus which he kindly has sent us what promises to be a monumental exposition, from the literary as well as artistic point of view of Belgium's part in the war, and her claim to gratitude for her noble sacrifice to save civilization The work is even to include musical pages and it may be confidently presumed that the high objects which the authors have set before themselves will not only be attained but also surpassed We welcome this opportunity of drawing the attention of our readers in every clime to the distinguished authors' memorable venture

GREEK NOTES

By F R. Scatcherd

I

Greece and America

The attitude of America to the whole question of the Near East has justified the forebodings expressed by many on hearing of the return of M Kalopothakis, Dr Drakoules, Prof Andréadès, and others from the United States just as their respective missions were beginning to bear fruit in the enlightenment of the American public with regard to European affairs

The Greeks are very like the Anglo-Saxons in this respect Strong in the sense of the justice of their cause, they rather disdain propaganda, and both are equally surprised and pained when they discover that lack of knowledge or misinformation has led to the setting aside of their just claims in favour of more vigorously proclaimed "rights"

II

Greece and the League of Nations

Once again the subject of world wide import is the success of the League of Nations, the only hope for a future of peace and progress. I therefore transcribe from my notes the substance of a conversation with Prof. Andréades, Greek delegate to the League of Nations, which took place on the eve of his journey to America this summer

"Greece," said Prof. Andréadès, "is of all countries the one to which the idea of the League of Nations is the most dear This is due, not only to the particular interest which every small State must have in the creation of such a League, but also on account of various historical reasons, some of which belong to the ancient days, while others relate to our own times.

"The Greeks are proud of the universal recognition of the fact that the sole antecedent of a League of Nations is to be found in the Amphictyonic Council of Delphi, composed of representatives of all the Hellenic peoples, and having the right to adjudicate, to punish, and even to raise an army to enforce its decisions

"The Amphictyonic Council most assuredly did not fulfil all the expectations of its founders, partly because those founders were somewhat lacking in practical common sense, and were too eager to secure the realization of an ideal justice. Nevertheless the services rendered by the Council were immense

"First of all, it brought into being the principle of arbitration, which we have had so much trouble to get recognised at the present time. It thus prevented a large number of conflicts, which history scarcely mentioned, *simply because they were prevented*, and which threatened otherwise to degenerate into long and fratricidal wars.

"The Council also humanised the laws of war Its members took an oath never to destroy the Amphictyonic towns, and never to cut off entirely the water supply, even during hostilities. When one thinks of the horrors which have taken place during the last five years, one can realise more fully the value of such compacts.

"Again, wars were rendered less terrible by the imposition of truces at the date of certain festivals.

"The standard of international morality also was considerably heightened. The Dolopes and the Megareans were condemned for acts of brigandage and piracy, and a severe fine was imposed upon Sparta for having occupied the citadel of Thebes in times of peace Yet in 1914, no tribunal existed before which the violators of the neutrality of Belgium could be arraigned But independently of what their ancestors may have achieved, history must recognize that the modern Greeks have endeavoured to pave the way for a League of Nations by their attempted creation of a Balkan Federation

"A Balkan Federation has been the dream of the Greeks ever since they saw the possibility of expelling the Turks from Europe. It was chanted in 1795 by Regas,* the national poet of Greece During the nineteenth century it has been the ideal of the successors of those Greeks who engineered the War of Independence in 1821, right down to Tricoupis and Venizelos

"Tricoupis, about 1890, undertook a journey to the Balkan capitals for the promotion of this object, and was well received by the Serbs, but Stamboulof betrayed his proposals to the Sultan, Abdul Hamid, a fact recognized by Mr James Bourchier himself (see his article in *The Balkan Question*, edited by Villari, London, 1903)

"Everyone knows of the enormous concessions Mr Venizelos was ready to make, not only in 1912 and 1913, but also in 1915, in order to revive the idea of a Balkan League

"The foundations of a Balkan Federation have, however, been laid by the collaboration of Roumania, Serbia, and Greece in 1913 and in 1916-1918 A co-operation between these States does not mean the definite exclusion of Bulgaria Her place will be kept for her, and she may occupy it as soon as she renounces certain of her old errors

"Inclined thus, both by tradition and interest, Greece is ardently hoping for the creation of an effective League of Nations But she nourishes also the strong conviction that at this moment one must seek for the possible rather than the ideal Therefore Greece is willing to make all reasonable concessions, and even some sacrifices, in order to ensure the realization of a project that lies so close to her heart"

III

Cultural Possibilities of the Greeks

M Caclamanos, the Greek Minister in London, in a foreword to "Greek Folk-lore and Greek Music,' by Mr P J Petrides, tells us that—

> "Greek folk-songs are a case of the birth of poetry preceding the birth of poets Greek folk poetry faithfully reflects the tumultuous Greek soul which has retained its identity through the long centuries of its history Modern Greek poetry is derived chiefly from Greek folk-poetry Solomos, Valaoritis, Palamas, Drosinis, only to mention the chief Greek modern poets, have perpetuated the poetical tradition created by the very soul of the Greek people."

Pride in the past of his race, Mr Petrides points out, is a distinguishing characteristic of the individual and the nation, and a knowledge of this truth constitutes a key to the psychology of the modern Greek

> "In fact the Greek is among the most complex and complete of human beings. . If you pick out a typical example, having as

* "The Tyrtaios of Modern Greece," Neohellenic Language and Literature, by Platon E. Drakoules Blackwell, Oxford. *Cf* Asiatic Review, February, 1915

> you do so sufficient knowledge of the three successive civilizations which he (has) created and spread over a fairly large portion of the globe, you cannot miss discovering in him, not the fruits of these civilizations, but what is equally, if not more important—those fundamental forces which enabled him to build those civilizations."

Mr Petrides quotes M Salomon Reinach, who, speaking of the Greek Orthodox Church, says that "the modern Greeks are not artists They sing false, and have not yet given to the world a single man of genius," an opinion justly characterized as superficial and unphilosophical The method of "judging men by results" must be complemented by "what they may be capable of accomplishing" if allowed to live in a suitable political, social, and economic environment.

> "What can you expect of a man or of a people who for five consecutive centuries have been fighting the hardest battles any nation in the world has ever had to fight? Since the fall of Constantinople, in 1453, up to the overthrow of the Turks last autumn, and even up to the present hour, the Greek people have had no breathing space Day after day, year after year, they had to fight the Turk Life, honour, property, nothing was safe .
>
> "The very church in which Mr Salomon Reinach heard the bad singing has, most probably, been burnt down a score of times during these five centuries, and if the great scholar went out to-day to see whether there be any amelioration in the singing of the Asia Minor churches, he would see smouldering ashes and ruins, and would forget all about his aesthetic considerations."

The main question, says Mr Petrides, is whether the bad singing, due to abnormal and inhuman circumstances, proves that the Greeks are not musical And, again, does the absence of great modern Greek tragedy mean that the Greeks are incapable of writing it?

Mr Petrides maintains that the modern Greek is so richly endowed with "cultural assets" preserved and kept alive during the sad centuries of oppression, that given a reasonable chance, he will speedily "start creating a fourth Greek civilization" He points out that when M Reinach says that the Greeks have not produced a single man of genius, he must be speaking of the artistic world, since "Greece is rather decently represented at the Peace Conference" On this point he says justly —

> "Now if Mr Venizelos be one of those superior men, whom other mortals call a genius, this simple question comes before us If Hellenism in the political world has been able not only to give birth to such a man, but has also proved to be up to his requirements and expectations, without which he would not have been able to work out such successes, I cannot see why this same Hellenism should not be able to produce men equally great in other branches of human activity"

Mr Petrides quotes Costis Palamas, the foremost Greek poet of the day, as an example who can compare favourably with the leading poets of the world, but who, because he writes in Greek and "toils modestly in Athens," is unknown outside his own circle And there are many such, who with the return of cultural and political freedom in Constantinople and the reunion of Smyrna with the motherland, will rapidly bridge the gap that separates modern Greek from Byzantine culture, when these two great centres of Hellenism are once more free to work towards national reconstruction.

Having shown that the necessary men are to be found, Mr Petrides proceeds to the demonstration of the existence of those elements of Greek culture essential for the evolution of the coming, fourth, Greek civilization,

and bewildered by the richness of the choice before him, perforce limits himself to Greek folksongs and Greek music. In impassioned language, he directs his reader's attention to the living forces contained in Greek folk-lore to the "thrilling life of the Greek people, that bursts forth like spring blossoms, from every inspired poem" of the unknown Greek bards, at once not only the poets, but the musicians and chroniclers of their race

In common with folk-songs in general, the Greek folk-songs were written to record historical facts which would otherwise be lost to posterity Says Mr Petrides

> "The mountains play a great role in Greek folk-songs. Upon romantic and daring men such as the Klephts, who spend the best part of their life upon them, and very often meet there with glorious death, the majestic mountains of Thessaly and Epirus exercise a great charm At the critical moment of an unexpected and treacherous attack, they provide the Klephts with a rocky defence which saves them and reduces the Turk For the sake of giving a glorious ancestry to a renowned Klepht, the mountains fall in love with each other and bear most heroic sons"

These "most heroic sons" of the mountains were the Klephts and Armatoloi, of whose origin, and rôle Mr Petrides gives us a brief description

> "The Turks, in spite of the conquest, and long occupation of Greece proper, Epirus and Macedonia, were unable wholly to reduce the Greek population Irreducible in their hatred of the cruel oppressor, the young Greeks preferred taking to the mountains and living there in freedom rather than crawling under the yoke of the Turk From their unapproachable retreats they waged an incessant guerrilla against the stranger, master in their country harassing him in every way The protection of the Greek villages was another important function of the Klephts and Armatoloi The heroic deeds of these men were sung by the bards and repeated by the people all over Greek countries"

Mr Petrides discovers in the modern Greek the "well-nigh incompatible qualities" of extreme naivete and candour, combined with the keen sense of actualities due to an "age-long racial experience." The blending of these opposing tendencies is one of the reasons why the Greek does not suffer from that kind of scepticism, so characteristic of ancient races and cultures, which impedes action The Greek, moreover, regards the various events of life—birth, love, death, from the standpoint of eternity

> "Even in the darkest days of servitude and humiliation, the Greek people never lost contact with this profound truth—that the present and future are largely a projection of the past, that an individual, a generation, an epoch, are but links in the endless chain of eternity, that bad days will undoubtedly pass as did the glorious days of yore."

This conception of life results in an unshakable faith The death song of the Klepht reveals the capacity of the popular bard, illiterate though he may be, to transcend present misery and suffering, and to grasp the nature of those elemental forces at work behind the superficial veil of normal human consciousness Mr. Petrides notes the pessimistic forebodings as to the fate of the Greek nation, which marked the popular songs for years before the fall of Constantinople, but after the blow had fallen, they were characterized by a buoyant optimism. "The heavier the blow the greater the reaction," and in this reactive capacity of the Greeks, Mr Petrides finds the fundamental elements necessary for the creation of great and noble art.

SOME NOTES ON ZIONISM

By Captain P S Cannon, B A.

[These observations on present conditions in the Palestinian colonies, specially contributed by an Army officer who has made his observations and drawn his conclusions on the spot, throw an interesting light on the above question]

In reference to your invitation, I have great pleasure in writing to you a few lines which may be of interest to your readers as illustrating the case of Zionism as it appears to an officer who in the course of his military duties resided for a few months in one of the Jewish colonies in Palestine.

The fact which struck me more than anything else in my conversations with the Jews of the colonies was their purely Jewish allegiance They never seem to have admitted any allegiance to the Turks except the minimum necessary for their own safety That the Turks realized this was made plain to me by the fact that men conscripted from the colonies were never trusted One of them told me that he had been forbidden to go nearer the front than Aleppo They seem also, in the majority of cases, to have lost almost entirely the sentimental allegiance felt by most emigrants for the countries of their birth—Russia, Roumania, and Poland They are Palestinians, and admit no other nationality Although prone to suspect of "anti Semitism" even their most friendly critics, they seemed to me to have feelings of real warmth towards all the Western democracies.

The Balfour declaration and the campaign of liberation has made them, in my opinion, most friendly in their attitude to this country, and they are entirely in favour of the British mandate I was much impressed when I was informed in conversation that the only languages now being taught in the schools are Hebrew (in which all classes are conducted) and English. Efforts are successfully being made to eliminate the Yiddish dialect, so that the coming generation may possess in the spoken Hebrew a national language

Since returning to this country I find that lack of sympathy with Zionism is partly due to the undisputed fact that certain Jews in Russia are Bolshevists, and others in Germany threw in their lot with that country s war of aggression and also in some measure to the feeling that the Jews in general have shown little aptitude or inclination for manual labour So far as I have been able to observe, I consider that as regards the colonists already settled in Palestine there need be no ground for apprehension on these points I never personally met any trace of pro Germanism Germans were too closely associated with Turkish misrule to arouse any sympathy in that quarter. Bolshevism was always mentioned in terms of disgust, and as totally inconsistent with the Jewish religion and traditions As for the last objection, I put it myself before several of the colonists, and heard the personal experiences of many men who emigrated to Palestine from sedentary occupations and have become successful vine-growers. Training and determination, I was assured, had solved the difficulty in the past and would solve it in the future.

The aims of the Zionist movement as I understand them are, broadly speaking, to find a solution for the impasse created by the attitude displayed towards the Jews by the nations of *Eastern Europe* for many years. Anti-Zionism has not produced, in my opinion, an alternative solution, and bases it arguments on criticism of the practicability of Zionist proposals

With the wider issues I do not wish to deal, but I hope that some of your readers will agree with me that there is nothing in the present condition of the colonies to suggest that an extension of the colonization scheme is not practicable, and that in those colonies the seeds of a Jewish national life have been sown.

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